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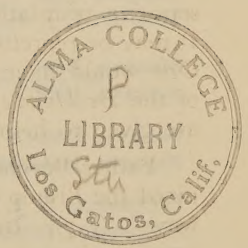

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INDEX

v.47
1958

AUTHORS AND ARTICLES

ANDREWS, PAUL .. .. Pagan Mysteries and Christian Sacraments, 54
BRACEY, H. E. .. .. The Future of Rural Ireland, 405
BREATNACH, R. A. .. .. The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne, 90
BRENNAN, EDWARD J. .. The Ideology of Imperialism, 66
BRENNAN, MARTIN M. .. The Third International Seaweed Symposium, 328
BROWNE, LIAM .. .. Africa and the Sword of the Spirit, 200

CAHAN, J. F. .. .. Ireland's Role in a Free Trade Area, 121
CARTER, C. F. .. .. The Economic Unity of Ireland, 379
CEVACSO, GEORGE A. .. .. Epstein's Religious Art, 177
CLEEVE, BRIAN T. .. .. The Worm as Hero, 21
COYNE, EDWARD J. .. .. The Small Farm in Irish Agriculture, 1

DONOGHUE, DENIS .. .. Theatre Poetry and Dramatic Verse, 305
DONOGHUE, DENIS .. .. Shakespeare's Rhetoric, 430

FENNELL, DESMOND .. .. Artists in Tokyo ; the Question of Zen, 145
FOGARTY, M. P. .. .. The Future of Rural Ireland, 402
KAVANAGH, PATRICK .. .. Two Poems, 53
KILROY, THOMAS .. .. Mervyn Wall : The Demands of Satire, 83
KELLY, JOHN C. .. .. The Worm as Hero, 33
KELLY, JOHN C. .. .. Gerard Manley Hopkins : Piety v. Poetry, 421

MONTAGUE JOHN .. .. Rhetorical Meditations in Time of Peace, 285
MONTAGUE, JOHN .. .. Contemporary Verse : A Chronicle, 441
MCCARTHY, JEREMIAH .. Communist China, 131
MACINTYRE, THOMAS .. .. Some Notes on the Stories of James Plunkett, 323
MEGHEN, P. J. .. .. The Future of Rural Ireland, 408
MURPHY, J. J. W. .. .. Historical Background of Christianity in Middle East, 155, 269
MURRAY, JOHN .. .. Western Germany after the Autumn Elections, 39
MURRAY, JOHN .. .. The Spread of the Idea of Europe, 410

NICHOLL, DONALD .. .. Celts, Romans and Saxons, 298
NEWMAN, JEREMIAH .. .. The Future of Rural Ireland, 388

O'CONNELL, D. J. K. .. Pius XII, 361
O'CONNELL, PATRICIA .. Juan Ramón Jiménez, 450
O'DONNELL, PEADAR .. .. The Worm as Hero, 31
O'FAOLAIN, SEAN .. .. The Worm as Hero, 29
O'DOHERTY, E. F. .. .. Bilingual School Policy, 259
O H-AODHA, MICHEAL .. T. C. Murray and Some Critics, 185

PHILBIN, WILLIAM J. .. .. Government by the People, 233

RYAN, STEPHEN P. .. .. Edward Martyn's Last Play, 193

SUTTON, RALPH G. .. .. A Real Seanad, 169
SMYTH, KEVIN .. .. The Anglican Conference at Lambeth, 1958, 369

WALSH, P. G. .. .. The Historian Tacitus, 288
WILLIAMS, JAC I. .. .. The National Language in the Social Pattern of Wales, 247

BOOKS REVIEWED

ARNOULD, E. J. F. (ed.) .. The Melos Amoris, 114
ASHLEY, MAURICE .. .. The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell, 337
BAZIRE, JOYCE (ed.) .. .. The Chastising of God's Children and the Treatise of Perfection, 116
BEVENOT, MAURICE (ed.) .. St. Cyprian : The Lapsed, The Unity of the Catholic Church,
BIOT, RENÉ .. .. .. Pousssière Vivante, 221
BONNARD, ANDRE .. .. Greek Civilization, 106
BOUYER, LOUIS .. .. Newman : His Life and Spirituality, 98
BOUYER, LOUIS .. .. The Meaning of the Monastic Life,
BROWN, STEPHEN J. .. .. Alone with God, 228
BULLARD, READER (ed.) .. The Middle East, 454
BUTTERFIELD, HERBERT .. George III and the Historians, 101
BOWERS, FAUBION .. .. Theatre in the East, 471

CATTA, E. AND T. .. .. Basil Anthony Mary Moreau, 464
CAYRE, F. .. .. .. Spirituels et Mystiques des Premiers Temps, 221
COLMCILLE, FATHER .. .. The Story of Mellifont, 208
COLLINS, THOMAS .. .. Martyr in Scotland, 118
CRISTIANI, CANON .. .. Breve Histoire des Hérésies, 221
CROSS, F. L. .. .. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 112
COLLEDGE, ERIC (ed.) .. The Chastening of God's Children and the Treatise of Perfection, 116
COTTERELL, LOENARD .. The Anvil of Civilization, 338

DAICHES, DAVID .. .. Critical Approaches to Literature, 350
DALEY, JOHN M. .. .. Georgetown University : Origins and Early History, 464
DEERY, JOSEPH .. .. Our Lady of Lourdes, 356
DUMERY, HENRY .. .. Le Problème de Dieu en Philosophie de la Religion, 217

EASSON, D. E. .. .. Medieval Religious Houses : Scotland, 210
ELIADE MIRCEA .. .. Patterns of Comparative Religion, 227
FOAKES, R. A. .. .. The Romantic Assertion, 342
FRANCISCAN FATHERS (ed.) .. Fr Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume, 102

GLUBB, JOHN BAGOT .. .. A Soldier with the Arabs, 104
GRAF, ERNEST .. .. Anscar Vonier, Abbot of Buckfast, 473
GUTHRIE, W. K. C. .. .. In the Beginning, 107

HAMELIN, JEANNE .. .. Le Théatre chrétien, 469

JOLIVET, REGIS .. .. Le Dieu des philosophes et des Savants, 221

KIERNAN, T. J. .. .. Pope Pius XII, 452
KING, ARCHDALE A. .. .. Liturgy of the Roman Church, 359
KING, ARCHDALE A. .. .. Liturgies of the Primatial Sees, 359
KNOX, WILFRED .. .. The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, 225
KRONER, RICHARD .. .. Speculation in Pre-Christian Philosophy, 215

LEFRANCOIS-PILLION .. .. Abbayes et Cathédrales, 469
LEROY, ALFRED .. .. Les Arts Chrétiens, 469
LITTLE, GEORGE A. .. .. Dublin before the Vikings, 206

McLaughlin, P. J. .. .. The Church and Modern Science, 351
McManners, J. .. .. France : Government and Society, 338
Meenan, James F. (ed.) .. Centenary History of the Literary and Historical Debating Society (U.C.D.), 341
Mackey, Ernest .. .. Directing Boys and Students, 228
Mark, Paul .. .. Dom Virgil and the Liturgical Movement, 475
Merton, Thomas .. .. The Silent Life, 473
Michener, Norah Willis .. Maritain on the Nature of Man in a Christian Democracy, 220
Molinari, Paul .. .. Julian of Norwich, 116

Nash, Robert .. .. Ideals to Live By, 229
Nedoncelle, M. .. .. Existe-t-il une Philosphie Chrétienne, 220
Newman, Jeremiah .. .. What is Catholic Action ?, 472
Nicholls, William .. .. Revelation in Christ, 354
Nicol, Donald M. .. .. The Despotate of Epirus, 212
Nugent, Elizabeth M. .. The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, 348
Noort, G. van .. .. The True Religion, 354
Noort, G. van .. .. Christ's Church, 354

O'Brien, Conor Cruise .. Parnell and His Party, 332
O'Connell, D. J. K. .. The Green Flash, 457
O'Connell, D. J. K. (ed.) .. Stellar Populations, 457
O'Rahilly, Alfred .. .. Gospel Meditations, 228

Pakenham, Lord .. .. Causes of Crime, 352
Paor, Maire and Liam de .. Early Christian Ireland, 460
Ploeg, J. van der .. .. The Excavations at Qumran, 357
Poole, Austin Lane .. .. Medieval England, 463

Reynolds, Anna M. (ed.) .. A Shewing of God's Love, 116
Rice, D. Talbot .. .. The Beginnings of Christian Art, 469
Ryan, John (ed.) .. .. St Patrick, 205

Sedlmayr, Hans .. .. Crisis in Art, 467
Sitwell, Edith .. .. Collected Poems, 109
Starkie, Enid .. .. Baudelaire, 344
Staudinger, Josef .. .. Holiness of the Priesthood, 228
Stendahl, Kristee .. .. The Scrolls and the New Testament, 357

Todd, John M. .. .. Catholicism and the Ecumenical Movement, 120
Veuillot, Pierre .. .. The Catholic Priesthood, 229
Volkmann, Hans .. .. Cleopatra, 210

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. .. France : Government and Society, 339
Watkin, E. I. .. .. Roman Catholicism in England, 340
West, Anthony .. .. Principles and Persuasions, 231
Wheare, K. C. .. .. Government by Committee, 223
Whyte, J. H. .. .. The Independent Irish Party, 332
Woodruff, Douglas .. .. The Tichborne Claimant, 214

Zeller, Hubert van .. The Yoke of Divine Love, 473

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The Small Farm in Irish Agriculture

by EDWARD J. COYNE

IN a recent learned book on epistemology, the author remarks that ' Descartes was convinced that too many people felt it beneath them to direct their efforts to apparently trifling problems '.[1] It may well be that the observation has an application to studies of our Irish agricultural industry and its problems. At any rate, the present article is concerned with what may seem to some readers both trifling and, also, easily ascertainable aspects, facts and figures touching Irish agriculture. Indeed, the facts and figures are so well-known and so familiar to anyone interested in economic problems that they fail any longer to arouse the violent reaction which one would expect. Two justifications for their re-hash here are, first, the quite recent renewed interest in the question of the *size* of our farms as a major element in the whole agricultural problem, and, secondly, the critical nature of that problem itself, economically, demographically and, above all, socially. It may be a small contribution to clarity of thought and fruitful discussion to give, once more, a picture of the fundamental features of Irish agriculture.

I

THE LAND AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

Agriculture means, if it means anything, land and farmers. What land have we in Ireland? And how many farmers? There are five round figures dealing with the available land which are easily remembered, but are frequently forgotten in debate. These are the total number of acres in Ireland : the number of acres divided into farms (' on farms ', as is usually said); the number of arable acres (' crops and pasture ') ; and the two residual figures ; ' other land on farms ', and ' other land not on farms '.[2]

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

TOTAL ACRES IN IRELAND	17,000,000 acres
TOTAL ACRES ON FARMS	14,700,000 ,,
TOTAL ARABLE (cultivable) (crops and pasture)	11,700,000 ,,
' OTHER LAND ' ON FARMS	3,000,000 ,,
' OTHER LAND ' NOT ON FARMS ...	2,500,000 ,,

The 2,500,000 acres ' other land not on farms ' includes land under town areas, roads, water, bogs, marshes, grazed barren mountain. They are exceedingly valuable acres for other purposes, but only indirectly for agriculture.

[1] *Insight* by B. Lonergan, S.J., Longman Green, 1957.

[2] All the figures in this article are ' round ' and some are ' rounder ' than others. What is offered is a true general picture, not a detailed scientific analysis. There are 344,000 acres under lakes, rivers and tideways ; the total *land* area is 17,024,000 acres.

The 3,000,000 acres of 'other land on farms' consist of much the same species of land, including, however, a large proportion of rough mountain grazing. While these acres do contribute something to the agricultural industry and may be of vital importance to many individual farmers (especially for sheep rearing), it is justifiable, having given warning, not to include them (or at least, if at all, only casually) in a brief survey such as this.

This leaves us with the core of 11,700,000 acres of cultivable land used for crops and pasture. Three more easily-remembered figures must come in now. Of this 11,700,000 acres, only 1,700,000 acres are normally ploughed or under fruit.[1] Another 2,000,000 are employed each year to produce a hay crop for winter feeding, leaving 8,000,000 (or a trifle more) as pasture land for live-stock.

The land which is on farms, 14,700,000 acres, is divided up into 379,000 'holdings' (for practical purposes, farms). In 1930, there were 382,000 holdings; so that in the past twenty-five years there has been a small decline of 3,000 in the total, due chiefly to consolidation and possibly, very partially, to abandonment of some uneconomic mountain holdings. The first significant fact about these 379,000 holdings is that their number greatly exceeds that of the number of persons returning themselves in the 1951 census (and in every other census) as 'farmers'. There are only 235,000 farmers. Still more significant is the fact that while the number of 'holdings' has remained almost the same over the last twenty-five years, the number of 'farmers' has fallen steeply:

FARMERS IN CENSUSES

1926	269,000	
1936	258,000	—3·7% in 10 years
1946	250,000	—3·6% in 10 years
1951	235,000	—5·8% in 5 years

The 379,000 holdings, comprising 14,700,000 acres, are divided up in groups according to size (number of acres) and according to annual valuation. The following table will make the 'size grouping' much clearer than any written description. It is constructed from tables given in the Irish Trade Journal for March, 1952, p. 2, and refers to the year 1949.[2]

[1] Once more a round figure. The ploughed land in Ireland very seldom has reached 2,000,000 acres: in recent years the figure oscillates around 1,750,000 acres (1,200,000 acres of corn crops, and 550,000 acres of root and green crops). The hay figure given above is slightly overstated; the pasture figure slightly understated. But the figures for long periods, for decades, show a remarkable stability or rigidity, even with a sharply dropping farming and rural population and labour force, and despite violent ups and downs of prices for the various crops and livestock.

[2] The latest figures for the number of holdings (1955) given in *Statistical Abstract*, 1957, p. 95, differ somewhat from the above but not sufficiently to affect the general picture. The 'under 1 acre' has *increased* to 65,400; 1 to 15 acres has *decreased* to 85,000; 15 to 30 acre has *decreased* to 84,000; the above 200 acres has *decreased* to 7,152.

NUMBER AND AREA OF HOLDINGS

1st JUNE, 1949

(1) Size of Holding	(2) No. of Holdings '000	(3) Percentage No. of Holdings %	(4) Area Ploughed and Fruit '000 acres	(5) Hay	(6) Pasture	(7) Total Crops and Pasture	(8) Percentage of Crops and Pasture %	(9) Other Land '000 acres	(10) Total Area '000 acres	(11) Percent. of Total Area %
Under 1 acre	*61	16·1	24	12	13	49	0·4	1	50	0·3
1 to 2½ acres	8	2·2	5	4	7	16	0·1	1	17	0·1
2½ to 5 „	18	4·7	17	19	38	74	0·6	5	79	0·5
5 to 10 „	32	8·3	50	61	155	266	2·3	21	287	1·7
10 to 15 „	31	8·2	71	87	252	410	3·5	41	451	2·6
15 to 25 „	59	15·5	195	228	741	1,164	10·1	125	1,289	7·6
25 to 30 „	28	7·5	121	139	473	732	6·3	95	827	4·8
30 to 50 „	62	16·5	362	406	1,423	2,190	18·9	348	2,537	14·9
50 to 100 „	51	13·5	506	524	1,991	3,022	26·1	648	3,670	21·5
100 to 200 „	22	5·7	367	349	1,558	2,274	19·7	636	2,911	17·1
200 to 250 „	3	0·7	64	58	303	425	3·7	170	595	3·5
250 to 500 „	4	0·9	92	83	509	684	5·9	370	1,055	6·2
Above 500 „	1	0·2	29	27	204	260	2·3	534	794	4·7
Not on farms	—	—	1	1	14	16	0·1	2,500	2,500	14·5
Ireland ...	379	100	1,900	2,000	7,680	11,700	100	5,500	17,000	100

The table is too detailed and contains too many figures to serve as anything but a most necessary reference source. But it can be simplified at once, and the salient figures stand out.

(i) We can omit the 'under 1 acre' group altogether, noting in passing, however, that they are not strictly 'farms' at all. Yet they number 61,000 (1955–65,000) which is 16·1% of all holdings in the country. But they account for only 49,000 acres of 'crops and pasture', that is, 0·4% of the total acreage of crops and pasture. Finally, this group of tiny holdings has jumped in number from 44,000 in 1930 to 61,000 in 1949, to 65,000 in 1955, probably a reflection of rural housing.

(ii) We can combine the four groups from 1 acre to 15 acres, getting 89,000 in number, 23·4% of all holdings with an acreage of cultivable land of 766,000 acres, 6·5% of all such land.[1] A second most significant figure thus emerges : 23·4% of the holdings must be content with 6·5% of the cultivable land (and only 4·9% of all available land). In other words, barely threequarters of a million acres out of 11,700,000 acres of cultivable land are allotted to the owners or occupiers of 89,000 holdings, which form 23·4% of all holdings.

(iii) We can then combine the two groups 15–25 and 25–30 acre holdings. This combined group will now number 87,000 holdings, 23·0% of all holdings, with an acreage of cultivable land of 1,900,000 acres, 16·4% of all such land.

This is the third significant figure : taking all the holdings under 30 acres, that is, 237,000 in number and 59·5% of all holdings, they are allotted only 23·3% of the cultivable land—2,700,000 acres out of 11,700,000. Somewhere hidden here in these figures lie *les misères et les splendeurs* of Irish agriculture and rural life.

(iv) It is convenient to combine certain of the remaining groups as follows :

Size of Holding	*No. of Holdings*	*% of Holdings*	*Crops & Pasture (acres)*	*% of Crops & Pasture acreage*
30— 50 acres	62,000	16·5	2,190,000	18·9
50—100 ,,	51,000	13·5	3,022,000	26·1
100—200 ,,	22,000	5·7	2,274,000	19·7
Above 200 ,,	8,000	1·8	1,329,000	11·9
	143,000	37·5	8,800,000	76·6

This is the fourth significant figure : 37·5% of the holdings, that is all the holdings above 30 acres embrace 76·6% of the crops and pasture. Obviously, it is these larger holdings that form the backbone of the agricultural industry of the country. The remaining 176,000 holdings

[1] 'Crops and pasture', 'arable', and 'cultivable' are used as synonyms.

(or including the under 1 acre, 237,000 holdings) account for only 23% or 24% of all the arable land, less than 3,000,000 acres.

To turn to the distribution of holdings by valuation (generally recognized as a better criterion to use), of the 379,000 holdings in Ireland

242,000 are under £15 valuation,

237,000 are under 30 acres in size.

This is, roughly, 62% of all holdings.

It cannot be established or argued that these two figures represent exactly the same holdings.[1] It is certain that some much larger holdings than 30 acres are included in the under £15 valuation group, and some higher valuation holdings in the under 30 acres group. But the closeness of the totals in each group and general observation and knowledge suggest that the vast majority of each group is found in the other group also.

---

[1] COLLATION OF SIZE AND VALUATION

(a) HOLDINGS : 1–15 ACRES

No. of Holdings	*Percentage*		*Crops and Pasture*
89,000	23·4		766,000
No. of Farmers on this 1–15 acre size		43,000	
No. of Farmers under £7 valuation		31,700	
,, ,, between £7–15 valuation		10,000	
,, ,, over £15 ,,		1,300	
TOTAL FARMERS		43,000	

(b) HOLDINGS : 15–30 ACRES

No. of Holdings	*Percentage*		*Crops and Pasture*
87,000	23·0%		1,900,000
No. of Farmers on this 15–30 acre size		65,400	
No. of Farmers under £7 valuation		15,750	
,, ,, between £7–15 valuation		30,500	
,, ,, over £15 ,,		19,150	
TOTAL FARMERS		65,400	

(c) FARMERS AND VALUATION (Sizes 1–15 acre and 15–30 acres)

No. of Farmers :		
(i) Under £7 valuation		
(a) 1–15 acres	31,700	
(b) 15–30 acres	16,750	
TOTAL	47,450	
(ii) Between £7 and £15 valuation		
(a) 1–15 acres	10,000	
(b) 15–30 acres	30,500	
TOTAL	40,500	
		TOTAL 88,000

That is, out of a total of 235,000 farmers, 108,400 are working on holdings of 1 to 30 acres ; and of these : 47,450 are on holdings £1–£7, 40,500 are on holdings £7–£15, 20,400 are on holdings over £15.

This leaves out of account the very important group of ' non-professional farmers ' (those not returning themselves as ' farmers ' in the census) who exploit some 46,000 holdings of 1–15 acres and 21,000 holdings of 15–30 acres, a total of 67,000, more than half (60%) the number of professional farmers on farms of these sizes.

It may be accepted that a holding of under £15 valuation is a relatively poor holding : at its best it is probably 15 acres of very good land ; but it may be 40 or 50 acres of poor land.[1]

II

THE FARMERS AND OTHERS

It was mentioned above that the first significant fact to emerge from the figures was the very notable discrepancy between the total number of ' agricultural holdings ' (farms) and the total number of persons returning themselves as ' farmers ' at the various population censuses.

This discrepancy holds good for every size, type and locality of holding. The difference is most marked in the 1 to 30 acre groups : 67,000 of these holdings (out of 176,000) are evidently worked by persons who do not consider farming their chief occupation. Only 108,500 persons on these 1 to 30 acre holdings believe that they rely mainly on farming as their life's occupation. There may, of course, be some small amount of duplication : one ' farmer ' owning or working two or more ' holdings '. But the more usual explanation is that (as is well-known from common observation) many country businessmen, shop-keepers, doctors, priests, teachers, auctioneers, veterinary surgeons and other professional men, as well as colleges, convents and institutions, carry on farming on the other 86,500 holdings, which form the difference between the total number of holdings and the number of ' farmers '.

HOLDINGS : FARMERS AND OTHERS

Size of Holding	*No. of Holdings*	*Farmers*	*Others*
1— 15 acres	89,000	43,000	46,000
15— 30 ,,	87,000	65,500	21,500
30— 50 ,,	62,000	54,900	7,000
50—100 ,,	51,000	45,000	6,000
100—200 ,,	22,000	18,500	3,500
Over 200 ,,	8,000	5,500	2,500
TOTAL (omitting under 1 acre)	319,000	232,400	86,500
Crops and Pasture in acres	11,700,000	9,250,000	2,250,000

The position of these persons and institutions is very different from that of full time farmers with no other source of income, capital or credit. This is especially so on the smaller size (or the lower valuation)

[1] ' The average valuation of land for the whole Republic is 8s. 2d. per acre, varying from 2s. 9d. per acre in Counties Donegal and Mayo to a peak of £1 0s. 10d. for County Dublin. The average in County Wicklow is 7s. 5d., in County Cork 8s. 6d., and in County Kildare 31s. 0d.' C. C. McElligott : in *Journal of Statistical Abstract*, Vol. XIX (1954-55), p. 113.

holdings, the under 30 acres (or under £15) ones. The presence of these other part-time farmers may lend a certain stability to agriculture. It probably ensures moderate capital expenditure, and enables credit facilities to be exploited and variations in profits and losses to be more easily cushioned. It is the reverse picture of the very small professional farmer supplementing his farming activities by fishing, work for contractors or others, or seasonal migratory work in Ireland, Scotland or England.

(a) *1–15 acre holdings*

It is, however, with the position of the man who returns himself as 'farmer' at the census that we are here concerned ; and chiefly with the 108,000 such farmers living on under 30 acre holdings.

Of these some 43,000 live on very small holdings of from 1 to 15 acres. 35,000 of these are men, 8,000 women ; and they form over 17% of all farmers. Helping on these 1–15 acre farms are, in addition, a total of 24,000 relatives (19,500 men, 4,500 women), making a total labour force of 67,000 persons. They exploit in all about 350,000 cultivable acres of rather poor land, with a certain amount of 'other land' available to them.

In addition to the total of 'gainfully occupied' persons on these farms[1] (67,000 persons : 54,500 men, 12,500 women), there are 58,000 persons not gainfully occupied (including wives and mothers who are certainly fully occupied, whatever about 'gainfully') and 49,300 children under 14. This last is a remarkable figure :[2] 22% of all the children under 14 of 'farmers' are living on just 18% of the total holdings, but these holdings comprise only 3·3% of the acreage of crops and pasture. Seldom were so many persons living on so few acres. This leaves us with a gross total of 174,000 persons of the social group of 'farmers' living on this small acreage : one-fifth of all the persons in this social group (887,000). Out of a total 43,000 farmers on 1–15 acre farms, 31,000 of them, nearly threequarters, have their farms in Connacht and the three Ulster counties.

In Connacht, there are some 95,500 holdings (1 acre and over) but only 77,000 farmers (66,000 men, 11,000 women). Of these farmers, 26,500 are on farms of under £7 valuation. But there are, on these under £7 valuation farms, 44,000 persons gainfully occupied, 28,000 adults not gainfully occupied, and 27,500 children under 14 : some 100,000 persons in all.

In the three Ulster counties, there are 47,500 holdings above 1 acre in size, but only 35,000 farmers (30,000 men, 5,000 women). Of these farmers, 13,000 are on farms of under £7 valuation. There are 22,000 persons gainfully occupied, 14,000 not gainfully occupied, and 11,600

[1] Under £7 valuation.

[2] *Total children under 14 of farmers* : 222,000 ; on under £7 valuation farms : 49,000 ; on all other farms : 172,700.

children under 14 : some 48,000 persons in all. The arable acreage worked by the farmers of £7 valuation (1–15 acres in size) is, approximately, in Connacht 220,000, in Ulster 100,000.

Finally, there is a figure which shows the trend with regard to these small holdings (1–15 acres or under £7 valuation). It is the decline in numbers of such farmers and their families over the last 25 years.

FARMERS AND RELATIVES ASSISTING

HOLDINGS 1–15 ACRES

Year	*Farmers*	*Relatives*	*Total*
1926	75,000	61,000	136,000
1951	43,000	24,000	67,000
Decline in 25 years	32,000	37,000	69,000

Whatever else there is a flight from, it is clear that there is a flight from the 1–15 acre farm. The corresponding figures for (a) the not gainfully occupied, and (b) the children under 14, on these 1–15 acre farms for 1926 are not readily available, but they must have been of the order of 200,000. In 1951, they were 113,000, leaving a rough estimate of a loss of this group of 87,000 persons from these small farms : or a gross loss from them of 156,000 persons in twenty-five years.

It is no mere cliché to say that these 43,000 farmers on the 1–15 acre type of holding are of vital importance to the country. Small as the farms are, each one keeps in existence a household and a family roof that would be lost to the country without those wretched few acres, giving such a poor living. So long as such a farm is there, those connected with it can manage by supplementary sources of income, fishing, road work, emigrants' remittances, seasonal migration, always to have their family home and group, their marriages and births.

In so far as the land and other conditions permit, these tiny farms are well and intensively cultivated : they have to be, else they would not give even a meagre living to the dense population on them. Their output per acre is, on the average, high, for Ireland at least ; and their output per £100 expenses (other than labour) is also high, chiefly because there is no ready cash or credit to enable a high expenditure. But their output per unit of labour (and still more per man-hour, if it were possible to get that figure) must be relatively low. The type of intensive economy which their small acreage demands (milch cows, pigs and poultry) involves of its nature constant work from dawn to dusk seven days a week.

There are on these farms, good, bad and indifferent farmers as there are on every size and type of farm in the country : and probably each in much the same proportion as on larger farms. Moreover, we need

not be too romantic about the type of man or woman that an upbringing on these small farms produces. It may be that boys and girls find more opportunities for developing certain fundamental virtues and qualities of mind and body under conditions where even the bare necessities are not too easily had.

The economy practised—and necessarily practised—on this type of small farm dovetails into the general agricultural economy of the country in an important way. The late Mr Hooper published some telling figures and facts touching the interactions between farms of different sizes. This technical side of the integration of the various sizes and types of farms is now a commonplace. The social and human problems arising from the existence of such a large number of these small farms and their place in the national life, indeed the problems of simple distributive justice, have hardly received sufficient attention.

From a strictly economic point of view, the whole of the 61,000 holdings under 1 acre, and the whole of the 89,000 holdings of from 1–15 acres, might be said to be of practically no importance. This must not be misunderstood, and may be making a valid point in too sharp and startling a manner. What is meant is that these 150,000 holdings of under 15 acres (39·5% of all agricultural holdings) comprise only 815,000 acres (7·0% of the 11,700,000 acres of arable land, crops and pasture). No matter how intensively cultivated these holdings are, the disproportion between the number of acres they contain, on the one hand, and the number of separate farms and people on them is too great for them to have anything but a marginal effect on the total economy.

If we confine our view to the 43,000 professional farmers (17% of all such farmers) on the 1–15 acre farm (which we have been considering so far) this is still more true. The acreage at the disposal of these farmers cannot be much more than 350,000 or possibly 400,000 acres of arable land. This is balanced against 11,300,000 acres of arable land under the larger holdings. It is in the sphere of non-economic values that we must look for the national importance of these holdings, their owners and their families.

(b) *15–30 acre holdings*

While the 87,000 15–30 acre farms are, from a purely economic point of view (net output for home consumption and export, especially), much more important than the 89,000 1–15 acre farms, there is still a remarkable similarity in the problems involved. The striking discrepancy repeats itself: the large number of holdings as against relatively small number of acres of crops and pasture, or, indeed, of total land of all kinds. These 15–30 acre holdings, 87,000 out of 379,000 (or if we omit the 61,000 under 1 acre plots, out of 318,000) constitute 23·0% of all holdings or 27% of those over 1 acre; yet they comprise an acreage

of cultivable land of only 1,900,000 acres, about 16·4% of all such land. To sharpen the outlines of the picture : we repeat these two size groups of farms with which we are dealing number 176,000 holdings out of 318,000 (over 1 acre), that is 55% of all such holdings, but contain at most 2,700,000 acres of arable land out of 11,700,000 acres, that is, 23%.

In the 1951 census, some 65,500 persons (55,500 men, 10,000 women) returned themselves as farmers on farms of 15–30 acres in size. This is 28% of all farmers. Of these farms, 43,500 were of less than £15 valuation, and indeed 15,000 of them under £7 valuation.[1]

Helping on these 15–30 acre farms there are a total of ' assisting relatives ' of 42,500 (35,000 men, and 7,500 women). It is interesting to see the pattern of these assisting relatives on the small farms. Sons and daughters, naturally, were in the majority : 32,900 (27,200 sons, 5,700 daughters). Brothers and sisters came next : 6,250 (5,000 brothers, 1,250 sisters). Then came 2,850 other relatives and a few hundred ' in-laws '. All the above, farmers and assisting relatives, are considered as ' gainfully occupied '. But there were, also, a proportionate number of ' not gainfully occupied ' and of children under 14. The exact figures for size-groups of these persons are not readily available. But an estimate based on proportions would put the ' not gainfully occupied ' on these farms at 60,000, and the children at 55,000. This is an estimated gross total of persons living on these 65,000 farms of 223,000 ; 25% of all persons in this social group.

Out of the 65,000 farmers on 15–30 acres, 40,000 are in Connacht and Ulster (29,000 in Connacht : 11,000 in Ulster). Of the Connacht 15–30 acre farms, 23,500 are under £15 valuation ; of the Ulster 11,000 such farms, 7,000 are under £15 valuation.

Just as in the very small farms, so in this size-group there has been a considerable decline in numbers since 1926. They have fallen from 75,000 (1926) to 65,400 (1951) : a decline of nearly 10,000. The persons gainfully occupied on such holdings were in 1926, 147,000 ; in 1951, 108,000 : a fall of 39,000 persons. Obviously the fall in the number of not gainfully occupied persons and of children under 14 has been proportionate.

What has already been said about the importance of the 1–15 acre group applies to this 15–30 acre group with few modifications. To the present writer, the economic issues with regard to these smaller farms (the under 30 acre at least) have always seemed very much less urgent than the human and social ones. The question poses itself : is there some great *strictly economic* advantage to the country or the agricultural industry in having so many small and poorish farms ? They support and

[1] It should be remembered that there are, in addition, 21,500 ' non farmers ' owning and working farms of 15–30 acre size.

occupy the time, skill and energy of very many persons, but at a relatively low material standard or standards of living.

Or, alternatively, is there some considerable non-economic advantage, for which it is worth paying a price in economic values (and in human hardship)—some great social or national or demographic benefit that we draw from this particular distribution of our arable acres among our farming population ?

This particular distribution of two of the nation's most precious assets, farming character and skill on the one hand, and land, on the other, has come about chiefly by the accidental play of social, economic and historical forces, chances and changes. But a deliberate policy, based upon rational calculations has had, for nearly threequarters of a century now, a considerable influence on this distribution and pattern. It is not pure chance or blind economic forces that have placed 1,160,000 acres of arable in holdings (59,000 of them) of 15 to 25 acres, the vast majority of which can give a poorly-remunerated and a very laborious life to their owners. Still less is it chance that has left 28,000 holdings of 25 to 30 acres with 730,000 acres of arable land.

The issue should not be pre-judged or hastily decided. A final approval or condemnation cannot be given without a very long and searching investigation, certainly not on the work or arguments of a single writer or even of a conference. But, *prima facie,* it is an issue of great importance. Any distribution must have its own special effects, social, demographic, economic, which may or may not be desirable. A change in distribution could eliminate or intensify these effects. One thing seems clear from the figures given above : if it is thought desirable to increase greatly the smaller farms, if there *is* some great benefit in having more 1–15 acre or 15–30 acre farms, the amount of land involved is relatively small ; we could double the 1–15 acre farms at the cost of a shift of a mere 800,000 acres —and even to increase the 15–30 acre farms, 1,000,000 acres would give us half as many again as we have. This is the most striking feature of the figures. But is there any such great advantage ?

This is a legitimate and urgent question for our statesmen. It is no good asking our experts in sociology or economics to tell us in the abstract, in theory, academically, the *optimum* number of acres an agricultural holding or farm should contain. That would be a question impossible to answer. They might make an approach to telling us what proportion of the different-sized holdings should be maintained—especially with reference to the town population of various districts. But in the living, quasi-organic body politic and economic, it is the concrete historical and geographical circumstances and the practical possibilities of human life and social conditions that a statesman must consider. We are dealing, however, with a legitimate and urgent question

for statesmen : this question of the size of farms and the distribution of land among the different-sized farms.

It is very easy—and very naïve—to juggle with figures, acres and size-groups on paper and to ' plan ' what ' must ' be done to produce a semi-Utopia. But human organizations are not made up of chessmen on a chequered board, where Destiny (or politicians or economists) ' with men for Pieces play '. Indeed, anyone brought up to enjoy and appreciate Burke is more than cautious to apply even a reasoning logic or (as he would say) ' naked metaphysics ' to social problems.[1] Nevertheless, Burke would not advocate a policy of drift, of *laissez faire,* in social problems. He would ask for careful and critical examination, a rational estimate of human values, and a sound commonsense judgment. ' We must all obey the great laws of change. It is the most powerful law of nature, and the means perhaps of its conservation. All we can do, and that human wisdom can do, is to provide that change shall proceed by insensible degrees. This has all the benefits which may be in change, without any of the inconveniences of mutation.' [2]

Three final remarks seem to be in place. First, good farmers are just as relatively scarce as good businessmen, good engineers, good doctors or good statesmen. They are one of the country's ' scarce resources ', the wise allocation of which is the first task of a political economist to determine. It may be that a number of these ' good farmers ' are unable to give the full benefit of their skill to the nation mainly because of the limitations of the acres they have at their disposal and of their credit facilities. There is a rigidity or immobility in the farming industry greater than that in other walks of life.

Secondly, as in other economic activities, so in farming there is an ' economic unit of production '. A too small unit of production may, by its very nature, be uneconomic and wasteful of labour, skill, managerial competence, capital. In farming, especially, which almost necessarily consists of diverse ' enterprises ', (interlocking with each other) and welded into a unity, the farm must be big enough to ensure that each ' enterprise ' (milch cows or crops or pigs or poultry, etc.) is able to be an economic unit.

Thirdly, we should be wise to be highly critical, even sceptical, of international comparisons, which are so easy to make, so likely to mislead and so commonly made. To take but one example : Holland has an area of 13,000 square miles ; Ireland (26 counties) 26,000 square miles. But Holland has a ' home market ' of 10,300,000 persons ; Ireland

[1] Speaking of human organization Burke says somewhere : ' And this is a choice not of one day or one set of people, not a tumultuary and giddy choice ; it is a deliberate election of ages of generations ; it is a constitution made by what is ten thousand times better than choice, it is made by the peculiar circumstances, occasions, tempers, dispositions and moral, civil and social habitudes of the people, which disclose themselves only in a long space of time.'

[2] Letter to Sir Hercules Langrische.

3,000,000. Moreover, and of vital significance, into the area (roughly) of Munster, Holland has packed 12 towns of over 100,000 population (including Amsterdam, 870,000, Rotterdam 720,000, and the Hague, 600,000), 19 other towns over 50,000 in population, and 36 other towns over 20,000 in population. What valid comparison can be made between such a country and Ireland? If Munster had even 10 towns of 20,000 inhabitants, does anyone believe that its agricultural industry would be unaffected? As the Commission on Population so truly stressed: the key to our economic and demographic problems lies in the growth of our provincial towns. And it may be added (though the Commission did not add it): the key to the growth of our provincial towns lies in the presence of a relatively high-income (per head) of our farming people much more than the presence of factories in these towns. If the farmers have a per head high purchasing power, the factories, the businesses and the services will soon appear in the towns.

Far too much attention (in the opinion of the present writer) has been paid directly to the productive sector of the economy, especially to industrial factories, as an instrument for influencing population growth or maintenance or for stopping 'the flight from the land'. The Report on Population shows clearly that to maintain even the present population of a county like Donegal would require a factory employing 500 or 600 people to be erected in the county every year or every second year. If an increase in marriages then took place, as would be most likely, the problem would quickly start repeating itself. One reason for this is the considerable slack to be taken up in other sectors of the economy: the present transport service could cater for the needs of several hundred new factories; the retail shops in the towns could (without increasing their staff) handle probably twice their present turnover, and so on in the financial, professional and other sectors.

Possibly, an alternative, or at least a supplementary, policy directly attacking the consumption problem might produce as good or better results. It is around groups with high incomes *per capita*, and so high and varied demand for consumption, that populations gather; not around low income groups. Kerry and West Cork (the present writer believes) would soon become very different counties, if a small area, say a strip three miles deep along the coast from Glengarriff along to Waterville, was declared a district in which income tax would be charged at not more than 2s. 6d. in the £, and death duties would be abolished or else made a small fraction of what they are elsewhere. To qualify, of course, persons would have to be in actual residence for seven months of the year and, for death duties, to have lived in the district for five, seven or ten years. The natural attractions of this particular strip, climate, scenery, etc., would make it a Riviera or a Channel Island for many people, anxious to avoid the ever more confiscatory taxes of modern

states. As very little income tax or death duty is paid there now, the State would lose little. But the demand for commodities and services would rise, with a 'multiplying' effect, and spread prosperity far outside the area.

III

PRODUCTIVITY OF SMALL FARMS

The recent Farm Surveys have shown, what might have been suspected, that there is really no 'average' farm in Ireland. Indeed there is no 'average' farm even among those of the same size group or in the same locality. As one of the Surveys says: 'an average, to be meaningful, should be a representative member of the group from which it is derived.' With so wide a range of variation there can scarcely be any 'representative' farm, average or other.

The academic economist receives his first set back when he presents some of the figures of the Survey to a working farmer. He may learn, for instance, that a dairy farmer, within three miles of the centre of Dublin, could be keeping ten Jersey cows giving 800 gallons of milk each, on an area of about an acre. They are well housed, milked by machinery and have barely enough land to walk about on. As the farmer buys all his feeding stuffs from merchants, his 'output per acre' is something like £1,200. Or he is told about 500 pigs being fattened in houses, not covering an acre, on offal and swill from some institution, and leaving an output per acre of literally thousands of pounds.

We are not concerned with this type of specialized intensive enterprise. Undoubtedly market gardening, glass-houses, poultry, pigs and dairying can give very large 'outputs per acre'; and there is no valid comparison between such enterprises and the 'average' farm in the country, so far as 'output per acre' is concerned. The snag is hidden elsewhere; and these enterprises are not such gold mines as their output per acre would at first sight suggest.

The Surveys, however, offer useful figures dealing with a wide variety of real farms, enabling significant comparisons to be made. A very few of these figures, which give some idea of the financial results of certain small farms in 1955–56, are added in this note. They are taken from the Report of the National Farm Survey, 1955-56.

The figures refer to the 'best' (or 'better than average') farms in each case. Three size groups are taken 5–15 acres, 15–30 acres and for purposes of comparison 50–100 acres (a 'two-man' farm size).

The same size group in each of two regions has been taken: (a) the South Region (Munster plus Kilkenny), and (b) the North and West Region.

In the S.R.[1] size group 5–15 acres, 21 farms were brought under consideration, each having a 'Labour and Family Income per adjusted

[1] S.R.=South Region: N.W.=North and West Region.

acre'[1] of £18 and over. The average area farmed (adjusted) was 11·4 acres. In the N.W. 5–15 acre group, 25 farms (with £18 and over Labour etc., income) were selected, the average area farmed being 11·0 acres.

In the next size group, 15–30 acres, in S.R. there were 49 farms (Labour etc., income £14 and over), and an average area farmed of 23·0 acres. In N.W. there were 58 farms in this size group (with £14 and over Labour etc., income) and the average area farmed was 21·3 acres.

Finally, in the larger size group 50–100 acres, in S.R. there were 105 farms (income £12 and over), and the average area farmed was 63·5 acres. In N.W. the number of farms was 15 (same income bracket) and the average area farmed was 52·0 acres.

Item	*5–15 acre group* (£18 and over : Lab. and Fam. Income)	*15–30 acre group* (£14 and over : Lab. and Fam. Income)	*50–100 acre group* (£12 and over : Income)
	S.R. 21 farms (11·4 acres) N.W. 25 farms (11·0 acres)	S.R. 49 farms (23·0 acres) N.W. 58 farms (21·3 acres)	S.R. 105 farms (63·5 acres) N.W. 15 farms (52·0 acres)
(i) Total Output :	£	£	£
S.R.	589	809	1,685
N.W.	350	558	1,185
(ii) Family Farm Income :	£	£	£
S.R.	344	515	879
N.W.	269	390	728
(iii) Labour Force (per farm)	Units	Units	Units
S.R.	1·29	1·75	2·61
N.W.	1·32	1·69	2·40
(iv) Output Per Adjusted Acre:	£	£	£
S.R.	47·2	35·2	26·5
N.W.	31·7	26·2	22·8
(v) Output per Unit of Total Labour :	£	£	£
S.R.	418	464	646
N.W.	265	330	493
(vi) Output per £100 Expenses :	£	£	£
S.R.	286	289	260
N.W.	434	364	320
(vii) Family Farm Income per Unit Family Labour :	£	£	£
S.R.	273	306	440
N.W.	204	241	364

[1] This term is used to include the pasturage equivalent of rough grazing and commonage.

There is little that need be said on these figures, but an underlining or two may stress a personal point of view. 'Total output' means sales less purchases (of livestock and crops from other farmers) plus increase in stocks: it includes the farm produce (milk, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, poultry) consumed by the farm household. The above £350 is the 'best' for the N.W. region: the 'worst' was £204 in the same region.

'Family farm income' has to remunerate the farm family (and, as we have seen, this consists of relatives assisting and others 'not gainfully occupied', and children under 14) for its labour, management and interest on its own capital. It, too, includes the value of farm produce consumed by the family. The 'worst' figure for the N.W. region 5–15 acres was £114.

The 'labour force' is a very important figure. Long before accurate scientific farm surveys were common, it was widely held that 30 acres was a 'one-man farm' and 60 acres a 'two-man farm'. With some help from his wife and, at harvest time, neighbourly cooperation, a man could, if he were industrious, manage a 30-acre farm. But there is an obvious grave disadvantage in such a farm: the growing sons and daughters will find that the farm is 'over-staffed'. Greater intensity of working and certain additional 'enterprises' may help. But on the normal farm there is full employment for one unit of labour for every 25–30 acres, and no more. If the father marries young, or even at thirty, he will have grown boys and girls on the farm when he is fifty, with twenty years more of work and interest still left to him. There has been (and probably still is) a large amount of technical 'under-employment' on many small farms for this reason.

A 60-acre farm, on the other hand, is too large for a single unit of labour. But a young married man can work it for fifteen or twenty years with one hired man, and then when his sons are grown can bring one, at least, possibly two in as partners.

The figures of the Survey go some way to confirming the above popular way of looking at the problem. This is, of course, a vital aspect of the whole agricultural and rural problem: what economic labour force or how much economic and truly productive employment can be and should be given actually 'on the land', on farms, producing crops and live-stock. Machinery is having a very definite effect here. But both theory and history seem to show that the numbers 'on the land' will increase only with the increase of (i) a home market and (ii) specifically urban or provincial town markets. Countries like Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium have both: a huge home market and a great number of large provincial towns. Denmark, for instance, has only 23% of its 4,300,000 inhabitants (on 16,500 sq. miles: a little over half Ireland's twenty-six counties) engaged in agricultural production 'on the land'.

Consequently, it has a first home market of 3,800,000 for the produce of 11,500 sq. miles (only 73% of its area is arable); and of this market, Copenhagen has 1,000,000 customers, Aarhus, 116,000, Odense, 100,000, Aalborg, 80,000, Esbjerg, 48,000, Randers, 40,000 and Harsens, 36,000—all in an area less than Leinster and Munster combined. With such a home market and proportionately so little farm produce being consumed by the agricultural producers, a true 'surplus export' trade can be more easily sustained.

The 'output per adjusted acre' is another key figure, but one which is often given altogether undue importance. Output per acre is not the only or best test of efficiency: by increasing fertilizers, one can increase output per acre—and lose money. But it has its own national importance.

'Output per unit of labour' (adult man working fifty-two weeks a year) is an essential figure, too often neglected. Output per man-hour would be still more important, if it could be got. The writer has seen some Tyrolese farms where the output per man-hour was about as low as it could be. The whole family, even young children, perhaps seven or eight persons altogether, used to work the whole clock round for a very (relatively) small total output, though it worked out a high output per acre. The above figure for the 'best' N.W. 5–15 acre farm is £265—about £5 a week; the 'worst' was £160—about £3 a week.

It has always been known that the smaller-sized farm had normally a larger output per acre and a smaller output per unit of labour. The relation between these two outputs is so important that it is worth giving some fuller figures from the Survey.

1955	Total Output per adj. acre.		Total Output per Unit of Total Labour.[1]	
Acres	*South Reg.*	*N & W Reg.*	*South Reg.*	*N & W Reg.*
	£	£	£	£
5— 15 ...	37·4	18·1	431[2](?)	223
15— 30 ...	26·3	16·2	383	282
30— 50 ...	24·1	14·7	496	325
50–100 ...	20·7	14·6	568	420
100–200 ...	18·5	10·7	778	544
Over 200 ...	13·8	—	838	—

These are average figures for all the farms in each group in each region. While, therefore, they give us clearly the normal trend, they are somewhat unrealistic when we apply them to actual farms. For

[1] Unfortunately, the 'unit of labour' is not 'man-hour', which would be difficult to obtain. It is an 'adult working for 52 weeks'. But, as everyone knows, these 'weeks' may be 36, 40, 48, 54 or 60 hours, or more.

[2] This figure is remarkable.

instance, if we take the ' best ' 5–15 acre farms in the South Region, the output per acre is £47·2, and per unit of labour £418. In the North and West Region, the figures for the ' best ' are £31·7 and £265. Comparing these with the ' best ' 50–100 acre holdings in the same two regions, we find : output per acre S. Region £26·5, N.W. Region £22·8 ; per unit of labour S. Region £749, N.W. Region £493.

But the question remains : what is the optimum, or, at least, humanly fair, position to aim at—a large output per acre (beneficial if secured at a low cost and if markets are available), or a large output per unit of labour ? There are two obviously vicious extremes : maximum output per acre with minimum output per unit of labour ; or minimum output per acre with maximum output per unit of labour. But where precisely is the golden mean ? It is both a difficult and a heat-generating question. But looking at the figures of the Survey and taking a reasoned and informed guess, an output per adjusted acre farmed (at present prices and costs) of around £28–£30, an employment of 1 unit of labour per 25–30 acres, and an output per unit of labour of £400 deserves earnest consideration as a basis of discussion for a *normal* target. Such figures are not likely to be reached on farms of less than 60 arable or cultivated acres of reasonably good land.

It is true that with more efficient methods, more capital, better education and a number of other factors, a farm of 60 acres could (and we hope will) give better results. And equally true that a minority of farms of 15–30 acres may be able to give satisfactory results, better even than the ' best ' mentioned in the Surveys. But progress will inevitably be slow. Moreover, it is probable that a number of 60 acre or less farms are producing even better or much better results. But we want a reasonable target for tens of thousands of farms and hundreds of thousands of acres : reasonable for the nation and reasonable for the individual farmer. It is not doing the nation much good, and never will, to have tens of thousands of its farmers with low incomes : less, very much less, than £200 family income for fifty-two weeks' family work. On the other hand, it would not do the nation much good to have a large portion of its 11,700,000 arable acres giving an output of £12 or £15 per acre or less.

A final few words on another useful concept : ' cash output ' and ' cash family income '.

The ' cash *output* per acre ' is some indication of how much a farm contributes to our home market and our exports. It is equal to sales off the farm *less* purchases and does *not* include *output* consumed by the household of the farm.

Except for the South Region (where, evidently, the creamery industry has a major effect on the figures), there is an unexpected similarity in the cash output per acre for the various *sizes* of holding. There is, of course,

a noticeable difference as between *regions*. The following table gives the figures for 1955 which (may it be recalled) are averages for widely varying farms :

CASH OUTPUT PER ADJUSTED ACRE

	East and Mid.	*South Reg.*	*North Reg.*
	£	£	£
5— 15 ...	16·5	31·0	11·2
15— 30 ...	16·0	21·9	11·6
30— 50 ...	16·2	21·2	11·3
50—100 ...	16·0	18·6	12·1
100—200 ...	14·2	17·2	10·7
Over 200 ...	14·7	13·0	—

This can be put another way by bringing in the figures for home consumption. The proportion of output consumed by the farm household is very much greater where the total output is low, *i.e.*, on small farms. For instance, in the North and West Region, on the 5–15 acre farms, out of a total output of £274, £105 was consumed by the household. In the same region on the 50–100 acre farms, out of a total output of £826, only £143 was consumed by the household. The one clear exception is a dairy farm in a creamery area, concentrating on an output of liquid milk, combined with pig and poultry enterprises. Such a farm will sell an unusually high proportion of its output off the farm. For instance, a Munster dairy farm of 15–30 acres will consume only £105 out of a total output of £639 ; while a North or West farm of the same size will consume £120 out of the much smaller output of £421.

Yet another indication that helps to form a picture of the economy of these small farms is the actual cash *income* of the family living and working on the farm. In 1955-56, for all regions combined[1], the average of the best 5–15 acres and 15–30 acres farms was £184 per annum and £280, respectively.

To secure even these small cash incomes, the cash *output* per adjusted acre on these farms had to be £28·6 and £22·3. How much better, *i.e.*, more efficient and productive, these ' *best* ' farms were can be judged by observing that the ' averagely good ' farms of these sizes had only a cash *output* per adjusted acre of £11·1 and £13·0.

It is significant to note that the cash *output* per adjusted acre was remarkably even (taking all regions combined, which, as has been said, is an unrealistic standard) over *all* sizes of farms above 15 acres and below 200 acres : £22·3 for 15–30 acres ; £23·8 for 30–50 ; £23·4 for 50–100 ; and £22·8 for 100–200.

The family cash *income*, per adjusted acre farmed, which was secured

[1] This is an unsatisfactory figure, but the only one available.

from this cash output was £16·3 for 5–15 acres, and £12·4 for 15–30 acres. The ' averagely good ' for these groups was £4·5 and £6·6.

The family cash income per unit of labour in the best of the small holdings was £144 per annum for 5–15 acres, and £176 for 15–30 acres. The ' average good ' farms in these categories secured £54 in the 5–15 acres, and £105 in the 15–30 acres.

These are the figures given in the 1955–56 Report. In the second Survey, however, we find a figure which enables us to compare the best farms of each region (and not an average of the whole country). In the South Region, the cash *output* per adjusted acre of the average 5–15 acre farm was £31·0 in 1955 and £31·5 in 1956. In the North and West Region the corresponding figures were £11·2 (1955) and £9·6 (1956).

In the 15–30 acre group, the cash *output* was, in South Region, £21·9 (1955) and £21·3 (1956) ; in the North and West £11·6 (1955) and £10·8 (1956).

When we recall that these figures, roughly but reasonably, may be applied to some 63,000 holdings of 5–15 acres and another 87,000 holdings of 15–30 acres, embracing altogether 2,800,000 acres (total area) or 2,500,000 acres of cultivable land, we can see the proportions of the problem from a national point of view. The figures for the population and the labour force on these small holdings have been given above. And we must remember that the majority of these 5–15 and 15–30 acre holdings are in Connacht and the three Ulster counties : the exact figures have been given above. It is there that the rather low figures (of the ' best ' farms) for cash output per acre are found : £11·2 and £9·2.

The author once again asks tolerance for the ' roundness ' of the figures, for the fact that the totals do not always represent the sum of the detailed figures, and for some possible inconsistencies. The error in any case is not more than plus or minus 2 per cent and does not appreciably affect the picture. The absolutely accurate figures are easily available from official publications, should anyone wish to have the thousands, hundreds, and tens. But too strict accuracy, strangely enough, often confuses and blurs the general aspect and truth of a problem, in statistics at any rate.

The Worm as Hero

by BRIAN T. CLEEVE

IT is the strange distinction of modern literature that it has turned its back on life. For four thousand years literature was concerned with the struggle of man against his environment, yet now, when in the real world man is within sight of victory in that struggle, or at least as much victory as mortality allows him, the writers have turned tail and fled.

It is not simply that modern literature is overwhelmingly concerned with defeat. Since literature reflects life, and life involves death, the defeat of the hero has always been a climactic part of literature. Yet invariably that defeat carried with it the promise of resurrection : the apotheosis of the dead hero himself, and the renewal of the worldly struggle by the dead hero's son. But during the last fifty years a growing band of influential writers have held out to us a new ideal—the hero who admits defeat without struggling, the worm as hero.

In their books the hero never tries to succeed, because from the beginning he is paralysed by the certainty of defeat. And in case we might think that at least another, more virile hero, might have succeeded, and that life is not completely hopeless, we are very often told quite clearly that victory is impossible ; the goal for which the hero might have struggled does not exist at all.

James Joyce provides innumerable examples of this double defeatism. Take, for example, the story 'Eveline ' in *Dubliners*. The heroine lives a life of drudgery and terror with a brutal father. A man wants to marry her and take her away from Ireland. She is on the point of leaving with him, when she draws back in a sudden frenzy of fear. No! No! No! It was impossible. She does not go. But you may say, another girl of stronger character could have gone. Eveline herself might have a second chance. And then you notice that the destination chosen for the couple by Joyce was Buenos Ayres. And the afterthought is left in your mind that if Eveline had gone with her Frank, she might have been worse off than ever.

In Franz Kafka's *The Trial*, the hero ' K ' experiences a horrifying double life. On the one hand he is a modestly successful bank official. But beneath this surface of reality he is the accused in a mysterious process of law. He never learns what crime he is accused of, or who is accusing him, nor does he try to resist. He simply goes from dusty waiting room to dustier office seeking information and whatever ' justice ' his persecutors may deal in. But not only does he fail to find them.

In the end, still ignorant of what it is all about, he is taken out and shot without any pretence of justice at all. His persecutors break even their own topsy-turvy rules, and we realize that ' K ' was seeking something which did not exist at all, just as Eveline was offered an illusory escape from misery.

In Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* the salesman kills himself just as his wife makes the last payment on their house. ' I search and search and I search', she says, ' and I can't understand it, Willy. I made the last payment on the house today. Today, dear. And there'll be nobody home. (A sob rises in her throat.) We're free and clear. We're free.'

And to make things worse still, you realize that if Willy Loman had not committed suicide, the house would have had to be mortgaged again, because he has just lost his job, and he is too old and ineffective ever to get a new one. Victory, success, achievement of any kind is impossible. The dice are so loaded that no matter which way one throws them the result is failure.

As a final example, let us examine an Irish story that has achieved a great deal of critical success during the last few years, James Plunkett's *The Eagles and the Trumpets*. This is a story deeply influenced by Joyce's *Dubliners*. It begins with a girl librarian in a country town booking a room in the local hotel for a young man. She is expecting him to arrive from Dublin. Meanwhile in Dublin the young man, a clerk in an office who has saved six pounds for the week-end, is preparing to visit her.

The story continues like a fugue, switching from the girl's theme to the boy's, and telling the reader both how they first met and what is happening to each of them now. The girl waits for the young man's bus, but he never arrives because one of his two friends in the office borrows four pounds from him and fails to pay it back. The girl waits for the next bus, with increasing hopelessness, while in Dublin the young man drinks what little money he has left. He winds up sick drunk outside a slum grog shop, and the girl goes off for the evening with an ugly, elderly commercial traveller whose wife spent fifteen of their eighteen years of marriage in a lunatic asylum. The philosophy of the story is summed up in a passage between the girl and the boy during their first acquaintance.

> ' It's only about two hours by bus,' he said. ' I can get down to see you sometimes. There'll be week-ends.'
>
> ' You won't, though,' she said sadly.
>
> ' Who's going to stop me ? '
>
> ' You think you will now but you won't. A holiday is a holiday. It comes to an end and you go home and then you forget.'

The girl, the Worm as Heroine, is despairing in advance. But for the wrong reason. She is to be robbed even of the satisfaction of being

prophetically right. The boy does not forget. Just before his friend is about to use friendship's blackmail to borrow four of his six pounds, the boy says : ' I've tried to get down and see her twice but it didn't come off. The first time you and I drank the money. The second, I didn't get it saved in time. But I'm going to-day '.

And he too, of course, is quite wrong. Perhaps fifty miles separate him from his girl, but in James Plunkett's world they constitute as impassable a gulf as separated Lancelot from the Grail. Nor will James Plunkett's hero ever have a son Galahad to conquer where he has failed. And even if he did, the Grail would turn out to be a tin mug with a hole in the bottom. For in this story too there is the double defeat. The characters are so drawn, and the story is so told, that you know what would happen if the boy ever did go back to the country town. He would be unable to stay because he would never be able to get a job there. He would quarrel with his girl for refusing to come back to Dublin with him. And he would drink himself to death. No slightest ray of hope lightens the despair.

It would be easy to multiply these examples indefinitely, but there is no point in doing so. Anyone who reads much modern literature can supply examples at his leisure. What is important is to examine the trend in literature which these stories illustrate. Why does it exist? When and how did it begin? And what is its effect on literature in general?

* * *

The first two questions need to be taken together, for the ' Why ' of this trend is bound up with the ' When ' of its beginning. Until the Industrial Revolution, writers lived in a world which in a sense they led. Henry VIII might behead Sir Thomas More, but in spite of that More could govern his *Utopia* far better than Henry could govern his England. Langland drew an appalling picture of the world as he knew it, but it was still a world which he believed his Plowman might set to rights. There was hope for the future, and it was the writer's privilege and task to express that hope.

But with the Industrial and Scientific Revolutions of the last two centuries that task and privilege seems to have passed to the scientists and technicians. What could only be a pious hope in print has become a reality in the test-tube. Where Langland could only imagine a world free from disease, the World Health Organisation is now within measurable distance of achieving it. The writer has been outbid. As Spengler said in *The Decline of the West,* the day of the artist in our culture has ended. This is the day of the engineer.

But just as his old role of hopeful prophet disappeared, a new one revealed itself, that of Jeremiah. For in spite of the Industrial Revolution

the world seemed no better off. If the scientists were all crying ' Hurrah ', there was a need for someone else to cry ' *Miserere* ' as a counterbalance. Dickens began to write of the industrial slums. The Russians began to write of peasant misery. Balzac, Zola, de Maupassant probed the unchanging depths of man's natural depravity, still unaffected by man's conquest of Nature.

It would be wrong to call this a new departure in literature, because despair and depravity have always been colours on the writer's palette. But where in the past they were used as contrast to man's eventual apotheosis, as Dante used Hell and Purgatory to make Paradise appear more glorious, the writers of the Industrial Age tended to concentrate more and more on the colours of darkness, and to use less and less light. The ' happy ending ' became a resented necessity, a sop to the library reader, until with the present century it has become the despised mark of ' non-literary ' work.

Obviously more factors were at work here than the need to counter nineteenth-century optimism. One was the growing realization on the part of ' creative ' writers that they were no longer influential in the world at large, and they tended to translate their personal frustration into frustrated literature. When Katherine Mansfield wrote her famous *Ma Parker*, about the charwoman who could not find enough privacy even to have a ' good cry ', there were surely more factors influencing the authoress than objective truth. Again, the Wales created by Caradoc Evans, in stories which have deeply influenced almost all modern Welsh writers, is a reflection of Evan's own bitter disappointments rather than of the real country in which he lived. Just as ' Mrs Dale's Diary ' gives a totally false impression of life by ignoring everything that won't fit into a China tea cup, so Evans gives a false impression by concentrating on damnation. Take for example the story in which the old woman starves herself to buy a coloured Bible for her preacher. The Bible salesman cheats her. The preacher values the present so little that he gives it away. And the old woman dies on the bare floor of her cottage and is eaten by rats. This is not the essential truth about Wales, about life, or preachers, or salesmen, or old women, or anything else. It is simply one bitter, disappointed man's bile spilling into print. But a generation of Welsh story writers, who take their opinions from what they read, rather than from what they see, have grown up with the nagging belief that this kind of thing is Life, and Art, and Reality, and that to write differently, as many of them do, thank Heaven, is somehow a compromise with Mammon.

On a wider scale, although a lower artistic level, Graham Greene is doing much the same kind of thing. It is sometimes claimed that Greene throws back to the great tradition of ' believing ' writers. But I have certainly never gained an impression of belief in anything from

his books, unless it is belief in damnation and defeat. The atmosphere of his books seems to me a despairing atheism, partially disguised by a veneer of Calvinism rather than Catholicism, and a pretty hopeless kind of Calvinism at that. As in the case of Evans, a personal despair is blinding the writer to the real world he lives in, in which men live as well as die, in which they can be saved as well as damned.

But more important than this personal factor was the effect of psychoanalysis on writing. The realization that man was a victim of forces lurking in his subconscious, that he might never see by the light of reason, had an immense effect on writers already conditioned for despair by other powerful influences. Kafka is the prime example of a man defeated by his subconscious. Each of his heroes is surrounded by invisible, irrational enemies, unconquerable because they are unknowable. And in this world of shadowy terrors the victories of the scientists are meaningless. What good would it do ' K ' to get into an aeroplane and fly to America ? His persecutors would contrive to be on the plane, or to meet him as he landed in New York.

Samuel Beckett's characters live in this same desolate half-world of the subconscious. Defeated, cheated, despairing ; unsure if they are alive or dead, they represent the final degradation of man. Julian Green, Celine, Sartre and his followers, all seem moved by hatred of man rather than love. Their object is to destroy their characters, and in destroying them to rob them of every last shred of human dignity. Their symbol might be Kafka's hero who wakes one day to find he has become a beetle. For a time he finds pleasure in scuttling up the walls of his room. But his sister throws an apple at him that sticks in his shell, half paralysing him. As it rots it slowly poisons him, and eventually he dies. This is not literature. It is pure Nihilism.

' Well, what of it ? ' the reader may argue. ' Nobody is forced to read these writers' books. If you don't like them, leave them alone.' And, of course, that is what the vast majority of readers are doing. Unfortunately there is no serious alternative in modern fiction for readers to turn to. The Nihilists, the Existentialists, and the other apostles of despair may have a comparatively small readership, but it is an immensely influential one, including as it does that small group of critics, thinkers and talkers, themselves of a like mind with the Nihilists, which is able to create or destroy literary reputations, and which accordingly exerts immense pressure on all writers.

Every writer, even if his natural bent is optimism, or merely entertainment, hankers for critical esteem, and if he can obtain this only by bringing pessimism into his work, he will be tempted to do it. It is only necessary to glance at the nearest ' literary page ' to see these processes of pressure and submission at work. As I write this I have beside me *Time* and the *Daily Telegraph,* neither of which are ' intellectual ' journals. Both would

probably claim to speak for and to the plain, moderately thoughtful man, the sort of man who likes to get on with his job of building the world's roads or managing the world's factories, and who turns to books of an evening mainly for relaxation. Yet this is a *Telegraph* review of a recent edition of Nathanael West's novels :

> They (the novels, which were written twenty-odd years ago) remain alive . . . because his vision that ' Life is terrible ' forces the same sort of Existentialist shudder as we find in the novels of Sartre. West speaks here, through close observation of the degeneracy, the sexual failure and seediness of the Thirties, in the accents of the Fifties. In him despair is complete, comic and entirely absurd.

Time magazine heads its review of a new collection of short stories ' The Canker of Comedy '. The column begins :

> In the title piece of this strange short-story collection, an emotionally disturbed child kicks his father in the groin. In (another) a man and wife take turns in beating each other up . . . In *Sound of Talking* a crippled husband makes his wife share his suffering. Almost all the women characters are fat and fortyish ; almost all the men are shamed and unhappy. The poor are most often feeble-minded, the rich vicious . . . his purpose is to reveal the horror underlying the humor.

The Daily Telegraph and *Time* reviewers appear whole-heartedly to approve of these books, and commend them to readers as samples of what literature should be, and to other writers, by implication, as the kind of books that win critical acclaim. Now, if the influence of the Worm as Hero has reached this far it obviously cannot be dismissed as of little significance to literature in general. Good writers who would normally choose to write about success as well as failure are being seduced into concentrating on death and despair, either because the critics have persuaded them that that is how books should be written, or simply because they hunger for the critical praise which by now, as we have seen, even middlebrow critics tend to award only to despairing books. And the merely competent writer, with no ambition beyond entertaining his readers, is tempted to give a despairing twist to his work, simply because it is fashionable.

The effect of this on literature in general and on the mass of ordinary readers, without whom literature cannot live, is easily seen. Where a generation ago a best-seller was likeliest to be a novel, to-day it is likeliest to be a travel book or a biography, a work of non-fiction by a writer who is very often not a professional. Whereas thirty years ago there were probably a hundred magazines in England and America that carried fiction of a worthwhile standard, to-day there are barely a dozen. Readers

are turning away in droves from writers who refuse to give them what they want. They are turning to television, comic strips and all the other entertainments which the despairing intellectual regards as the death of the soul.

I have no wish to use the word 'intellectual' as a pejorative. But I know of no other which conveys immediately quite the same shade of meaning in this context. My argument in this article is not that a writer is 'bad' because he is an 'intellectual'. But that an 'intellectual' is bad as a writer when he ceases to have contact with his readers, and with the life that they live and represent. And to-day there is a rapidly growing gulf between the intellectual writers and the broad mass of people who could have been their readers.

The intellectuals' defence in this argument is a simple one, of course : that of truth. They claim that they write of what they see, and that what they see causes them to despair. If the reader cannot accept their vision, if he is too blinded by his hunger for easy comfort, then he must throw down their books and look at television. It is his loss more than the writers'.

But as I have already argued in the case of Evans and Greene, this argument is a lie. To take another example, in the reviews I have just quoted, *The Daily Telegraph* reviewer writes majestically of 'the sexual failure' of the Thirties. What exactly does a phrase like this mean? And how 'true' it is? If it meant anything, it would describe a general impotence in all adults during that decade. This is ludicrously false, yet for both writer and reviewer it seemed a clever thing to write, and presumably a 'true' one. But certainly, any truth here was subjective, and had no relation to real life.

In James Plunkett's story, which I described at length earlier in this article, Plunkett offers as 'true' a world in which a man in regular employment finds it impossible to travel fifty miles by bus in a peaceful country to visit a girl he loves. Even a man on the dole could have hitch-hiked the distance. Since Plunkett's clerk still had two pounds in his pocket when he had lent his friend four, he could easily have afforded the journey, even if he could no longer afford to treat the girl as lavishly as he had hoped. Any ordinary man would have got on the next bus and made his apologies on arrival. But Plunkett is not writing about an ordinary man. He is not writing about a man at all. He is writing about a worm.

Again and again, as one takes these despairing views of life and holds them up for comparison with reality, one sees their falsity. In a world which is conquering disease and famine, in which the ordinary man lives in greater security and prosperity than his ancestors have ever done since Adam left paradise, the 'serious' writers can find no better hymn to sing than 'the sexual failure' of the Thirties, and the impossibility of

taking a bus ride. Certainly hydrogen bombs may obliterate all buses, and their fall-out may cause a real sexual failure to Eternity, but the writers have given up the struggle against evil in advance, leaving it to the politicians, the engineers, the scientists, the plain men who have largely ceased to read the writers' despairing books. In other words the writers are abandoning, or have already abandoned, their chance of influencing the world they live in. And having abandoned life, they will find before long that life has abandoned them. In one or two more generations this type of book will no longer be written, because it will no longer be read. But the important question is what effect its death will have on literature in general. Will all literature, all serious writing of fiction, die with it ?

* * *

While historical comparisons can be misleading, it is worth remembering some comparable cases. In the middle ages Welsh court poetry and literature diverged further and further from popular taste. It was not there a question of pessimism, of course, but of the vanity of a clique of technical experts. Poetry became a matter of involved rhyme-schemes and abstruse allusions which were unintelligible to the general audience, often intentionally so. The result was that Welsh court poetry died, and Welsh literature passed into the hands of the hedge poets and balladmongers. An example on a grander scale is that of Milton. When he selected the English poets whom he thought worthy to rank as his own predecessors, he named only Chaucer and Spenser, and I suspect that he had his doubts about Chaucer. He set himself to create an English poetry compounded of latinity and Spenserian symbolism, which must now be the most respected unread body of verse in English. Popular taste flowed in another direction, the line which leads from Chaucer through Shakespeare to Dickens and Thackeray, Trollope and Conrad, and which to-day, through the ' treason of the clerks ' that we are discussing, has lost itself in the marshes and ditches of ' popular ' writing, for films and television, and magazines. But if literature is to survive, it will be thanks to these ' hedge and ditch ' writers, and not to the intellectuals.

Whenever writers set themselves ' above ' popular taste, the likelihood is that the writers are wrong, and popular taste right. And if this be true when artistic values alone are in question, it is ten times as true when such fundamentals as despair and hope, life and death form the issue. If we accepted this despairing trend in literature, we would all commit suicide ; not by such active means perhaps as shooting ourselves, for the writers would have taught us that any such attempt must end in shameful failure : the gun would misfire, or we would simply cripple ourselves.

No, we would merely cease to live. And one can see that this is not too great an exaggeration merely by looking around one here in Ireland. Too many of our educated, thoughtful people have taken their views of life from Joyce and his imitators. They have grown up in the belief that anything so decisive as catching a bus, keeping an appointment, holding down a job, is impossible. That any attempt to achieve the most ordinary ambition is certain to end in failure. And accordingly they live on doles from their less educated parents who have never read anything but the Sunday papers.

From this fate the ordinary man is saved by the same instinct that saves animals from eating poisonous berries. He turns away from this literature of despair because something deep inside him recognizes that it is opposed to everything he believes in, that it is dedicated to death, while he by his nature is dedicated to life. He may not put it like that. He may simply say that life isn't really like these books, which means in fact that they are artistically bad. Or he may say that they give him 'the willies'; that they make him feel like cutting his throat ; which means in fact that they are morally bad. But whatever way he expresses himself, the net result is that he turns away from the Worm as Hero with a shudder of repulsion. And the tragedy of it is that he turns away from literature as well.

If he is to be won back, it can only be by writers who are concerned with life, and not with death, with hope and not despair. Not the pseudo-life and salesman's ' hope ' of the radio serials, but real life and real hope, life lived with dignity and courage, and hope centring on victory over death and evil. These have been the concern of literature since it first began. They must be its concern until the end.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

I—*by* SEAN O'FAOLAIN

WHILE not wishing to comment in detail on Dr Cleeve's paper, I would like to make one point arising out of his general approach to his subject. It is a very elementary point but it is, strangely, never adverted to often enough by readers of fiction. It is that fiction is fiction because it is not true. It is a feigning or figment. It is a work of the imagination.

True, a novel employs certain common actualities ; but we are invariably lost if we are tempted to rest on the actuality and do not seek for the imaginative light thrown on them and by them. So, in the above

paper, the critic, in dealing with Mr Plunkett's story, asks—I trust with his tongue in his cheek—the most flat-footed questions about the actualities and none about the imaginative light they throw on Mr Plunkett's mind : *e.g.*, he asks why the young man did not spend the couple of pounds he had to travel the few miles which separated him from his girl. One almost expects him to produce a bus time-table to prove how easily it could be done. But the whole point is that it could easily be done. What is at issue is the destiny which prevents the hero from behaving normally. It is for the critic to comment on the nature of this destiny. Mr Plunkett is interested only in depicting this destined failure of the will symbolically, so that he might just as well have chosen to re-enact the parable of Orpheus and Eurydice—which would have, perhaps, been better if the main interest of every Irish reader of his story is forced to centre around the CIE's bus-tables.

This distance between actuality and interest, and even meaning, has been stressed over and over again by modern critics.

The fact seems to be that a novelist does not wish to be a sociologist, and his critics must not be. He is setting off a rocket of the imagination from a base in actuality. This means that the connection between actuality and art is purely functional and subsidiary. Proust used French society to convey his ideas about ' essences '. Virginia Woolf used actualities as the blackboard and the chalk with which to compose coloured arabesques and depict falling fireworks. Marivaux poured his light and sparkling plays into a dainty vessel which nobody on earth could recognize as the gross and licentious capital in which he lived. Joyce is commonly supposed to be the man who set out to depict a close-up of a city ; he did incidentally cover many aspects of Dublin life in his time (he omitted upper-class life) but what he mainly did was to use Dublin as a background for a self-portrait. In the same way Balzac's hero Rastignac is simply Balzac raging about the hypocrisy of conventional morality, or some other such obsessions of his own. That weak-willed character the Chevalier des Grieux is the Abbé Prevost's symbol for the disillusions of the Age of Reason. Certainly he is far from being a photograph of a normal man. And yet Gide did not put *Manon* among the best ten French novels for nothing. Stendhal's novels are made up of a lot of grand-opera claptrap, dummy guns, fine uniforms, real poison, masked spies, three-ply dungeons and what-not, but what a solid and wonderful structure his intellectual probity built out of all those coloured pasteboards !

We do ask for a minimal degree of persuasiveness from our novelists. But if their imaginations are on fire how minimal it is. Are you, dear reader, always fully persuaded by the behaviour of Dostoievsky's characters ? At the end of *Le Rouge et le Noir* when the noble Mathilde de la Mole, after Julien has been guillotined, ' alone in her draped carriage, unknown to all, carried upon her knees the head of the man

she had so dearly loved', will even a Dr Cleeve say, 'Oh, but that's unreasonable! Her frock would get all wet and sticky'?

So it is with the unheroic hero. He is not to be taken literally. He cannot be completely deduced from or completely imposed on life. To apply to him or to extract from him moral or social judgments about him or his times is like saying that Hamlet illustrates what 'worms' all those vacillating heroes of the Elizabethan period were. An artist is not a by-product like coke. He is creative. And he is as unpredictable as the Sybil, and sometimes as hard to understand because he also talks in figures, having before he started to write transformed actuality into terms of the imagination. It is this transformation which, I feel, Dr Cleeve refuses to allow.

This is not to say that a work of art may not be related to actual experience by the critic who is enjoying it. On the contrary—artists are not pure spirits. But it is a sensitive relationship and it is to be sought as delicately as a mother's finger tracing her wedding-night on the features of the child at her breast. I had thought that the old, heavy-handed sociological approach to literature had died with Taine. I greatly regret to see it rampant again in the pages of a Christian journal. For this approach is, ultimately, based on the mechanistic notion that all art is, in Taine's formula, the predestined and inescapable product and therefore reflection of 'the milieu, the moment and the race'; or, at best, is a sort of psychological science built up out of masses of notebooks (the famous *document humain*) of Zola and the naturalists in general all based on the facts of actuality which predetermined it and to which it may be referred step by step.

The hero is a symbol. When he collapses what had previously died on him? That is the question on which Dr Cleeve is silent. If he wants to know what I think died on him, it is Dr Cleeve and his co-optimists. But I must not think of them. They are enough to make me miss *my* bus.

2—*by* PEADAR O'DONNELL

THE state of Letters is common ground for discussion, East and West—'the writer is not what he should be'. In the East they know fine what is wrong with writers—in the West: Western writers are responsive to the wrong tiers of society; they are shut in with a version of the worn out, Big House remnant within which they move around in gloom, and doom, and gin; the historically important tiers, in today's setting, have not yet found their artists, or their artists have not yet succeeded in reaching their audience through the din of the glossy magazines, comic strips and Tostal Drums. And the West knows fine what is wrong

with the East : the ' State ' tells the writers there what to write . . .

Dr Cleeve thinks there is a touch of this ' telling writers what to write ' around our own doors. He states : ' Good writers are being seduced . . . either because critics have persuaded them how books should be written, or simply because they hunger for the critical praise . . . even middle-brow critics tend to award to despairing books.' A lot of exposition and argument is called for, to sort out all the entanglements involved in this judgment. What have been the conditioning influences that have gone to the making of the critics who corrupt good writers ? Could it be that the writers who move towards such critics are men who have been conditioned by similar experiences ? And what is there in life which it pays Big Dailies and glossy magazines to cater for, by giving over their literary pages to critics who corrupt good writers to write ' despairing books ' ?

Let us look at one of the despairing stories that have won critical praise, James Plunkett's *The Eagles and The Trumpets*. I published it in *The Bell*. I have such a high opinion of Mr Plunkett's work that I gave over a whole number of *The Bell* to a group of his short stories. I disagree with almost everything Dr Cleeve says of Mr Plunkett's work. In my view James Plunkett has not been influenced by Joyce. He gives Joyce a boost by confirming the authenticity of Joyce's Dublin. He is kin to Joyce as Dubliner to Dubliner. The same Dublin comes out through their work as inevitably as soot marks on country gables.

The hero of Plunkett's *The Eagles and The Trumpets* is a real person, and Dr Cleeve completely misunderstands him. He is a Dublin clerk, living precariously with a throng of pals who are never many steps away from the pawn office. These men borrow and lend, and make their appointments for public houses. They do not set out to get drunk. They just get drunk from time to time. The clerk has met a fine girl in a town fifty miles from Dublin. He makes a date. He misses one bus through drink. He misses a second bus. But the girl is alive to him and he will keep his third date. He has raised six pounds. A pal breaks in on him. The pal has pledged his father's typewriter. His father's unexpected return makes him desperate. He just must have four pounds at once. But only for a few hours. Another pal who owes him a fiver swears to meet him, in a public house of course, and pass over the fiver. So our man parts with four pounds. He will still have time to catch his bus, after the six o'clock meeting. Well, the other does not turn up to pay the fiver . . . And it is in pity, terrible pity without a trace of contempt, that we follow our hero through the rest of the evening.

In the town the girl waits and waits. Dr Cleeve even blames her because she lets us see that in her heart of hearts she did not believe he would come. But Plunkett's story is an authentic tale of ' the withering Irish ' : this fine girl waiting, and this well-intentioned, feckless man

in the swamp around the Dublin pawnshops. Dr Cleeve would have him tramp the fifty miles. Submit Mr Plunkett's story as it is, and as Dr Cleeve would have it, to a panel of Irish girls to check on its reality. 'Is it a man tramp fifty miles, merely to keep a date? Don't be daft, man. We have to wait in the dance halls until the pubs close before they come to us.' Mr Plunkett writes of life; Dr Cleeve would write at it. And Dr Cleeve's way is the road to the glossy magazines, run by the critics who corrupt.

There is a swamp influence over Irish life as a whole. Dr Geary—and why in the world did Ireland have to lose Roy Geary!—has suggested that perhaps the famine's greatest hurt to Ireland was that it killed the Irish people's trust in their environment to give them a living, and that our bad marriage pattern has to be referred all the way back to it. In that case, I suggest that Irish girls have largely overcome the hurt by now, and that if they could only communicate their courage to their young men, then our young people would face life with more of a sense of adventure. Brave writing will have to wait on brave living.

I go this far with Dr Cleeve: I could wish Irish writers would make it their job to report on Ireland today. I could not promise him that they would create the heroes he asks for. Where could an epic be set in this withering land—and that is something very different from an impoverished land—in the crumbling parish, the stunted provincial town, in drifting Dublin? One shudders to think of a population in decline generating a dotage with illusions of grandeur, with Irish writers responsive to the dotage; or responsive to the mythology which is the wonder tale of elderly Irish emigrants.

The only people in Ireland who can afford to be unpopular are the writers. Was there ever greater hostility to Irish writers than in the brief period when they were at their best as writers and Irishmen? Being recognizably Irish in their writing did not make them great, but it made them authentic. Their talents made them great.

The positive factor in Dr Cleeve's article is his impatience with defeat, but to go over to his swagger pattern would be to mask reality, and that would badly serve the purpose he has in mind.

3—*by* JOHN C. KELLY

I PRESUME I may borrow a leaf from Dr Cleeve's kind of newspaper and refer (rather shamefacedly after all that derision) to the literary pages of *The Observer*. In the current issue of that newspaper (Feb. 9, 1958) six novels are reviewed. Two of them are by William Faulkner and I shall refer to them no more. Everyone knows what Yoknapatawpha County is like. The other four are apparently everything Dr Cleeve

detests : serious, gloomy, aimless and rather despairing. And, in complete vindication of Dr Cleeve's accusation, the reviewer seems not even mildly surprised that novelists should write in this way.

There are two other pieces in the same number of *The Observer* to which I should like to draw attention, if only to deprecate the academic fashion of lifting a learned lip at those very accomplished and hard-working journalists who write the reviews. Perhaps Dr Cleeve has not remembered George Orwell on reviewing books. It is about time someone said that the Sunday reviewers are, at least, as literate as the rest of us and far more amusing. But I have other reasons. The first piece I wish to mention is Mr Kenneth Tynan's lively and brilliantly diverting account of Graham Greene's *The Potting Shed,* the second, Mr Philip Toynbee's review of *Brave Men* by Sir Richard Rees. *Brave Men* is a study of an unlikely pair : D. H. Lawrence and Simone Weil. With these two reviews as a text it is possible to show that Dr Cleeve's brand of optimism is not what the orthodox Christian should expect from literature at all. But Dr Cleeve is not to be blamed because his view is a very common one.

The Potting Shed, as every reader of newspapers will know by now, is a gloomy play about a neurotic. The *dénouement* is reached when it is discovered that the Ugly Thing that happened to the hero when he was very young (in the potting shed, of course) was that he hanged himself by the neck until he was dead. The worm-hero's priest-uncle (it is almost a formula for a Graham Greene play) offered his faith to God in exchange for a miracle bringing the child back to life. God (Mr Greene's God) accepted the bargain and so the hero's neurosis is explained.

A play like that could cause many kinds of fury. We must observe that Mr Tynan's fury though very great is limited : he objects strongly to the use of the *Deus ex machina,* the, for him, grossly irrelevant fact of God. Dramatically speaking he has more than a point but the philosophy that lies behind his fury deserves attention. He writes : ' You may not now remember the theatre as it was ten years ago. It seemed on the brink of renaissance. I was one of the many who were newly flushed with a great conviction. We recklessly believed that a theatre was a place where human problems could be stated in human terms, a place from which supernatural intervention as a solution to such problems had at long last been ousted. Drama for us was an affirmation of humanism, and its basic maxim was not : " I die, that you may live", but : " I live that you may live." ' We have been shot back, he claims, into the dark ages. Mr Tynan represents the educated secularist attitude to drama and literature. At least as far as literature is concerned, he is an optimistic humanist who believes that human nature, without any interference from God, can work out its own salvation. I think I am

fair in saying he implies that a literature which excluded the interference of God, whether miraculous or not, would be a more cheerful thing than *The Potting Shed.* The secularist then is on the side of optimism.

Mr Toynbee's review of *Brave Men* is even more disconcerting. Lawrence, Sir Richard Rees finds, is the optimist. Simone Weil is doubtful and puzzled about the fate of mankind. Yet Lawrence was not a Christian and Simone Weil was, what Mr Toynbee calls, ' an unorthodox Christian mystic '. She was a person living a spiritual life of prayer and thought second to none in its depth, integrity and sincerity. Lawrence, in the essay on *Moby Dick,* lamented the fate of the white man ' hunted into the death of upper consciousness and the ideal will . . . Our blood-self subjected to our will '. ' Quaker and fire-worshipper ', he says, ' we get them all to help us in this ghastly maniacal hunt which is our doom and our suicide.' If we could only release the dark gods who wait on the threshold of our being (the ' dark gods ' seem to be our instinctive sexual life) then all would be well. Lawrence is a humanist in the old naïve pagan sense : man, he holds, is sufficient unto himself and God is an encumbrance. Simone Weil is a passionate believer in God and the things of the spirit, yet she is not sure that things will be well in this world at all. That, I submit, is exactly what the thinking Catholic should expect to find.

Contemporary literature is produced, in the main, by men who are humanists in the same way as Lawrence. Theirs is a pelagian humanism but they keep away as far as possible from the spiritual and from God. Presumably they try to live this way too. Man, for them, is sufficient unto himself and will build out of the material universe, by means of his natural resources (body, imagination, mind and exiguous soul), whatever paradise is possible for him. That paradise will be on earth.

Now, it should be surprising (indeed alarming) to the Catholic if serious and sincere writers could give any other than a despairing account of their experience when they live according to such beliefs. To deny man an immortal, spiritual soul and to cut him off from an ontologically necessary dependence on a personal God is, to the Catholic, to distort reality. To distort reality is to court disaster, and a literature of men who have suffered this distortion is bound to be one of anguish and despair. Any other kind of literature would be at the best a literature of escape and at the worst immoral.

D. H. Lawrence is, of course, a novelist of escape. Writing in the 'twenties he could allow himself some rosy dreams and wishful thinking about the salutary effect of liberating the dark gods. But, once the few remaining inhibitions were removed, when sexual misbehaviour became respectable and even dull, it took only a decade or so for a new radical dissatisfaction to appear. D. H. Lawrence had been mistaken. Full

sexual liberty did not bring full human happiness. That was the ' sexual failure ' of the 'thirties and it was catastrophic. It meant that a materialistic world's hopes for a materialistic ' redemption ' had vanished. Things had not quite come to our present pass where the exercise of sex is looked upon, by many of the intellectuals, as a necessary but rather unpleasant part of general mental hygiene.

I am amazed at Dr Cleeve's attaching such importance, for man's happiness, to his material progress. In fact, I think his whole article is written mainly to provoke. Man's material progress has been accompanied by a steady impoverishment of his spirit. When the pelagian humanist, who rejects spiritual values, has an inadequate concept of his own being and refuses to acknowledge his extrinsic finality in God, no amount of material progress will enable him to cope with his human problems. I see it is predicted that by 1975 the average American family will have an income of £75 a week. Will it make them happier if they do not know how to spend it?

It is to be expected and is praiseworthy that novelists who are Catholics should write in somewhat the same way as their materialistic colleagues. For instance, Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* is a deadly, macabre study of frustration. But then Fowler and Pyle both belong to materialistic worlds although, no doubt, in Pyle's Boston lip-service was paid to the Deity. Such people (and I like Fowler) must be frustrated.

Even when he writes about Catholics who are intelligent, complete human beings and who are, at the same time, well-instructed, sincere followers of their religion it is still permissible, at least, for the Catholic novelist to write novels of frustration. The reason is quite simple. Catholics can, of course, fail to live up to what they believe, but that is not the main point. The main point, which is very often forgotten, is that the Catholic Faith does not promise paradise on this earth. The evangelical metaphors are very clear : Christ came to bring not peace but the sword, the lion lies down with the lamb only in the Apocalypse. Christian hope is eschatological not terrestrial, and here Chesterton did some disservice to the truth by creating an atmosphere, bonhomous but misleading, in which it seemed necessary to believe that in a purely Catholic world all would be jolly fellows together. But Christian hope is not merely hope for ' pie in the sky ' either. We do not hope to build here a lasting city but only to keep down the jungle until the end of time. There is no more frustrating occupation than keeping down weeds whether it be in the world around or in our own back-yard. Finally, to hope for the New Jerusalem on earth is pure Marxism.

Dr Cleeve writes : ' Whenever writers set themselves " above " popular taste, the likelihood is that the writers are wrong, and the popular taste is right '. He is surely only doing it to annoy. There is no such thing

as popular taste, because so few people read. There is only popular prejudice and popular craving for comforting pseudo-ideas suitably expressed in *clichés* : ' Distracted from distraction by distraction.' The small number who write and the small number who read them are the most conscious, perhaps the only fully conscious, part of the community. They are discerning, sincere and honest because they are not afraid to look facts in the face. They will have nothing to do (except when they go to the cinema) with the ' there was a time ' or the ' there will be a time ' of the escapist Romantics. They see that the world is, what some of them have been saying it is from their childhood, a Vale of Tears. Moreover, if they have, what should be an effect of supernatural faith, a sense of humour, they will see that their own antics and those of others, although they may be fundamentally tragic, can be, at times, very funny.

DR CLEEVE REPLIES

Dr O'Faolain reminds me that literature is imaginative and symbolic, and compares it to a ' rocket of the imagination from a base in actuality '. Of course. What I am concerned with in my article is the degree of the base's actuality, and the direction to be taken by the rocket. But before I try and clarify what my article failed to make clear enough, let me turn to Mr O'Donnell and Fr Kelly. Mr O'Donnell takes an opposite view to Dr O'Faolain's. Where the latter sees symbolism in James Plunkett's story, Mr O'Donnell sees the utmost realism. Irish writers must write like this, he suggests, because Ireland is like this. ' Brave writing will have to wait on brave living.'

I take issue with this on two counts. I am not convinced that this despairing ' truth ' offered by writers like Mr Plunkett is the whole truth. Nor do I agree that brave writing must wait on anything but a brave writer. It is surely a pitiful philosophy, and exactly the one that Dr O'Faolain condemns in critics like Taine, to say that in a withering country we can only have withered art. There have been times when art and artists have led, or at least pointed, the way out of the wasteland. I believe that this can happen again, and even here.

Fr Kelly takes Mr O'Donnell's argument a stage further. What the latter says of Ireland, the former says of the world. This is a Vale of Tears in which our best hope is to keep down the jungle until the end. Since this is a frustrating task, the writing which reflects it must be a frustrated and frustrating art. Again, I profoundly disagree. I never suggested that the New Jerusalem could be built in Ballsbridge. I carefully acknowledged that all literature is in a sense a literature of defeat, since all men suffer the defeat of death. My argument is that

since that defeat by death is not a final one, man's literature, like man's life, can be triumphant, and *should* be so in its proper fashion.

I am not asking for every story to have a happy ending. No one who read my article with the care the argument, if not the presentation, deserves, could think that I did. Nor am I denying misery and failure and frustration their proper place in literature. But I claim that that place is subordinate to hope—and that just as despair in this life is a reflection, or, if Dr O'Faolain prefers it, a symbol, of the eternal despair of damnation, so hope is a reflection or symbol of our possible salvation.

And this brings me back to Dr O'Faolain's rocket of imagination. He allows that it must be launched from at least a base of actuality. I claim simply that that actuality should be actual. That its materials should be drawn from the whole of life, and not only from its despairing and frustrated parts. And this is not because I attach undue importance to timetables or bus tickets, but because if the base of actuality is distorted, the flight of the rocket will be distorted.

Lastly, in what direction shall the rocket be fired ? Towards Hope, or Despair ? Whatever the announced, and even the real, intention of the author may be, it is almost impossible for any work of imagination not to persuade its readers, however slightly, towards one or other of these poles of the spirit. And if, as happens in the samples I have quoted, a writer holds up the frustrations and petty defeats of life, saying ' This is the ultimate, symbolic reality of existence. You may think in your nineteenth-century optimism that you can get on that bus and visit that girl. But I tell you that Life will defeat you. Death will defeat you. CIE will defeat you. There is no hope ', then I think it quite clear which side he is on.

Western Germany after the Autumn Elections

by JOHN MURRAY

I WAS staying in Bonn on Sunday, September 15 of last autumn, the day of the general election in the German Federal Republic, and the preceding week I had seen something of the election campaign. This was conducted seriously, with vigour and some occasional rancour. There was every evidence that the people were intensely interested and that the results mattered in their eyes very considerably indeed. The poll percentage was a high one. The results themselves were remarkable, beyond the most sanguine estimates of government supporters. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) secured more than 50 per cent of the total vote and now enjoys an absolute majority over all other parties. Several of the smaller parties with candidates found themselves without a seat in the *Bundestag,* since the German electoral law insists that, to be represented, a party must win one seat outright by direct ballot or gain 5 per cent of the entire vote. In the present *Bundestag* there are only four parties : the CDU, the Socialists or SPD, the FDP, Free Democratic Party, Liberal in tone and tradition, and the *Deutsche Partei* or DP, a party from North Western Germany with a Protestant Hanoverian background, and now closely allied with the CDU.

These results were a grand tribute to the CDU and even more decisively a tribute to Dr Adenauer. In 1953 the CDU vote rose sharply from 31 to 45 per cent. It seemed then that the party was riding the crest of German enthusiasm for the European idea. When France in 1954 refused to ratify the European Defence Community, this looked like a mortal blow to Dr Adenauer's foreign policy. His position did appear to be shaken by this refusal and the further opposition within Germany to rearmament. The tide started to flow against the CDU in elections for the *Länder* Parliaments. Could the veteran Chancellor survive ? That was for many commentators the issue. Yet, in the event, the old man of Rhöndorf, as he is affectionately termed, not only survived, but increased the vote percentage for himself and his party to more than 50 per cent. It was a judgment of gratitude and approbation passed by the majority of West Germans on eight years of political effort and economic achievement.

The contrast between Western Germany in 1948 and 1957 leaves the ordinary visitor in astonishment. So much attempted, so much realized.

Records have been surpassed in every department. From 1948 to 1954 the overall industrial production rose by more than 230 per cent, and in 1954 German exports had so multiplied that Western Germany had a credit balance of nearly one thousand million dollars with the European Payments Union. The standards of living gradually improved. Millions of expellees and refugees found employment and were built into the structure of post-war Germany. Cities grew once again out of the ruin and rubble of war. And all this in spite of many a heavy burden which the people had to shoulder. In 1952, for instance, public assistance was still being given to one-fourth of the population. Thirteen millions were receiving support as war victims, pensioners, refugees or unemployed. In fact, 22 per cent of the national income was being dedicated to relief work of this kind. The general impression had by visitors is of a busy and industrious community, more concerned with immediate interests than with public or international questions, moderately prosperous and contented. Four years ago, it was not difficult to sense under the placid surface a certain interior *malaise,* a carefree and at times cynical feeling that it could not last long, that the storm would and indeed must shortly break. There was a nervous intensity, a febrile stress and strain. But to-day, despite the division of German territory and the uncertainty of Germany's political future, this mood has vanished. Instead, you have a settled, confident, enterprising people. What is more, they have accepted and made themselves familiar with a democratic form of life and government which—the historians keep warning us—is not sympathetic to or in harmony with modern German tradition.[1] And one further point of great significance, Germany's remarkable revival is associated with this democratic government. Richard Hiscocks, in an admirable study of *Democracy in Western Germany,* published in 1957, has emphasized this feature :

> Nothing has done more than Dr Adenauer's stable and effective government to reconcile the German people to democracy . . . He has given them a strong lead, which they like. He has pursued a clear policy, which they can follow. In contrast to the Weimar leaders, he has proved

[1] Ernst Troeltsch wrote on this point as follows : ' We Germans have no gift for democracy or for politics, and we have been badly prepared for them by our history. The old Germany possessed in its towns a living republican and democratic spirit, and Switzerland and the Netherlands, which split off from the main body of Germany, have developed this spirit strongly. We should be able to achieve it as well as they, and we must learn to achieve it under all circumstances, though we may have to learn it through suffering, pain and much trouble.'

Professor Gerhard Ritter posed the same question in a more historical framework : ' Was the past—he asked—which made Berlin the capital of Germany, Prussia its core and the Iron Chancellor its hero, definitely buried in the ruins of the Siegesallee ? Would the centre of German life return from the North-Eastern semi-colonial marches to the old seats of civilization in the West and South-West and would Germany find the way back to the common Western tradition which had been opposed by so many German trends after 1812 ? '

This has become a favourite theme of post-war historians in Germany. Some of their pronouncements are considered by the present writer in an article in *The Month* for June 1956, with the title, ' Retracing Steps : Germans Rethink their History '.

that as a democracy Germany could regain with astonishing rapidity economic strength and a respected place among the nations. In spite of its faults, his government has provided a good transitional stage for a nation without a democratic tradition (p. 123).

But What of the Background?

When the initial astonishment at this German *Wunder* of revival has passed, the question inevitably presents itself: is it genuine? Could it perhaps be some clever piece of scenic painting rather than a solidly-masoned block? After all, Liberalism crumpled easily under the heavy hand of Bismarck, and German democracy in the 'thirties collapsed with or even prior to Hitler's advent. Is the new system likely to have greater staying power? Could it withstand severe pressure from extremes of Right or Left in a period of economic depression or political upheaval? I can understand and sympathize with the fears of those who mistrust Germany. We have learnt to suspect German gifts as the Trojans mistrusted Greek munificence. Yet, on the whole and after consideration, I think there are very real grounds for believing that the new democratic system is taking firm root in the Federal Republic and that its achievements in eight short years are already of considerable significance and promise.

They are all the more striking when it is recalled that there was no widespread enthusiasm for the Federal Republic. The people had been misgoverned for so long that they had lost interest in government and wanted as little of it as possible. Their chief desire was to be left alone, to lead the private and personal lives of which National Socialism had robbed them, to make up—as many of them said—for the lost and wasted years. Germany was the land without dreams, as Horst Mönnich characterized it. The majority were ready to assent to the new constitution with their heads: it gave them control of their domestic affairs even when they felt it was being imposed on them by the Allies. But on the whole their hearts were little affected; it was a marriage of convenience, not of first or even second love. However, in the autumn of 1948, two factors helped to alter this initial reaction. The Russians began their blockade of Berlin, and this convinced Western Germany that its future lay necessarily with the Western Powers, who alone could provision and protect Berlin. At the same time, the consequences of the currency reform started to show themselves. Economically, Western Germany was launched on its programme of revival and reconstruction.

There was, however, another fundamental problem with which the new constitution had to deal. The Parliamentary commission, drawn from the *Länder* Parliaments which had been brought into existence in 1946 and 1947, started its deliberations in September 1948, and

worked at the Basic Law, as it was termed, until May 1949. But what was the character of this constitution? Was it to be provisional? that is, to operate only till the two halves of Germany should be reunited? Or was the intention to provide a constitution which eventually would be accepted by Eastern Germany after reunification? The answer, I think, is that it was meant to be both *provisional* and *permanent*: provisional, in that it could be applied for the time being only to Western Germany, but permanent in its structure and spirit, so that it could at least be accepted by Eastern Germany after reunification.

The preamble declares that its purpose is 'to provide a new order of political life for a transitional period'. The whole German people are called upon to secure German unity. When unity has been realized, a constitution will be adopted by the people, and the Basic Law will be abrogated. But at the same time the preamble stated that they were representing 'other Germans', whose co-operation at the moment was impossible, and that the Law would be implemented in other parts of Germany, as soon as reunion had been established. Here we have two different points of view which are not, of course, irreconcilable. The attitude of these framers of the new constitution is clearly seen in statements made by two of them. The first is from Dr Theodor Heuss, now President of the Republic.

> Naturally, we understand this expression 'provisional' first and foremost in a geographical sense, for we are well aware of our divided condition, both geographically and politically. *Structurally,* however, our purpose is to make something that is not provisional . . . so that we can say to the occupying Powers and to our own brethren in the East that we have now set out along a way the end of which is not yet reached.

The second was the comment of Dr Schwalber, a member of the Christian Social Union, the Bavarian counterpart of the CDU:

> It cannot be our serious intention to produce merely a torso. If we cannot embrace the whole of Germany because of circumstances outside our control, at least what we do create must be organized as perfectly as possible; it must contain, if only in embryo, all those dynamic elements which will allow it to develop into a full and complete State organism. It must be the core that will exert a magnetic attraction upon those regions of Germany with which at the present moment we are denied association.

ENCOURAGING FACTORS

In selecting features of the present German situation that give grounds for reasonable encouragement, it is best to begin with the Basic Law itself. In several respects, it is a better document than was the constitution

of Weimar. To begin with, it emphasizes human rights more firmly, and the first nineteen or twenty articles are dedicated to this theme. Article 1 declares that the dignity of man is inviolable. To respect and safeguard it is the duty of all State authority. Article 2 insists that ' every one has the right to the free development of his personality . . . The freedom of the individual is inviolable '. Article 20 lays it down that ' legislation is subject to the constitutional order ' and that ' the executive and the judiciary are bound by the law '. The first nineteen articles concerned with basic principles, ' bind. the legislature, the executive and the judiciary as directly enforceable laws ', and ' should any person's rights be violated by public authority ', he may have recourse to the law to vindicate those rights. A subsequent article ordains that there may be no amendment of these earlier principles of the constitution.

So much for principle. As regards constitutional practice, a better balance is created between executive and legislature than existed under the Weimar regime, when the former, personified by the President, had an independent means of appeal to the people through plebiscites. The fact that between 1931 and 1933 no government had a stable majority in the *Reichstag,* and the executive in effect governed without the legislature, created the impasse in German democracy that was Hitler's opportunity. In the new system, the authority of the President is reduced. Nor is he any longer to be elected by direct popular vote but by a Federal Convention, consisting of members of the *Bundestag* and the regional Parliaments. The head of the executive will accordingly be appointed by the legislature. On the other hand, the position of Chancellor is accentuated both in relation to the President and also with regard to Parliament, thereby excluding continual changes of government which have been so bad an advertisement for Continental democracy in France. Article 67 states that the Chancellor can be removed by Parliament only by a constructive vote of non-confidence, in other words, only if Parliament elects a successor to the Chancellor by a majority vote. Article 68 declares that if a Chancellor is not given a vote of confidence by the *Bundestag* when he requests it, he may ask the President for a dissolution.

A further balance is provided in the constitution between the central authority of the *Bund* and the various regional governments. The Federal Republic is a federation, similar to the United States rather than to Britain, and, as in the USA, the governments of the *Länder* have considerable powers. To them are reserved education and cultural affairs, religious questions, press, police and local administration. In addition, the *Bundesrat* or second chamber represents these regional interests and functions both as constitutional bridge and as clearing house between federal and regional administrations. The members of the *Bundesrat*

have a high reputation for technical competence, and the collaboration between government and opposition, which is more difficult in the *Bundestag* because of sharp antagonism, has become much easier and very fruitful in the *Bundesrat*. As a democratic chamber, the *Bundesrat* enjoys a well-merited prestige.

Efforts have also been made to protect the Basic Law from subversive opinion and activity. Article 5, which guarantees freedom of speech and expression, concludes with the warning that 'freedom of teaching does not absolve from loyalty to the constitution', while Article 18 provides that those who abuse the forms of freedom provided in the early clauses 'forfeit those basic rights', and the measure of this forfeiture is to be decided by the Federal Constitution Court. Further provision is made to deal with aggressive or anarchical societies: 'Associations, the objects or activities of which . . . are directed against the concept of international understanding, are prohibited'; and even the Basic Law itself is to bow to international principles: 'the general rules of public international law form part of the Federal Law. They take precedence over the laws . . . and create rights and duties for the inhabitants of the Federal territory'.

Democracy Holds the Floor

No document, however carefully it be drafted, can guarantee democracy unless there exists a democratic cast of thought. Whether such a habit of mind is sufficiently widespread in the Federal Republic, it is at any rate being allowed a splendid opportunity to develop. From the start, the Weimar administration was squeezed between strong extremist movements, the Nationalists and, later, the National Socialists to the Right, and to the Left the growing Communist Party. It was compelled to tread a delicate and arduous middle pathway. Each of the extremes was revolutionary, only too anxious and prepared to destroy the Weimar constitution. To-day, however, there is no such revolutionary force in Western Germany. Revolution has just burnt itself out; the people have had their fill of it and more; what they long for is the maximum measure of ordinary human existence, with a freedom as wide as is compatible with reasonable order. When we judge the German situation, it is necessary to keep this fact in mind. The Germans are sick of slogans and counter-slogans; they harbour no illusions about Utopias round the corner; they want to be left alone. Hence, the total lack of appeal from splinter neo-Nazi groups or from Communists; hence also, the absence of keenness about schemes for nationalization and State control. Western Germany has passed through the stage of revolution and has emerged on the further side. To my mind, the present German mentality is a pointer to what the attitude of Eastern European countries—and

maybe even Russia—is likely to show itself, if and when the Communist regime disappears. In any case, extremes have no fascination to-day for Western Germans.

This has the important consequence that the political struggle is inside the democratic system, not against forces hostile to democracy. The 1957 election figures made this even more obvious, since they reduced the number of parties in the *Bundestag* to four : CDU (government), SPD (opposition), FDP (independent but on home and economic questions closer to the CDU) and the *Deutsche Partei,* associated with CDU. Both government and opposition are democratic. The Social Democrats themselves have moved considerably away from their more rigid doctrinaire attitude of the 'thirties ; they are now a ' reformist ' and, to a large extent, a bourgeois party. During the recent election campaign, Dr Carlo Schmid, one of their most prominent spokesmen, stated roundly that nationalization was an outdated way of dealing with the economic situation ; it belonged to the past, not the present of German Socialism.

It is sometimes urged that a certain danger for a developing democracy lies in the fact that the Social Democrats are now in opposition for the third consecutive Parliament. Would it not have been better—the query continues—if CDU and SPD had formed a Grand Coalition, representing practically all elements of the population ? It is what has been done in Austria since 1945, where the government is a coalition of the Socialists and the *Volkspartei.* Naturally, it was considered also in Germany, where the more moderate Social Democrats would have welcomed it. But the solution was in the end rejected : in the first place, because the election had been won on the platform of a free economy. A combined administration of CDU and SPD would have involved compromises in the direction of State control, which the electorate had in the main repudiated, and it would have alienated the FDP and several smaller parties, and probably called into existence a Liberal and Nationalist party, to the Right of CDU. It would also have left the *Bundestag* with no effective opposition—a dangerous situation in a new system which had to prove itself. Besides, the political coalition in Austria, though it has done a great deal to secure national union and the people's welfare, has had some dubious consequences for the functioning of a democratic machine.

It must be granted, on the other hand, that the exclusion of the SPD from Federal administration has brought with it some unfortunate results. Accentuated by a personal antipathy between Dr Adenauer and the late Dr Schumacher, the Socialist leader, this difference has prevented a bi-partisan foreign policy. Schumacher adopted a nationalist and anti-European attitude, voting against the Schuman Plan, the Council of

Europe and the European Defence Force ; his successor, the present leader, Herr Ollenhauer, has drifted into a kind of unrealistic ' neutralism ' that objects to German rearmament and is lukewarm towards the Paris agreements with the Western Powers. Yet, in practice, it is hard to see what foreign policy a Socialist government could have pursued other than that so successfully and consistently followed by Dr Adenauer.

The European Idea

A further augury of favour in German political life has been the widespread interest in the European idea and movement, not least among the youthful generation. There were mixed motives behind this attitude : one of them, the hankering after equality of rights and prestige with other countries in Western Europe. In the main, however, this interest was thoroughly genuine, and this, taken by itself, shows how far post-war Germany has moved away from her old nationalist position. If Western Germany has moved through and beyond the era of revolution, there are signs that a large number of Germans have correspondingly moved beyond the age of nationalism and see the future of their own land, and of Western Europe generally, in a more closely integrated system, which in time will grow into a European Federation. The Basic Law took notice of this eventuality in Article 24 :

> The *Bund* may vest elements of its sovereignty, by legislation, in international institutions. In order to safeguard peace, it may integrate itself within a system of mutual collective security. For that purpose it will *accept such limitations of sovereignty* as will conduce to and ensure a peaceful and enduring order in Europe and between the peoples of the world.

From 1949 till the autumn of 1954, when the French Assembly finally refused to ratify the plans for the European Defence Community, Dr Adenauer was a firm—indeed perhaps the firmest—advocate of co-operation between the Western European peoples. The initiative at times came from the French, responsible for both the Schuman and the Pleven plans in 1950. But the more solid support came from the Germans. Through both these projects—of a supranational authority to control Western European coal and steel resources (now implemented in the *Montanaunion*) and a defence army—Adenauer was envisaging a European political community. Again and again he has returned to this theme. In an interview, recorded by Alastair Horne, the Chancellor stated his attitude in the following terms :

> I first expressed my ideas on European integration and a conciliation between France and Germany in 1925, and I pleaded the same ideas

> before the Reich Cabinet of Marx, which was in office at that time. I was urged by the conviction that it was essential for Germany and France—and for Europe—to make an end of senseless strife. I have championed this cause since that time in my various offices and as a private individual, and I have also dedicated my policy as Federal Chancellor to its service. In a Franco-German understanding I see the essential prerequisite for the unification of Europe. I repeat, the unification of Europe appears to me indispensable, if our Continent is to assert its position in the world, and if the Free World in its entirety is to survive in presence of the forces of totalitarianism that threaten it.[1]

The theme recurred in the Chancellor's election addresses in 1953 :

> The barriers must fall between the countries of Europe, and Europe must be united so that Western civilization can survive. There is no other way to ensure that our children shall have a brighter future and be spared the sufferings that our generation has experienced. It will be a long road, calling for unending patience and the overcoming of a world of prejudice.

This appeal to a European consciousness and solution was probably the chief factor in Adenauer's election triumph in 1953. It gave a new and encouraging orientation to German thinking and was welcomed particularly by the youth. Adenauer himself has pursued the ideal consistently and without any hesitation, even after the French misgivings of 1954. In domestic politics he has shown himself a highly-skilled and adroit politician, quick to seize an advantage from a situation and adept in outmanoeuvring the opposition. Yet, in his foreign policy, there has been no such policy of manoeuvre. He has never attempted to play West and East off against one another, but has remained loyally and doggedly attached to one straightforward programme, that of integration of Germany with the rest of Western Europe and of close association with the Western world. It provided the greatest safeguard for German security. Yes, but it provided also the best guarantee of a really democratic development in the Federal Republic.

The Chancellor

Of Dr Adenauer I shall here say very little. He has shown himself a remarkable personality, and no man has played a larger part—no man has played a part comparably great—in the economic and political revival of Germany. He is vigorous, hard-working, devoted to his office with an admirable conscientiousness and sense of responsibility. If the 'sixties and 'seventies of the nineteenth century are known as the age of Bismarck, the years after 1949 will certainly be remembered as the era

[1] *Back into Power*. By Alastair Horne. London : Max Parrish. 1955. p. 320.

of Adenauer. He has left a deep impress upon his countrymen—in part for qualities which they admire, and which he possesses in a superlative degree : hard work, industry, self-confidence, a paternal spirit ; but he has also a moral prestige, enjoyed in this measure by very few political leaders. The Swiss correspondent of *Die Tat,* René Allemann, has this not uncritical appreciation of the Chancellor :

> A clever tactician, little bothered about the choice of his political methods, who does not shrink from a knock-out blow in the political boxing ring, and of whom one of his colleagues during many years of association at Cologne has said that he observes the Ten Commandments but interprets them in the light of his own conscience . . . He does not rank among those radiant characters in history who attract men to themselves through the nobility and sheer goodness of their humanity. The ethics of this sincerely believing Catholic are not entirely those of the Sermon on the Mount ; they are compatible with many an odd deviation in political expediency. Yet it is very hard to escape from his influence and attraction. And this emerges from one of the Chancellor's few sentences which have a colour and warmth, rare in his otherwise precise and matter-of-fact utterances—his wish that ' one day in years to come, when men can see beyond all the dust and cloud of this age of ours, they will be able to say of me that I fulfilled my duty.'[1]

No one can question the immense services Dr Adenauer has rendered to post-war Germany. Its revival and its progress as a democratic State could never have been as marked as they have been, were it not for its remarkable Chancellor.

Nevertheless, there are unbiased observers who detect faults in the present regime at Bonn. The personality of the Chancellor is so dominant, and his efficiency so notable, that his Cabinet colleagues have been thrown into the shade. These colleagues seem at times more like State secretaries in an administration than partners or members of the same government team. The expression *Kanzlerdemokratie* (Chancellor democracy) is not infrequently applied to the governmental system, and the Chancellor is accused of dragooning his ministers, leaving them insufficient responsibility ; of treating the *Bundestag* lightly and with scant respect ; of relying on unofficial advisers who have become the Chancellor's men. There is nothing totalitarian about Dr Adenauer. He is a lover and advocate of personal freedom, and has no desire to extend State authority beyond its proper limits. And behind it all he has a sound Catholic philosophy, which sees individuals and public authority in their due relationship. But his long experience as *Bürgermeister* at Cologne prior to 1933 and his extraordinary capacity for work and efficiency have left

[1] Translated freely from René Allemann's *Bonn ist nicht Weimar.* Cologne-Berlin : Kiepenheuer and Witsch. 1956. p. 333.

him perhaps authoritarian in outlook and manner. He does not suffer fools gladly, though curiously enough he is accused by critics of retaining in his ministries individuals to whom the critics would apply the term. However, it is this paternal and somewhat authoritarian quality in Dr Adenauer which has endeared him to very many Germans. For the Germans a democratic system has to prove itself by effectiveness, and one of the standing Continental arguments against democracy is the incoherence and inefficiency of democracy in France. Dr Adenauer has made the system work in the Federal Republic, has shown his people that it is compatible with order and stability and—still more—has made it clear that prosperity can be achieved and success realized in a democratic system. No future West German Chancellor will have the personal prestige enjoyed by Dr Adenauer. If cabinet partnership and *Bundestag* debates have developed less rapidly under Dr Adenauer than some critics would have liked, it is, I think, equally true that under no other conceivable Chancellor would the Germans have been formed in so stable and encouraging a novitiate of democracy.

The Religious Factors

Sound hopes for Germany's democratic prospects may also be derived from the much closer and friendlier relations which exist between what are known in Germany as the 'two churches', the Catholic Church and that of the Lutherans. Five days before the 1957 election I attended a meeting in the *Kolpinghaus* at Munich, at which Dr Adenauer addressed together Catholic priests and Lutheran ministers. The large hall was filled with many hundred clergymen, on the happiest terms of mutual respect and charity. It was an object lesson in Christian co-operation and a mark of post-war Germany. The classic land of Protestantism is now the country where relations between Catholics and Protestants are easiest.

This spirit is due, in large measure, to common experience under Nazi persecution and to the common problem of dealing with millions of expellees and refugees from Eastern provinces and countries. In Protestant districts like Schleswig-Holstein, Catholics used Lutheran churches for Sunday services, for very few Catholic churches existed there. It is quite likely that in Bavaria, for instance, Lutheran congregations made use of Catholic chapels and halls. I read recently in a Bavarian newspaper of the laying of a foundation stone for a new Catholic church in Bavaria, in September 1957. The stone was laid jointly by the Vicar General of the diocese and the local Lutheran minister, both of whom spoke at the ceremony ; the account added that local Protestants were contributing to the building of the church.[1]

[1] On more religious matters, it is worth noting that the Lutheran World Federation, at its meeting in Minneapolis in August, 1957, decided to establish an institute to promote

The Christian Democratic Union, the party which had played its very important role in German revival, is a broadly Christian party. Its largest support is from the Catholic provinces, but it has also strong Protestant backing. Every effort has been made to maintain a political balance between the two confessions. Forty per cent of CDU members in the 1949 *Bundestag* were Protestants. In the existing cabinet there are ten Catholics and ten Lutherans. To balance the Catholic Chancellor you have Theodor Heuss, the President of the Federal Republic, Dr Erhard, Minister for Economic Affairs and, more recently, also Vice-Chancellor, and the President of the *Bundestag,* Dr Gerstenmaier.

The CDU is not highly organized like the SPD, and what it may lose in tight cohesion it more than compensates through its greater flexibility. This allows Catholics and Protestants to collaborate happily and it also permits a certain comprehensiveness within the party, which is another element of stability and balance. The first CDU programme, brought forward at Ahlen in February 1957 by Jakob Kaiser and Karl Arnold, envisaged no mean degree of State control : the local programme of the CDU in Hesse demanded socialization of the mines. Since then, the party's economic focus has shifted towards the Right ; it is now rather ' right ' than ' left ' of centre but nevertheless its Left wing is very important. It is not without significance that the Trade Unionists who have been most prominent in political life since 1945 have belonged to CDU and not SPD. The German Trade Union movement is not linked with any particular party, though it may have general sympathies with Socialism. This does not prevent it from openly disagreeing with the Socialist Party on economic issues, as, for instance, when it welcomed the government's decision to appoint a German member to the Ruhr Control Board and supported the European Coal and Steel Community—each of which decisions had been opposed by the Socialist Party. The remarkable success of Dr Erhard's *soziale Marktwirtschaft* (a system that permits as much freedom and initiative as possible but controls the area of that freedom in accordance with social needs and responsibilities) has further lessened any desire for State direction and predominance.

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discussions of the theological differences between Catholics and Lutherans. This, it was stated, was largely at the wish of German Lutherans.

A remarkable document was recently issued by six prominent German pastors (it is published in *Unitas,* for Autumn, 1957). Its theme was that only what is universally Christian must be accepted as truly Christian ; they formulated it in even more telling words, namely : *das Katholische ist das Christliche* (only what is ' Catholic ' is Christian, ' Catholic ' here being understood as ' universal ' and not of course as synonymous with ' Roman Catholic '). The counter thesis was that *Die Absonderung ist das Unchristliche* (what keeps men divided and apart is un-Christian). The signatories then proceed to state what they consider to be the ' Catholic ' elements in their Evangelical belief, approximating at times closely to the Roman Catholic position, and they include this statement : ' One can scarcely think that the Evangelical Church can and should recover Catholic truth for herself without at the same time seeking unity with Western and Eastern Christianity in the bosom of which these Catholic truths have already been proclaimed under the guidance of the Spirit of God '.

The Shadow

Were one able to judge the new German democracy in itself and on its real achievements since 1949, it would be difficult not to pass a favourable verdict. But this achievement cannot be taken in isolation out of the context of the German situation. If there is no likelihood that it will be shaken from within, there are two dangers which loom over it from without.

Whether it be regarded as provisional or permanent (and the great majority of West Germans view it in the latter sense), German territory is in point of fact divided ; one large portion is under Russian and Communist control. Left to itself, East Germany would naturally be drawn to the Federal Republic. The puppet State in the Russian zone has no internal dynamic and very little popular support. The Russian argument, however, is that there are two Germanies, and that the question of re-unification between them is primarily in German hands—which is another way of saying that they will agree to such reunion only on Eastern, that is Russian, terms. On the eve of Four Powers talks in July 1955, Dr Adenauer broadcast a speech to Eastern Germany, assuring the people that the West did not forget them : ' You belong to us, and we belong to you. You can always depend on us because together with the free world we shall not rest until you are again in possession of human rights and are peacefully united with us in one State. Politically, we have one goal : in a free and united world, a free and united Germany.'

The Russians went out of their way to stress their attitude, during the ceremonies for the fifth anniversary of the East German State. The head of the Soviet delegation, Suslov, declared that Russia believed that the re-unification of Germany was largely a matter for the Germans themselves, and it would be facilitated by closer contact between the two States of Germany. Without such co-operation, he remarked, it would never be settled. He added further :

> It goes without saying that the Federal Republic's claims to represent all Germany cannot be of any significance. In the course of the Moscow talks (September 1955) the Federal Republic's representatives were told clearly and definitely : the Federal Republic is only one part of Germany and exercises jurisdiction over the territory under its sovereignty. The other part of Germany is the Democratic Republic, which is by no means some sort of geographical conception. It is an objective and quite weighty reality which firmly exists, develops, prospers and has a great future.

The second threat to Western Germany arises from the ' neutralist ' propaganda which is being cunningly urged and exploited at the present moment. Against their better judgment, and partly because of popular opinion in their own countries, influenced by this propaganda, the heads

of Western governments are being pushed towards another ' summit ' meeting. The propaganda is skilfully playing on the desire of Western peoples for a clearer atmosphere and a sense of larger security. British Labour Party spokesmen have talked the same language as the Foreign Minister of Poland and called for a neutral zone on the Continent, to embrace the whole of Germany, plus Poland and Czechoslovakia. Now, much could be said in favour of a neutral area between Russia and the West, but the countries that ought in this sense to be ' neutralized ' are those which lie between Germany and Russia. Here you have the acid test whether there is any point whatever in holding summit or any other kind of talks with the Russian leaders. If their purpose is genuinely peace and their own security, *such* a neutralized zone would go far to guarantee them. But if it be rather the domination of the Continent, and the grounds for thinking so are indeed serious, then any project for a *German* neutralization would play into Soviet hands. Whether Western Germany would accept such status is another question. Dr Adenauer most emphatically would not. In any case, it would raise the gravest problems for West German democracy.

Two Poems

BIRTH

We will not hold an inquest on the past—
The Word died, the mistake was made, the sin
was committed as the wheel turned again
And again exactly as it had turned last.
In the mornings we made promises to ourselves as the fresh
Air of the street gave us that springtime feeling,
That is to say sad hope. Our wills were willing
And plenty of years in the future said, wish your wish
Yet there was something of the dead past polluting
The New Word we had created out of water and the spirit
And everything seemed over bar the shouting
When out of the holy mouth came angelic grace
And the will that had fought in vain had found new merit
And all sorts of beautiful things appeared in that place.

REQUIEM FOR A MILL

They took away the water-wheel,
Scrap-ironed all the corn-mill ;
The water now cascades with no
Audience pacing to and fro
Taking in with casual glance
Experience.

The cold wet blustery winter day
And all thats happening will stay
Alive in the mind : the bleak
Water-flushed meadows speak
An enduring story
To a man indifferent in a doorway.

Packaged, precooked flakes have left
A land of that old mill bereft.
The ghosts that were so local coloured
Hiding behind bags of pollard
Have gone from those empty walls.
The weir still curves its waterfalls
But lets them drop in the tail-race
No longer wildly chivalrous.

And with this mention we withdraw
To things above the temporal law.

PATRICK KAVANAGH

Pagan Mysteries and Christian Sacraments

by PAUL ANDREWS

ST PAUL told the Athenians that they had long worshipped the God whom he preached to them. His suggestion that the pagan world was in some way prepared for Christianity is an attractive one. It appeals not only to the Catholic, who believes in a divine Providence preparing the world for the advent of the Son of God, but also to the rationalist. He will see that preparation as part of an evolutionary pattern, as a sort of pre-history of Christianity, needing only a slight mutation to transform it into that religious type which has shown such extraordinary powers of survival in the struggle of religions and cultures for existence.

The type of mind which to-day sees an embryonic Christianity in the Qumran community was fifty years ago preoccupied with the anticipations of the Christian sacraments which it found in the mystery religions of paganism. It claimed that the Church had borrowed her ritual and her very sacraments from the pagan world around her, and in particular from the mystery cults. Here, said M. Loisy, is the pre-history and the origin of the Christian sacraments. In order to spread throughout the world, Christianity had to adopt the religious fashion then in vogue, which was that of mystery cults. Far from reflecting an institution of Christ, the sacramentalizing of Christianity marks a first compromise, and a highly successful one, with the pagan world around the early Church.

The charge has been in the air long enough, and the answer formulated clearly enough by now, for the critics to have looked elsewhere for ammunition ; and some Arabs rooting in a cave by the Dead Sea have tried to supply it. But the former charge did not die without a struggle. Between the wars it provoked a mountain of books on the Continent ; and even when dead, it migrated, like many other German ideas, to Cambridge, and found a Valhalla in the Cambridge Ancient History. Its survival in works like this is all that its originators could have desired. Here the hard clear light of revelation is softened by comparisons and confusions to a dim twilight, in which half-imagined pagan rites are hardly distinguishable from the early liturgy of the Christian Church.

Here, for instance, is Cornford explaining the pagan mysteries of Greece. After stating that the mysteries were private, as opposed to state-sponsored cults, he writes :

> There is another and deeper sense of the word (mysteries) in which, for example, the Christian ceremonies of baptism, marriage and communion, though conducted in public, may rightly be called mysteries. The central idea common to these ceremonies and the Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries is the idea of a renewal of life. Such a rite is not primarily a ' service ' directed externally towards a divinity ; though it has that aspect, it has also an inherent efficacy, an inward ' grace ', which causes a change in the participant and, in some cases, affects by sympathy even the life of external nature. The general conception of a renewal of life includes entrance upon a new phase of social existence, as in baptism, puberty-initiations, or marriage ; the annual renewal both of tribal life in the birth of children and of the fertility of animals and plants on which we depend for food ; the refreshment of sacramental intercourse with the powers that govern life ; and finally the assurance of a new and better life beyond the grave.[1]

With a technique common among the popularizers of comparative religion, Cornford has conflated a catalogue of similar-seeming rites by listing the historical with the mythical, the sacramental with the magical, and the unique with the commonplace. The resulting list (puberty-initiations . . . renewal of tribal life and of the fertility of animals . . . sacramental intercourse . . . assurance of life beyond the grave), which appears to find a rubric to cover pagan and Christian mysteries, is in fact an optical illusion.

When they tell us that the sacraments have a pre-history, and that they were borrowed from paganism, we should ask what element of the sacraments they mean. The catechism lists clearly the elements of a Christian sacrament, which have been distinguishable from the earliest days of Christian liturgy. There is the outward sign, consisting of actions and words, which symbolizes a certain grace (baptismal washing symbolizes purification, the Last Anointing symbolizes spiritual healing and strengthening), and which through the intercession of Jesus Christ produces the grace that it signifies. There is the inward grace itself. And finally there are the accidentals of a sacrament, the frills of the ritual, which are not essential to it, and have taken shape through the centuries. The prehistorians of Christianity[2] placed Christianity's debt to the pagan rites not in any one element, but rather in the whole idea

[1] C.A.H. iv p. 523 f.

[2] Especially : R. Reitzenstein : *Die hellenistischen Mysterien nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig : 1910) ; W. Bousset : *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen : 1921) ; A Loisy : *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* (Paris : 1932) ; S. Angus : *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (London : 1928).

of obtaining a divine gift through a fixed rite. More precisely, they claimed that the Church borrowed from the mystery cults the idea of rites in which the initiate is united to a dying and rising god, partakes in the god's destiny, and attains to salvation with the god in virtue of the god's salvific, redemptive action.

THE MYSTERY CULTS

Any generalization about the mysteries must be prefaced by an apology, for two reasons: first, because the evidence for them is so arguable and so scattered; and secondly, because the mysteries varied so much among themselves and over the course of their history.[1] Our knowledge of these cults comes partly from written sources—there is a long literature about Eleusis—but largely from archaeology. The evidence is scattered over several centuries, derives from both pagan and Christian writers, and was quite unmanageable until Cumont, Kern and a handful of scholars gathered it into coherent accounts of the individual mysteries. Even with these, one cannot generalize without a fear of forcing all the cults into a pattern. But for our purpose of seeing their similarities with the sacraments, we can define the mystery cults by two main features.

First, they were distinct from the public cults, the cults of the protective deities of each city or of the Empire, the cults to which every citizen must subscribe. The mysteries were private cults, recruited individually, existing alongside the state cults but never in competition with them. Secondly, they were called mystery cults or mysteries because the rites of initiation were closely guarded secrets. It is worth noticing that what was secret was not the doctrine, nor the mythology behind the cult, but the actual ceremonies of initiation, the words spoken and the objects handled or displayed.

The mysteries were like Christianity in that they knew no national frontiers. In origin indeed they were local, starting from Greece or Asia Minor or Persia or Egypt. But they spread all over the Mediterranean world, and initiation was granted to all who were free of certain ritual stains and would pay the fee. Nero scrupled to ask for Eleusinian initiation because he had murdered his mother Agrippina. The ethical demands of the cults were not severe. Moreover, a man could be the initiate of several different mysteries, and he could at any time resign membership of a cult. Though the mysteries were international, there was no international hierarchy, but each local cult formed a separate community with its own priests or priestesses.

[1] The principal mystery cults in question in the period 200 B.C.—200 A.D. are: from Greece, the Eleusinian, Dionysiac, Orphic, and Neo-Pythagorean mysteries; from Phrygia, those of Cybele and Attis; from Syria, of Adonis and Astarte; from Egypt, of Isis, Osiris, and Serapis; from Persia, of Mithra.

It is necessary to recall the distinction between the ritual of the mysteries and their dogma or doctrine. The ritual was a fairly fixed tradition. In many cases it was so old that nobody could recall its original meaning. What evidence we have indicates that in all the mysteries except that of Mithra the ritual went back to a fertility cult. The candidates gazed on and handled symbols of fertility and of sex in order to assure themselves of the regularity of growth by a sympathetic magic, and to ensure the vitality and fertility both of themselves and of mother earth. And in all the mysteries except the Mithraic there were two deities involved : a goddess who was originally a personification of mother earth—such were Demeter, Cybele, Semele ; and an inferior deity who represented the changeable element in nature, the seasons of fertility which came and went, and which were personified as a beautiful young god or goddess. Some mysteries celebrated their death in the autumn and rebirth in the spring ; these were the ' dying and rising gods ' which the rationalists once quoted as analogies to the resurrection of Christ.

SECRET RITUAL AND FREE DOGMA

The real ' mystery ' in these cults was the ritual, the consecrated set of actions, words and objects. The myth, the explanation of the ritual by a story of Demeter and Persephone, or Cybele and Attis, came later. The philosophical and theological embroidery on the myth, and the speculation about its real meaning, began later still, in the great age of Greek rationalism. Moreover, this theology of the mysteries was at the opposite pole to Christian dogma. It was a game which anyone could play. There was no *magisterium* in any of the mysteries ; the priests were content to preserve the secret ritual without debating on its meaning. In addition, they were glad of the advertisement afforded by the free speculations of the philosophers, even though these speculations could not all be true, for many of them were irreconcilable.

Thus Plato used the Eleusinian rites as a peg for thoughts on immortality. Philo illustrated Stoic morality and physics from his knowledge of the mysteries. Apuleius developed from them the philosophy of his ' Golden Ass ', that curious conflation of mysticism and pornography. Clement of Alexandria interpreted the mysteries as the devil's attempt to confuse men by aping the sacraments before they were instituted. And in the second and third centuries after Christ, at a time when Christianity itself was well established, the so-called Hermetic writings confused matters beyond redemption by reading into the mysteries very plausible meanings drawn promiscuously from Christianity, Gnosticism and the pagan philosophy. The only way to avoid foundering in this welter of interpretations is to keep our eyes on the mysteries themselves and on the

actual beliefs and hopes of the participants in the two centuries before and the two centuries after the birth of Christ.

ATTRACTION OF THE MYSTERIES

The beliefs and hopes which attached to the mysteries in this period are easily understood. The cults met and satisfied in some way the universal yearning for a master so near to us that we can plant our steps in his, and at the same time so holy that in following him we are sure of attaining salvation. They centred round gods, or rather half-gods, who had suffered and died, and therefore could be thought to feel some sympathy with mankind ; and they were a personal form of religion, more satisfying to a man's religious sense than the state worship which consisted merely in the conventional handful of incense to the protective gods of the city or empire. Above all, since these gods, Persephone, Osiris, Adonis and the rest, had attained to some sort of privileged positions in the after-life, they were looked upon as useful patrons, who would take good care of their devotees in whatever life lay beyond the grave. At the spring feast of Attis, the priest anointed all present on the throat and whispered : Have courage, initiates ; since the god is saved, there will be salvation from suffering for us too.

Between one mystery cult and another there were similarities which grew as time passed, for they borrowed freely from one another and from Christianity and Jewry. They came to assume a general pattern, comprising two types of rites, the preparatory and the positive, unitive rites. The preparatory and purificatory rites might last one or several days, and involved ritual purification by sprinkling or washing with water, and in many cases fasts and vigils and sexual abstinence. The second half of the initiation consisted rather of positive rites intended to qualify the initiate for the next-life privileges by effecting his union with the god. At this point there is great diversity between the mysteries. Some effected this union by a mimic representation of the legendary fate of the cult-god ; so in Eleusis the rape of Persephone and the mourning of her mother Demeter were re-enacted. Some used suggestion, elaborate scenarios, strong lighting and every kind of stage-effect to bring the initiate to a state in which he imagined himself possessed by the god ; so in the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, after a long and dramatic initiation, the candidate was finally clothed in twelve holy garments and set on a dais to receive the adoration of the other participants. The mysteries of Asiatic origin tended to make the union with the god more physical, and to place it in a copulation with some person representing the cult-god. They all had this in common : that the union with the god, which was the aim of the initiation, was understood as an unforgettable subjective experience.

POSSIBILITY OF CHRISTIAN BORROWINGS

Such are the general lines of the mysteries which Loisy claims as the predecessors of the sacraments, especially the sacraments of Christian initiation, Baptism, with the laying on of hands (Confirmation) which sealed it, and the Holy Communion which accompanied it. Before confronting the mysteries with these sacraments, and seeing how much they have in common, it is worth asking whether they were sufficiently close to one another in space and time to allow for mutual acquaintance and borrowing. By 50 A.D. the mysteries had spread all over the Mediterranean world, and many of the early Christians must have been converts from them. On the other hand, many of the features of the mysteries which approximate most closely to the sacramental type, for instance the anointings and ritual banquet of the Mithraic mysteries, references to rebirth through the rites, and formulas linking the promised immortality of the initiate with the action of the cult-god, all these features rest on very late evidence, from the third and fourth centuries after Christ, and we may well suppose that they were themselves borrowings from Christianity. It was perfectly in character for the mysteries to assimilate Christian rites into their own ceremonies.

Borrowing by the Christians would, however, hardly have been in character. Converts to Christianity from Jewry and paganism showed a lively abhorrence of idolatry. The consciousness of possessing a unique and exclusive revelation of God, a holy deposit which must be kept free from contamination, distinguished early Christianity from all the other religions of the Roman Empire. To Christian eyes, the mystery cults were just as idolatrous as the state religions. Moreover, they retained some unsavoury elements which would have made it extremely difficult for the early Christians to value highly whatever spiritual truths and aspirations lay beneath. They bore the marks of their origin as fertility cults, for phallic symbolism was present in all except the cult of Mithra. The initiation of the priests of Attis culminated in castration, and the Dionysiac initiation in a *stuprum*. The mysteries of Osiris and Isis ended in a deification of the initiate, which would have been even more repugnant to Christians than sexual orgies.

The first clear references to the mysteries in the early Christian writings are to be found in Justin, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. These apologists had to find an answer to the heathens who boasted that they already had their religious ceremonies and mysteries, and older ones than the Christians had. The apologists' answer, which was propounded consistently over a couple of centuries, is interesting. Here, for instance, is Tertullian :

> If you ask what inspires the heretics, I reply that it is the devil, whose function it is to turn the truth upside down, and who tries to imitate in

> the mysteries of the false idols the holy ceremonies of the Christian religion. He too plunges his worshippers in water, and makes them believe that they will find in this bath the expiation of their crimes. He signs the soldiers of Mithra on the forehead when he initiates them, he celebrates the oblation of bread, and he offers an image of the resurrection. Indeed he forbids the high priest to enter a second marriage. He has his virgins, and his celibates.[1]

His theory was that the devil, the great ape of God, tried to confuse men by inspiring the pagans, even before the time of Christ, to institute ceremonies sufficiently like the Christian sacraments to claim rivalry. And the rivalry was undoubtedly there. The mysteries offered pagans a personal, highly emotional type of cult that was generally free of the moral restraints involved in the Christian sacraments. Christianity was not preached into a vacuum. But Tertullian and the other apologists, in building up this theory of diabolic plagiarism, certainly exaggerated the similarities, and used Christian terms to describe ceremonies which had a superficial material similarity to the sacraments, but without any parallelism of ideas behind.

Therefore, though early Christianity was in contact with the mystery cults, it could not be said to be open to their influence. But could it perhaps have absorbed their ideas and rituals unconsciously, by a kind of spiritual osmosis? That is the sort of question that defies a positive answer. We can only confront the mysteries and the sacraments and see whether there is really that basic similarity which prompted Loisy's claim that Christianity borrowed from the mysteries the idea of rites in which the initiate is united to a dying and rising god, partakes in the god's destiny, and attains to salvation with the god in virtue of the god's salvific, redemptive action.

CONFRONTATION

What Loisy calls *dying and rising gods* in the mysteries are vegetation or astral gods, the dying and rising of which represent the annual fall and spring of nature. The dying and rising God to whom we are likened in Baptism is a historical personality, who actually died and rose again at a determinable place and time.

The death of the mystery-god is no *expiatory death* for the sins of men, as was Jesus's death. Adonis dies in the arms of his beloved Astarte, having been wounded by a wild boar on a hunt. Persephone, Queen of Hades, welcomes him, and his subsequent history is not so much one of resurrection as of alternating every six months, at the change of seasons, between the company of Persephone and Astarte. Attis is driven out of his senses by a jealous goddess, castrates himself, and dies—and so on

[1] *Praescript. contra Haer.*, 40.

through the list of mystery-gods. Their death is not an action, much less a redemptive action ; it is an unfortunate accident, from which they have made every effort to escape. Their subsequent popularity is not because they have done anything to save men, but because, though superhuman beings, they have known what it is to suffer, and therefore attracted Hellenes who were weary of the egoism of the Olympians.

The *union with the god* for which the mystery-initiates hoped was often thought of as a real deification, and implied a pantheistic notion of God. In Christianity by contrast, though the initiate shares in the life of God by grace, yet the infinite distance between man and God is never lessened by any attempt at identification.

Christian Baptism is closely linked to the *ethical obligations* of a Christian. ' If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit', wrote St Paul. The ontological change is not enough, it must be accompanied by an ethical change. This is the lesson of the tenth chapter of St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, where he describes how the Israelites all passed through the Red Sea and were baptized into Moses's fellowship in the cloud and the sea. ' But with most of them God was not well pleased.' Despite their baptism they went back into sinful ways and were rejected by God. ' And the lesson is that he who thinks he stands firmly should beware of a fall.'

By contrast, the religion of most of the mysteries was divorced from morality. Any generalization on this point is dangerous, for the mysteries varied considerably from age to age and among themselves. The mysteries of Mithra, for instance, which were widespread in the Roman Empire, especially from the first century A.D., laid a strong emphasis on the morals of the initiate, and much of the initiation consisted of tests of his courage and other virtues. At the other extreme we have the cults of Serapis and of Dionysos. Tertullian said that the smoke from one of the Serapian banquets was enough to alarm the fire-brigade. Livy has left a detailed account of the scandalous orgies which preceded the suppression of the Dionysiac mysteries in Rome in 186 B.C. Juvenal did not hesitate to brand the high-priestess of the mysteries of Isis as a procuress. It would, however, be as unfair to generalize from this as from the high moral tone of the Mithraic mysteries. We can only affirm that whatever the factual moral standard of the mysteries, it was only in those of Mithra that initiation involved a moral reformation. Initiation in the others was a natural process which aimed at freeing the candidate, not from sin nor the tendency to sin, but from the mastery of fate and punishment after death. Beyond the paying of the initiation fee, there were no obligations attached.

One last difference is the question of *how the two rites were thought to work*. Here one must face the accusation of magic which is so easily

cast against the sacraments, an accusation which must be taken seriously. As Mgr Knox said, it is not obvious at first glance what is the exact difference between a witch-doctor who whisks you with an elephant's tail to cure you of sunstroke and a man dressed up in a mitre who gives you a slap on the cheek and tells you to receive the Holy Ghost.

The charge of using magical rites would be hard to sustain against the early Christians. It is clear that from the beginning they attributed the efficacy of the sacraments to the fact that the principal minister was the God-man Christ, whose power to bestow graces on His creatures was limited only by their capacity and will to receive. No magic power was ascribed to the rites themselves. All the force of the sacraments came from Christ, who had merited for men the sacramental graces.

The mysteries on the other hand achieved their effect partly by bringing the initiates into a state of ecstasy in which they thought themselves possessed by the god (there were ecstasies in the early Church too, but St Paul and the bishops were careful to keep them in their place, a secondary one). Partly the mysteries ascribed their effect to magical power inherent in the actions and words and objects used in them—magical power because it was thought to force the god to grant the promised rewards ; the rites were considered a technique to give men power over certain gods. The third factor to which the mysteries ascribed their effect was a religious one, prayer to the gods. There was never an official theology of the mysteries, and it is impossible to know what efficacy was attributed by the initiates to each of these factors, subjective ecstasy, magical power in the rites, and humble prayer for a future happiness. In any case we are at a far remove from the Christocentric faith of the Christian sacraments, which substituted history for myth, and sought an objective, supernatural grace rather than a subjective experience.

Very little is left now of the basic similarities which Loisy claimed to see between the mysteries and the sacraments. The early Church could not have borrowed there the idea of sacraments, because it was not to be found there. None of the mysteries are as plausible ancestors of the sacraments as are some of the Old Testament ceremonies, circumcision, baptism, the anointing of kings. Here, if anywhere, we can find a prehistory of the Christian rites and symbols. But for the content with which Christianity endowed these symbols, we can find no source or parallel outside the New Testament.

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

However, though we can find no pagan prehistory for the idea of a sacrament, we may still surmise that the symbolism and ritual and vocabulary of the Christian sacraments had something in common with

paganism. This is what we should expect. Men have only a limited vocabulary of words and signs ; and when they wish to express symbolically a religious concept such as purification, it is natural that, whether they be Jews or pagans or Christians, they should think of washing with water. In the same way, God's acceptance of a sacrifice and His good will towards the sacrificers is expressed the world over by a sacrificial banquet, in which men consider themselves as the guests and fellow-banqueters of God ; and when we find that there was a banquet of bread and diluted wine in the mystery cult of Mithra, we should beware of automatically considering it as the ancestor (or the offspring) of the Eucharistic banquet. That would be mistaking analogy for genealogy. The rationalists have given Catholic apologists a hundred such hares to chase : for instance, the fact that in the mysteries of Mithra there were seven stages of initiation—the origin of the seven sacraments ? No, the Mithraic number has a close connection with the number of the planets, whereas the Christian seven were not defined and numbered until the middle ages—even St Peter Damien in the eleventh century was still so uncertain about what constituted a sacrament that he could count twelve of them. There are pagan analogies to Baptism ; but the most obvious model of the sacramental action is to be found not in paganism but in the Jewish rite used by St John the Baptist. There are pagan analogies to the symbolic anointings in Confirmation, Holy Orders and Extreme Unction ; but, again, the sacramental action has more obvious affinities with the religious anointings of the Old Testament.

REVELATION AND LANGUAGE

So much for the symbolism of the sacraments. It is a human symbolism, such as might appear in any religion. But in so far as it had historical precedents, they seem to have been rather in the religious rites of the Old Testament than in those of paganism. But perhaps we can find pagan sources for the *form* of the sacraments, including in that term all the vocabulary of early sacramental theology ? We are inclined to look back with nostalgia to those early days when theology engaged the intellect and heart and not merely the memory, when it was an attempt to understand the faith, and not a bookish search for the bones of the faith in a waste of Latin documents. We imagine a time when theologians' minds grappled directly with the revealed reality of God's dispensation, unencumbered by the consecrated formulas and pre-fabricated concepts which stock the discipline to-day.

This view seems, however, to be excessively romantic. The message of Christianity was new, indeed. But it had to be uttered in an ancient language, heavy with pagan associations. The formulas of the early Christian theologians were not consecrated ; but at times they must have seemed to their users already desecrated. When St Paul called Jesus

Σωτήρ, he knew that the title had been applied to Castor and Pollux, and even, more recently, to Julius Caesar. Paul's exhortation to put on Christ (*Rom.* 13, 14) may have reminded his readers of the donning of masks of the cult-god during initiation into the mysteries. His references to Christ's second coming would remind readers of the state visit of an emperor or important official, which likewise was called *Παρουσία*. The rationalists have tried from these verbal borrowings to prove a real dependence of ideas. But a closer investigation shows that St Paul charged these words with a radically new meaning and went far towards building an authentically Christian vocabulary.

The word *μυστήριον* is a pertinent example. The plural, *μυστήρια*, was the word used to describe the religious initiation of the mystery cults. St Paul uses *μυστήριον* twenty-one times, generally in the singular, and never in the sense of a cult or a rite. For him *μυστήριον* means either God's secret plan for the salvation of men, a plan which was a secret until Christ revealed it (*e.g.*, in *Rom.* 16, 25–6) ; or it signifies something with a typical or symbolical meaning, as in *Eph.* 5, 32, where marriage is called a great mystery, for it is a symbol of the union between Christ and His Church ; or, finally, *μυστήριον* in St Paul signifies something the working of which is hidden, or not fully known, such as the mystery of iniquity, in *II Thess.* 2, 7. In short, *μυστήριον* in the pagan cultic sense refers to secret rites which must be kept secret. In St Paul it means a secret plan of God which has been revealed in and by Christ, and must be further revealed by His apostles, who are *οἰκονόμοι*, stewards, of God's mysteries (*I Cor.* 4, 1). Origen and Clement of Alexandria were the first to use the word *μυστήρια* for the sacramental rites, about 200 A.D. Prior to them no Christian seems to have been sufficiently aware of the similarities between the mystery cults and the sacraments to bring them under a common denominator.

Other parallels between Pauline and pagan terminology are equally disappointing on inspection. Paul seldom uses a pagan cultic word, and when he does, he gives it a manifestly different connotation from the pagan. For the rest, the main source for his religious vocabulary is the Septuagint Old Testament. Until the Alexandrian speculations of the third century, the Church's horror of idolatry made her eschew as far as possible the tainted terminology of the mystery cults.

CHRISTIAN BORROWINGS

We have examined the possibility of a pagan prehistory for the idea of a sacrament, for the symbolism and language of the sacraments. There remain only the accidentals ; and here at last we have evidence that the Church borrowed something from the mysteries.

First, the Discipline of the Secret. It is still strongly controverted when this grew up in the Church, and what proportions it assumed.

But it seems probable that from 200 A.D. on to the Edict of Constantine, the Christian rites were surrounded by a hedge of secrecy within which only the baptized were admitted : an institution strongly reminiscent of the mystery cults, with their ' holier than thou ' attitude, and one which may well have grown up under their influence. But the mystery cults were not the only models for such secretiveness. There were many such closed societies in the Hellenistic world. Esoteric doctrines were particularly beloved of the Alexandrians, and the Discipline of the Secret prevailed especially in the Egyptian Church and those which came under its influence. As a corollary of this discipline there evolved the practice of distinguishing the faithful from the catechumens. Christians became over-careful not to cast their pearls before swine, and sometimes overlooked the scriptural command to shout the good news from the rooftops.

Secondly, from about 200 A.D., the Church began to use terms and figures and symbols from the mysteries in order to express Christian ideas. The Church's missionary policy to-day is to build on what is good in pagan cultures and religions rather than to destroy it and import European forms and vocabulary. In the same spirit, the Church in the catacombs portrayed Christ in the figure of Orpheus playing on his lyre, for as Orpheus tamed the wild beasts with his song and returned unharmed from hell, so did Christ with his word tame the savage passions of men, and bring back the souls of the just from hell. This use of pagan iconography is a first sign that the Church was realizing that she was larger than all the religions she had feared, that her function was not so much to oppose them as to absorb them, and that the riches of Egypt, all that was good and elevating in the ancient cultures, belonged in truth to the chosen people, the people of God. This was the spirit of Clement of Alexandria, when in his exhortation to the heathen he invited them to leave their shadowy mysteries and come to the true mysteries, which are celebrated by Christ in heaven.

The appeal of Clement points to the real nature of Christianity's debt to the mysteries. Their immense popularity in the first two centuries of our era was a symptom of men's extraordinary and providential longing for a God who would be near to men, and who would understand their sufferings ; and if we maintain that the Christian mystery, with its affecting story, its sacramental system and its assurance of eternal life, gave satisfaction to the vast hope with which the minds of men were buoyed up at this time, that is only what the facts tell us. In this sense the mysteries, though they gave Christianity nothing beyond one or two very ancillary features, shared with the Old Testament the character of what the Fathers call the *Praeparatio Evangelica*. They were part of what St Paul meant when he said on the Areopagus : What therefore you worship without knowing it, I preach to you.

E

The Ideology of Imperialism

Spanish Debates regarding the Conquest of America, 1511–51

A Critical Outline and Bibliographical Introduction

by EDWARD J. BRENNAN

ONE of the most remarkable episodes in the history of political ideas is furnished by the vigorous debates which characterized the reaction of the Spanish intelligentsia to the expansion of their countrymen into the American continent. ' The scientific study of international politics as a separate branch of academic learning ', two pioneers in this field have remarked, ' is still in its infancy '.[1] The paucity of serious studies dealing with the intellectual roots of modern European colonial imperialism and in particular with the climate of opinion in Spain, the grand initiator of the process, is symptomatic of the great gaps which yet remain to be filled. The published literature worthy of serious study is represented by sketchy outlines in general textbooks on international relations[2] and by monographs stressing the late 19th-century European expansion into Africa and Asia.[3] Marxist writers, though crudely biased, at least cannot be accused of lack of diligence in this field.[4] Such cannot be said for American scholars who have surprisingly neglected the ideological roots of their country's acquisition of the Philippine Islands.[5]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the English-language literature devoted to the ideology of 16th-century Spanish colonial expansion is minute.[6] The Spaniards themselves have been peculiarly remiss in exploiting this rich field in their intellectual history. Some of them have made cursory references to it in the process of endeavouring to uphold their country's ' honour ' in the face of the horrific accounts of Spanish cruelty penned by Las Casas in his *Very brief account of the destruction of the Indies*.[7] Others have referred to this field in writing on the great Francisco de Vitoria or Las Casas.[8] But only one Spanish writer of stature has delved extensively into this fascinating episode.[9] And even this writer assigns undue weight to the influence of Vitoria and falls into the error of this thinker's biographers who write as if their hero, undisputably a great theologian and the founder of the modern law of nations,[10] dominated the controversy regarding the conquest of America.

One is inclined to suspect that this fallacious assessment of Vitoria's practical influence is in no small part due to the remarkable (though no longer excusable) Spanish propensity to decry Bartolomé de Las Casas,

who took a leading part in the debates. Las Casas is, of course, regarded by his modern countrymen as the founder of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty in America.[11] As Prescott has remarked, the statistics of Las Casas came from his heart rather than from his head, but, while we cannot say today that the Spaniards murdered literally millions of Indians, as Las Casas would have us believe, we can be sure that the many descriptions of Spanish cruelty which we have from his pen are not exaggerated. His critics have always successfully attacked him on the ground of his statistics ; they have never been able to disprove his facts.[12] The Spanish view, though, is that, since he insisted on publishing these facts to the whole world, he intended to besmirch the ' honour ' of Spain.[13] Therefore no good Spaniard should study his theories.

So irrational is the antipathy to this thinker that one Spanish historian wrote a biography of Pedrarias, the villainous Governor of Darien so vehemently denounced by Las Casas, with the openly professed aim of ' contributing by my modest labour to a vindication of the deeds of our predecessors . . . and thereby . . . to a refutation of the false history . . . which has blotted the golden pages of eternal Spain '.[14]

For the above reasons, and also because of the failure of the Spanish academic world to exploit to any creative extent their Indian Archives,[15] the best and most balanced accounts of an episode which will (in this writer's opinion) always shed glory on the 16th-century Catholic conscience in Spain have been written by foreigners, among them American,[16] German,[17] and Mexican[18] scholars. It is significant that the foremost authority in this field, Hanke, is, at the same time, the leading contemporary admirer of Las Casas.[19] When Spanish scholars stop worrying about their national ' honour ', they too will find that the fundamental spiritual values for which Las Casas stood far transcend in importance all petty considerations of wounded national pride.

THE INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE DEBATE

The 16th-century Spanish theorists were faced with basically two issues : (1) did Spain acquire her American possessions lawfully ? (2) assuming the acquisitions to be just, how should the Indians be ruled ? Should they be ruled in the same manner as the Spaniards in the homeland, or did they merit a harsh rule because of their apparently rude and uncivilized state ?

These were no purely academic questions, for upon the answers given by the Spanish intelligentsia depended the fate of the Indians. The enslavement of the Indians is a good example of this. Some thinkers believed that the Indians were naturally meant to serve more ' civilized ' nations. Others, while denying this, conceded that they could be enslaved in a just war. A tiny few denounced slavery in any shape or form. The

course of official legislation kept pace with these diverging views. Slavery was lawful until 1530. Then it was made illegal. Several years later it was made legal again, but in 1542 it was finally abolished. Similar fluctuations attended official regulation of the *encomienda* system, while the code of 1573, which regulated future expeditions of conquest, showed a marked improvement over that of 1526.

When the Spanish theorists tackled the Indian problem they brought to bear a rich legacy of ideas inherited from the so-called Middle Ages.[20] Within this intellectual framework they interpreted the famous papal Briefs of 1493 and assessed the moral basis of the *encomienda*.

When the Spanish theorists sought to determine the juridical status of the Indians, who were indisputably infidels but who were also assumed to be totally beyond cultural redemption, they sought inspiration in the philosophy of Aristotle and the theories of the medieval canonists. Aristotle had taught that certain men were, because of mental weakness, destined to be slaves by nature. So great was the authority of Aristotle for the Schoolmen that this dubious doctrine was not entirely rejected by St Thomas.[21]

What made matters even worse was the appeal which several Spanish theorists made to the *De regimine principum,* a work then believed to have been entirely composed by St Thomas but which was actually a compound of his *De regno : ad regem Cypri* and some political writings of Tolomeo of Lucca (*ob.* 1327).[22] Unfortunately, those portions composed by Tolomeo contained explicit acceptance of the Aristotelian doctrine of natural slavery, and the Spanish faction hostile to Indian liberty seemed to have the authority of the Angelic Doctor behind them when they argued their case. To Antonio Montesino, who came to Spain in 1512 to plead for the Indians, the Licentiate Gregorio retorted that he could quote in rebuttal the very authority (St Thomas) on whom Montesino had relied in making his point.[23] And in 1519 Las Casas was so incensed when Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Darien, cited Aristotle to prove that the Indians should be treated as a servile race, that he exclaimed in the presence of Charles V :

> Even if Aristotle really said what the Bishop alleges, the Philosopher was an unbeliever and is burning in hell. And, finally, his [Aristotle's] doctrine must be used only insofar as it is in keeping with our holy faith and the customs of the Christian religion . . . All nations receive it in uniform manner and from nobody does it take away liberty or dominion, nor does it subject anyone to servitude under the pretext that he is a slave by nature.[24]

Even when the partisans of the Indian cause had surmounted the obstacles presented by the dicta of Aristotle and St Thomas, they still

had to reckon with the doctrine that the *jus gentium* sanctioned the enslavement of infidels captured in a just war. Even so liberal a thinker as Vitoria conceded this.[25] Las Casas, though, quite apart from stating that the Spaniards had never waged a just war in America, believed that the *jus gentium* should not be invoked in defence of slavery.[26]

Intimately related to the question of the juridical status of the Indians was the heated issue of the papal Briefs (not Bulls[27]) issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493. Modern critics of the Church have been quick to cite these documents as a good example of papal pretensions to universal temporal power.[28] On the other hand, some defenders of the Church seem to have gone too far in arguing that the Briefs (especially the *Inter caetera* of May 4, 1493[29] which drew the famous line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde and Azore Islands) constituted an act of arbitration.[30] As has been pointed out, the notion of arbitration was foreign to the public law of Europe at the time, and Portugal was not consulted.[31] In addition, the Treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494[32]), which shifted the demarcation line further westwards made no reference to the papal pronouncements. Perhaps the fairest assessment of these ambiguous-sounding Briefs is that

> although the *substratum*, so to speak, is the universal sovereignty [in relation to *islands*] assumed by the Holy See, yet the portion of that sovereignty transferred either to Spain or Portugal by the Apostolic letters is made practically subservient to the right of discovery.[33]

The Spanish intellectuals were less careful in their interpretation. With them it was a question of all or nothing. One side claimed that the Papacy had conveyed the continent of America to the Spanish Crown and that this conveyance was valid provided that the missionary obligations imposed by the Briefs were fulfilled by the Crown. The other side claimed that all that had been conferred was a monopoly of missionary activity as against any other European nation. Las Casas was fond of reiterating in his writings that the Crown should look only to the spiritual rewards ensuing from the dispatch of missionaries. No territorial gains should be actively sought, for this would inevitably make the Spaniards odious to the aborigines, and the spread of the faith would be gravely hindered.

Those Spanish theorists who interpreted the Briefs to the detriment of the Indians not only believed that the text of the papal pronouncements supported their view. They also held that the Papacy could lawfully dispose of the territories of the Indians in this cavalier fashion. At this point they were reviving the heated medieval controversy regarding the extent of the temporal power of the Papacy. And it was at this point that the views of the medieval canonists assumed great importance.

By the end of the 13th century two views regarding the juridical status of the infidels vis-à-vis the Church had come to prevail. On the one hand there were the canonists as represented by Innocent IV (*ob.* 1254) and the extremist, Henry of Susa (*ob.* 1271) or Hostiensis. Innocent typified the more moderate school of canonistic thought when he argued that the Papacy could exercise temporal power over infidels only in two cases : (1) exclusion of missionaries, and (2) violation of the precepts of the Natural Law (idolatry, sins against nature, etc.). Both types of offences merited punishment by force of arms.[34] Hence a war with this end in view would be a just one. Hostiensis went even further. Noting that Innocent had begun on the premise that Christ was the Ruler of the universe and had bequeathed His temporal power over *all* men to Peter and his successors (e.g. ' Feed my sheep', John 21 : 17), Hostiensis then drew the conclusion that the transfer of power rendered the infidel nations unreservedly *de jure* (though historically not *de facto*) subject to the Church. If infidels acknowledged the supremacy of the Church, they could be tolerated ; but a refusal to submit would make a war against them a just one.[35]

This theocratic view regarding the origin of political power was rejected by St Thomas. Relying on Aristotle's *Politics,* which became known to Western Europe only in the middle of the 13th century, he effected a revolution[36] in political theory by stating that the state was an institution demanded by the very nature of man's social instincts.[37] He therefore rejected the view that political power was universally inferior and unreservedly subject to the spiritual power.[38] Among Christian states, he said, the Pope could invoke temporal power to attain a spiritual end, but in relation to infidels

> the Divine Law, which relates to the order of grace, does not abrogate human law which springs from natural reason ; there in itself the distinction between the faithful and unbelievers does not operate to deprive unbelievers of dominion and rule over the faithful.[39]

In the hands of such enlightened thinkers as Vitoria and Las Casas this Thomistic formula, *jus autem divinum, quod est ex gratia, non tollit jus humanum,* was to prove to be a powerful weapon in combating the pretensions of the extremists who appealed to the authority of Innocent IV and Hostiensis.

Finally, there was the question of the *encomienda* system against which Las Casas fulminated so frequently. There is little doubt that in its formative years this socio-economic institution was merely a disguised system of forced labour against which the Crown soon took action in order to prevent the rise of a feudal society in America. The theory of the institution was that the Indians should work for the Spaniards who would give them wages and instruct them in the faith.[40]

The underlying realities were far different. The early settlers, notorious for their reluctance to engage in manual labour,[41] needed free labour, and lots of it, to exploit the fields and mines—mostly the latter in the early years. The settlers were ' the choicest riff-raff ever brought together : ex-soldiers, broken noblemen, adventurers, criminals and convicts.' [42] Las Casas himself saw men whose ears had been clipped off in Spain for criminal offences and who lorded it over the Indians when they came to Española.[43] Any modern reader inclined, as so many Spanish historians are, to doubt the accounts of Las Casas would do well to peruse the damning evidence assembled in 1516 by the Dominicans of Española.[44] It should not be necessary to remark that Las Casas was not then a member of the Order of Preachers.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE DEBATES

The sufferings of the Indians were more than the Dominicans of Española could stand. Towards the close of 1511 (the year following their arrival)[45] they decided to take action. With the full agreement of his colleagues, Fray Antonio Montesino gave a sermon in which he castigated his listeners for their cruelties. ' Tell me ', he enquired, ' by what right or justice do you keep these Indians in such a cruel and horrible servitude ? On what authority have you waged a detestable war against these people who dwelt quietly and peacefully on their own land ? ' A stunned audience which included the Governor and his officials heard him conclude with the dire warning that ' in such a state as yours you can no more be saved than the Moors or Turks who lack or reject the faith of Jesus Christ.' [46]

The sermon of Montesino is a landmark in the history of political thought. It represents the first public statement of a Spaniard calling into question the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest and administration of the Indies. And this sermon started the Indian debates which are such an unusual feature of 16th-century Spanish thought.

The bitter controversy, aggravated by the refusal of the Dominicans to give absolution to *encomenderos,* which ensued in Española could be settled only in the homeland. Montesino went to Spain and presented his case to Ferdinand who convoked the famous Committee of Burgos. This committee formulated a series of legislative principles which were embodied in the first code of legislation drawn up by a modern European nation for its colonies. This code, the Laws of Burgos, was promulgated in December 1512.[47]

The Laws of Burgos, which purported to seek the welfare of the Indians, improved the situation not one whit. The chief scourge of the Indians, the *encomienda* system, continued to receive official support, and this support was forthcoming not only because the turbulent colonists

would resist any attempt on the part of the Crown to abolish the system, but also because the Burgos Committee-members found the system to be ethically justified.

The Burgos Committee was composed of seven jurists and four theologians.[48] Of the written opinions of two of them (Fray Bernardo de Mesa and the Licentiate Gregorio, both royal confessors) Las Casas has left an account,[49] while the manuscripts of two others (Doctor Juan López de Palacios Rubios, an eminent jurist, and Fray Matías de Paz, a Dominican theologian who taught at Valladolid and at Salamanca from 1513) have been published by modern scholars.[50]

The writings of all these thinkers evidence the rudimentary and naïve character of prevailing Spanish thought. Aristotle, Innocent IV, Hostiensis and the *De regimine principum* attributed to St Thomas are appealed to in justification of the conquests and the *encomienda* system. Paz was a reputable theologian, and he began teaching at Salamanca in 1513. Yet his thought is extremely rudimentary. As he himself conceded, his teachings went beyond even what Hostiensis had propounded. 'The Church', he remarked, 'may justly despoil all infidel princes of their rule merely because of their unbelief'. This could be done because 'the dominion of the entire world belongs to the Catholic Church'.

Palacios Rubios was enabled to put the theories of Hostiensis and Innocent IV into practical effect in 1513. In that year a committee of Dominican theologians met in Valladolid to discuss the lawfulness of the Spanish conquests. The intellectual calibre of these theologians may be estimated from their acceptance of the doctrines of Martín Fernández de Enciso, a lawyer, who argued in their presence that the Spanish wars were just because the Indians had violated the precepts of the Natural Law by being idolaters.[51] However, in line with the Old Testament dictum that an idolatrous city should first be called upon to surrender before it could be attacked, it was decided that the status of the Indians should henceforth be notified to them before hostilities could be commenced.

The device designed to accomplish this end was the famous *Requerimiento*[52] which Palacios Rubios drafted.[53] This lengthy document, which, by an ordinance of 17 November, 1526, was made an essential part of the baggage of every expedition of conquest, was to be read to the Indians 'once, twice, and more, [and] as many times as may seem appropriate'. The Requirement expounded Hostiensism in all its simple logic by telling the Indians that, by virtue of the papal Briefs, the Spaniards had been invested with the sovereignty of the Indies. The Indians were to submit, because, as they now knew, they were really 'vassals' of the Spanish Crown. If they refused to submit, the document threatened,

the Spaniards would wage war against them, enslave their wives and children, and perpetrate ' all the mischief and damage possible '.

The Requirement has been sufficiently ridiculed by modern commentators to require extensive analysis.[54] What has been generally overlooked, however, is that it was the fruit of a sincere (though misguided) attempt on the part of the Spanish intelligentsia to regulate the actions of the *conquistadores* in accordance with the then prevailing notions of the causes required for a just war.

Las Casas and Vitoria

The climate of opinion was influenced by the arrival of Las Casas on the intellectual scene. Newly converted to the Indian cause, he arrived in Spain in 1515 in the company of Montesino. As a result of his pleadings three Jeronymite friars were sent out to reform the Indies. Las Casas idealistically believed that the Jeronymites would carry out their instructions to free as many Indians as were found ' fit ' for liberty. The Spanish colonists told the friars that the Indians were a lazy, immoral people unfit to be freemen. The Dominicans and Franciscans told the Jeronymites that the reverse was the case.[55] The Jeronymites had to face reality in the form of the opposition of the settlers to any change, and Las Casas returned to Spain to renew his crusade. He obtained an extensive grant of land (Cumaná) in what is now known as Venezuela with the intention of having fifty ' model ' Spanish colonists settle there. It was his belief that the kindness shown by these colonists would result in the peaceful conversion of the Indians. The experiment failed, because the ' model ' colonists turned out to be no better than the generality of Spanish settlers in America, and Las Casas retired from the world by entering a Dominican monastery.[56]

For some ten years he remained in seclusion. He then emerged as an erudite scholar armed with the valuable knowledge acquired in the course of his studies of Thomistic philosophy. Like Vitoria he was to use this knowledge to refute the hoary theories of the Spanish disciples of the extremist medieval canonists.

In 1537 Las Casas wrote his *On the only method of attracting people to the true faith,*[57] a treatise written with the aim of replying to those who were arguing that the Indians would never be converted to, or persevere in, the faith, unless they were under Spanish rule. His thesis was that conversion should result from intellectual persuasion and not from force of arms. Together with a devoted band of Dominicans he proved his point by engaging in the conversion and pacification of the fierce Indians of the Tierra de Guerra region (in Guatemala) which was then officially re-named the Land of True Peace (Vera Paz).[58]

In 1539 the great Francisco de Vitoria discussed the Indian problem

in his two famous *Relectiones*. Rejecting the extreme views of most of his intellectual contemporaries, he found the Indian nations to be the juridical equals of Spain.[59] Neither the papal Briefs nor the supposed papal jurisdiction over infidels sufficed in themselves to render a war just. He drastically narrowed the concept of injury (a basic prerequisite for the waging of a just war) by denying that it could extend to injury of God (e.g., violation of the Natural Law) and by affirming that the injury must be restricted to men.

The leading features of Vitoria's political thought are now so well known that their exposition is not required here. A few generally overlooked points should, however, be stressed. Vitoria did not pass judgment on the Spanish conquests in his *Relectiones*. These lectures really constitute a list of arguments for and against the conquests, and Vitoria did not say whether he found any of these arguments to be operative. It is left to the reader to determine this point. However, we now know from a letter which Vitoria wrote to a Dominican colleague several years previously that, in general, he found the Spanish conquests to be lawful. Only the case of Peru caused some doubt in his mind, and even here his anxiety stemmed more from reports of atrocities committed rather than from the question of the right of the Spaniards to invade that country.[60]

Vitoria rejected the Aristotelian doctrine of natural slavery, but he compromised his stand by admitting that he was half-inclined to accept the doctrine that the cultural backwardness of the Indians could justify the imposition of what the modern world euphemistically describes as Trusteeship. The doctrine of the 'White Man's Burden', which the Kiplings of the late 19th century employed in order to justify the sudden European expansion into Africa,[61] is a catchword which can be used to justify the annexation of any culturally retarded political entity. Its theory is laudable, but its practice is open to all sorts of abuses. Las Casas knew this all too well. Hence he exerted every effort to persuade his countrymen that the Indians were really very civilized and were even superior to the ancient Greeks and Romans who practised immoral religious cults.[62]

Vitoria has been rightly praised for his far-sighted contributions to the science of international law. But his dicta regarding the waging of war show him to be very much a product of his age. He accepted the enslavement of infidels, recognized that the sack of a town could be lawfully resorted to as a morale-booster for the soldiery of the side with the just cause, and countenanced a variety of warlike measures (e.g., economic warfare) which would bear sharply on the non-combatant population and which we recognize today as forming an indispensable element of the concept of total war.[63]

Finally, it must be remarked that, while Vitoria's later intellectual

influence was great, his own practical influence in the Spanish debates was small. He did not participate in the debates, never read any literature on the subject, and did not influence the official policy-makers. Las Casas, on the contrary, did all of these things. His was the loudest voice in the debates. He kept pouring out a flood of controversial literature, and while Vitoria was reprimanded by the Emperor for his *Relectiones* and told to speak no further on the Indian question,[64] Las Casas was permitted to continue his denunciations of official policy.

The latter's practical influence was in evidence as early as 1515, and it was an anti-slavery tract of his which strengthened the official decision of 1542 to abolish slavery and its disguised form, the *encomienda*. He could lay claim to a great intellectual influence also. The leading universities of Spain discussed his works and, in his lifetime, made many of his tenets their own.[65] And in 1546 he had the satisfaction of seeing an imposing ecclesiastical *junta* in Mexico City draw up a series of comments on the Spanish conquests in which his views were adopted without reservation. This *junta* proclaimed that the papal Briefs conferred upon the Spanish Crown merely a missionary monopoly which should be executed through the medium of missionaries and not soldiers. In footing the bill for this, the Crown was not to attempt to recoup its expenses by violating the rights of the Indian nations.[66]

Las Casas made many enemies in his lifetime. The earliest one of note was the famous Franciscan missionary, Motolinía, who, after reading the denunciations of the Spanish conquests, wrote a letter of complaint to Charles V. In this letter he endeavoured to refute his adversary and then proceeded to betray his intellectual insecurity by literally imploring the Emperor to have expert theologians pass upon the opinions of the Dominican.[67]

Sepúlveda

Las Casas returned to Spain in 1547 and was soon engaged in debate with his greatest contemporary critic, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, noted humanist and imperial historiographer.[68] Las Casas cleared the decks for this debate by first of all defending before the Council of the Indies his famous *Confesionario*,[69] a set of confessorial regulations issued by him as Bishop of Chiapa (Guatemala) in which he forbade his clergy to grant absolution to *encomenderos*. The fame of the *Confesionario* spread to Mexico where the 1546 *junta* approved it,[70] much to the displeasure of the Council of the Indies which decreed that all circulating copies be collected and shipped to Spain.[71] The written defence of Las Casas, which was cast in the form of ' Thirty Propositions ',[72] and in which he criticized official policy, is a cogent example of the freedom of action permitted to this turbulent thinker by the Crown.

Sepúlveda unwittingly drew a hornet's nest about his ears when he applied for a licence to have his *Democrates alter,*[73] a work approving the Spanish conquests, printed. Las Casas protested, and, to the stupefaction of Sepúlveda (backed by Cardinal Loaysa, President of the Council of the Indies, who had encouraged the humanist to write the book[74]), it was decreed that the book should be submitted to the scrutiny of the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. Both institutions condemned the book as containing ' unsound doctrine '. And well they might, for it was a bizarre medley of extremist medieval canonistic thought and Aristotelian harshness. If Vitoria believed in 1539 that he was disposing of these theories once and for all, he was mistaken. They were the pillars of Sepúlveda's thought in 1547. He had never been to America himself, but he had no hesitation in describing the Indians as being little better than monkeys or bears.[75] To those who argued that their buildings, artifacts and social institutions betokened rationality, he replied that spiders and birds showed equal ability.[76] The Spaniards, who, in his eyes, were the cultural superiors of any other national group in Europe, had every right to take these barbarians in hand.[77] Sepúlveda's doctrines attracted a wide following. Diego de Vitoria, the brother of Francisco, succumbed to it, as did other theologians.[78]

Angered by the rebuff administered by the Universities, Sepúlveda challenged the Salamanca theologians (among them Domingo de Soto and Melchior Cano, both disciples of the deceased Vitoria) to a verbal duel. He got his debate, but his opponent turned out to be Las Casas. The two contestants debated before a formidable committee of theologians and jurists which conducted hearings at Valladolid during the period 1550-51.

Although both parties claimed victory, the committee never handed down a formal decision. It is important, however, to note that the committee's terms of reference went far beyond the question of the printing of Sepúlveda's book which, incidentally, did not see the Spanish printing-press until over three centuries later. The committee was also charged with advising the Emperor whether the Spanish conquests were being made justly, and, if not, what reforms were necessary.[79]

The amazing feature of the whole business is that Charles V was sincere in requesting an academic committee to determine the conditions under which his great overseas realm should be expanded. This sincerity is clearly evidenced by his ordinance, issued on the eve of the Valladolid debate, decreeing the suspension of all further conquests in America until such time as new rules were adopted.[80] This unique example of a policy of political self-abnegation is but one more instance of the spectacular results which sometimes attended the protests of the pro-Indian faction spearheaded by Las Casas.

The Papacy

It is not sufficiently well known that the Papacy intervened in the Spanish debates. How this intervention came about constitutes a fascinating episode. An obscure Dominican friar, Bernardino de Minaya, came from America and pleaded with Cardinal Loaysa (likewise a Dominican, and President of the Council of the Indies) to revoke a 1534 ordinance permitting the enslavement of the Indians.[81] The Cardinal refused, observing that the Indians were no better than parrots. Minaya brought his case to Rome. Pope Paul III was so moved by Minaya's accounts of Spanish cruelties that in 1537 he released a series of pronouncements condemning in strong terms the notion (then prevalent among Spanish settlers in America[82]) that the Indians were 'dumb brutes . . . incapable of receiving the Catholic faith'. As the Pope aptly noted, this theory was used as a pretext for enslaving the Indians and despoiling them of all the rights of ownership. Henceforth the Indians were, *under pain of excommunication,*

> to be by no means deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ ; and . . . they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property ; nor should they be in any way enslaved ; should the contrary happen, it shall be null and of no effect.[83]

Unfortunately, Charles V refused to abide by this declaration. He applied heavy political pressure, and on June 19 of the following year the Pope had to revoke his pronouncements.[84] This noble effort had foundered on the rock of what we know today as 'domestic jurisdiction'.

Critics of the 1493 Briefs have, however, failed to refer to this episode which shows beyond dispute that the Papacy found no place for the teachings of the extremist medieval canonists.

NOTES

[1] Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth W. Thompson, *Principles and problems of international politics : Selected readings* (New York, 1950), 3.

[2] Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among nations : The struggle for power and peace* (New York, 1954), 41-66. Norman Hill, *International relations : Documents and readings* (New York, 1950). Frederick L. Schuman, *International politics : The destiny of the western state system* (New York, 1948), 511-40. Quincy Wright, *A study of war* (2 vols. ; Chicago, 1942), *passim*. Other works typified by Joseph Schumpeter's *Imperialism and Social Classes* (New York, 1955) are marred by subjective, *a priori* handling of inadequate data.

[3] William L. Langer, *The diplomacy of imperialism* (New York, 1935). Parker T. Moon, *Imperialism and world politics* (New York, 1926).

[4] Their theories are summarized and critically examined in E. M. Winslow's *The pattern of imperialism* (New York, 1948). cf. Morgenthau, *Politics among nations . . .*, 44-50.

[5] The few good treatments are : Walter Millis, *The martial spirit* (Boston, 1931). J. W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore, 1936). M. M. Wilkerson, *Public opinion and the Spanish-American war* (Baton Rouge, La., 1932). Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest destiny : A study of nationalist expansionism in American history* (Baltimore, 1935).

[6] Only two monographs deal specifically with this field : J. H. Parry, *The Spanish theory of empire in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1940), with primary emphasis on the *encomienda*. The standard English-language work is Lewis Hanke's *The Spanish struggle for justice in the conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949).

[7] e.g. Constantino Bayle's able but frankly apologetic *España en Indias : nuevos ataques y nuevas defensas* (Vitoria, 1934).

[8] G. Alonso Getino, *El maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria : su vida e influencia* (Madrid, 1930). Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Los manuscritos del maestro Fray Francisco de Vitoria, O.P.* (Valladolid, 1928). Arthur Helps, *The life of Las Casas, the Apostle of the Indies* (London, 1896), and *The Spanish conquest in America and its relation to the history of slavery and to the government of colonies*, ed. M. Oppenheim (4 vols. ; London, 1900-04), I, 321-69 ; II, 1-159 ; III, 220-57 ; IV, 198-235. Marcel Brion, *Bartolomé de Las Casas, " Father of the Indians "*, trans. Coley B. Taylor (New York, n.d.). Manuel Josef Quintana, *Vidas de españoles célebres* (Paris, 1845), 128-211. Antonio María Fabié y Escudero, *Vida y escritos de fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, obispo de Chiapa* (2 vols. ; Madrid, 1879). J. A. Llorente, *Oeuvres de Don Barthélemi de Las Casas, évêque de Chiapa, défenseur de la liberté des naturels de l'Amérique* . . . (2 vols. ; Paris, 1822). Agustín Yañez, *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas : el conquistador conquistado* (Mexico, 1942). Francis Augustus MacNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Casas : His life, his apostolate, and his writings* (New York, 1909).

[9] Venancio D. Carro, *La teología y los teólogos-juristas españoles ante la conquista de América* (' Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de la Universidad de Sevilla ', No. 6 ; 2 vols. ; Madrid, 1944).

[10] James Brown Scott, *Francisco de Vitoria and his law of nations* (Oxford, 1934). Camilo Barcia Trelles, *Francisco de Vitoria fundador del derecho internacional moderno* (Valladolid, 1928). Arthur Nussbaum, *A concise history of the law of nations* (New York, 1947), 63.

[11] Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra : estudios acerca del concepto de España en el extranjero* (Barcelona, 1943). Rómulo D. Carbia, *Historia de la leyenda negra hispano-americana* (Buenos Aires, 1943).

[12] Lewis Hanke, *Bartolomé de Las Casas, historian : An essay in Spanish historiography* (Gainesville, Fla., 1952), 8-10.

[13] e.g. Juderías (227) denounces Las Casas as ' instrumento de la difamación de España '.

[14] Pablo Álvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias Dávila : contribución al estudio de la figura del ' Gran Justador ', Gobernador de Castilla del Oro y Nicaragua* (Madrid, 1944), 390.

[15] Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *La huelle de España en América* (Madrid, 1924), 65.

[16] A more extensive version of Hanke's *Spanish struggle* . . . has been issued under the title, *La lucha por la justicia en la conquista de América*, trans. Ramón Iglesia (Buenos Aires, 1949).

[17] Joseph Höffner, *Christentum und Menschenwürde : Das Anliegen der Spanischen Kolonialethik im goldenen Zeitalter* (Trier, 1947).

[18] Silvio A. Zavala, *Las instituciones jurídicas en la conquista de América* (Madrid, 1935), *New viewpoints on the Spanish colonization of America* (Philadelphia, 1943), and *Servidumbre natural y libertad cristiana según los tratadistas españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Buenos Aires, 1944). His latest contribution is his Introduction to Juan López de Palacios Rubios, *De las islas del mar Océano*, trans. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico, 1954). Both Hanke and Millares Carlo collaborated in editing a series of later 16th-century Spanish tracts for and against the conquests under the title, *Cuerpo de documentos del siglo XVI sobre los derechos de España en las Indias y Filipinas* (Mexico, 1943).

[19] In addition to the works of Hanke cited in note 16, both of which stress the ideas and influence of Las Casas, there are his *Las teorías políticas de Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Buenos Aires, 1935) and ' Un festón de documentos lascasianos ', *Revista Cubana*, XVI, 150-211.

[20] Venancio D. Carro, ' Las controversias de Indias y las ideas teológico-jurídicas medievales que las preparan y explican ', *Anuario de la Asociación Francisco de Vitoria,* VIII (1947-48), 13-53.

[21] *In libros politicorum expositio,* lect. 1 et 4, cited by Höffner (63). cf. Otto Schilling, *Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Thomas v. A.* (Padesborn, 1923), 228-39.

[22] I. Th. Eschmann in his Introduction to St Thomas Aquinas, *On kingship to the king of Cyprus,* trans. Gerald B. Phelan (Toronto, 1949), xi.

[23] Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias,* ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (3 vols. ; Mexico, 1951), Lib. III, c. 12. Cited hereafter as LCH.

[24] LCH, Lib. III, c. 149.

[25] *De jure belli Hispanorum in barbaros* (Scott, lxiv-lxv).

[26] Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Este es un tratado que el obispo de la ciudad de Chiapa, don fray Bartolomé de las Casas o Casaus, compuso por comision del Consejo Real de las Indias, sobre la manera de los indios que se han hecho en ellas esclavos* . . . (" Biblioteca de Autores Españoles . . .", Vol. LXV ; Madrid, 1873), 208. Paraphrase in Llorente (II, 1-49). cf. Hanke, *Las teorías políticas* . . ., 26 n. 3.

[27] Höffner, 160 n. 2, following E. Staedler, " Die ' donatio Alexandrina ' und die divisio mundi von 1493 ", *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht,* CXVII (1937), 368. On this topic generally see the lengthy essay of Manuel Giménez Fernández : ' Nuevas consideraciones sobre la historia, sentido y valor de las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 referentes a las Indias ', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* I (1944), 171-259.

[28] e.g. W. H. Prescott, *The conquest of Mexico* (' The Modern Library ' ; New York, n.d.), 275. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific states of North America* (34 vols. ; San Francisco, 1882-90), I, 166-67.

[29] Text in Frances Gardener Davenport's *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies to 1648* (Washington, D.C., 1917), 72-75.

[30] ' Papal arbitration ', *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* XI, 455.

[31] Luis Weckman, *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política del Papado medieval : estudio de la supremacía papal sobre islas, 1091-1493* (Mexico, 1949), 26-28. Zavala, *New viewpoints* . . ., 25-26.

[32] Text in Davenport (93-100).

[33] Henry Harrisse, *The diplomatic history of America, its first chapter, 1452-1493-1494* (London, 1897), 76.

[34] *Apparatus ad quinque libros Decretalium,* III, 34.8. Extracts cited by A. J. and R. W. Carlyles in their *A history of medieval political theory in the West* (6 vols. ; Edinburgh, 1950), V, 34 & 323. cf. W. Ullmann, *Medieval papalism : The political theories of the medieval canonists* (London, 1949), 121, and Höffner (57).

[35] Ullmann, 130-31.

[36] Richard Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps d. Schönen und Bonifaz' VIII : Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Anschauungen des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1903), 26-27.

[37] e.g. *On kingship* . . ., Lib. I, c.1. cf. Carlyles, V, 11.

[38] As Carro (*La teología* . . ., I, 149) stresses, the commonly accepted view among the canonists was that held by Hugh of St Victor (1096-1141) who had claimed that the spiritual was prior in time to the temporal power : *Primum a Deo Sacerdotium institutum est, postea* . . . *regalis potestas ordinata. De sacramentis,* III, P. II, c. 4.

[39] *Summa Theologica,* 2.2, 10.10, cf. Carlyles, V, 34-35 ; Carro, I, 212.

[40] Ruth K. Barber, *Indian labor in the Spanish colonies* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1932), 17. Silvio A. Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid, 1935), 241.

[41] See the complaint of a member of the Cortés clan in 1563 : ' ninguno se aplica a trabajar '. *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino y muy especialmente del de Indias* (42 vols. ; Madrid, 1864-84), IV, 458. Cited hereafter as DIA. cf. Bayle, 173 and W. Roscher, *The Spanish colonial system,* trans. E. G. Bourne (New York, 1904), 3-4.

[42] Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The encomienda in New Spain : The beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley, Calif., 1950), 7.

[43] LCH, Lib. II, c. 1.

[44] Text of letter (June 4, 1516) in DIA, VII, 397-430.

[45] Benno Biermann, ' Die ersten Dominikaner in Amerika ', *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft,* I (1947), 57, following LCH, Lib. I, c. 54. The Franciscans had arrived in 1502. LCH, Lib. II, c. 3.

[46] LCH, Lib. III, c. 4. On this topic see also José María Chacón y Calvo, *Cedulario cubano : los orígenes de la colonización, 1493-1512* (' Colección de Documentos Inéditos de Hispano-América ', Vol. 6 ; Madrid, n. d.), xxxiii.

[47] Rafael Altamira y Crevea, ' El texto de las leyes de Burgos de 1512 ', *Revista de Historia de América,* I, no. 4 (1938), 5-79. Summary of laws in Simpson (32-34).

[48] LCH, Lib. III, c. 7.

[49] LCH, Lib. III, cc. 9 et 12.

[50] Palacios Rubios, *De las islas del mar Océano,* trans. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico, 1954). cf. Eloy Bullón y Fernández, *Un colaborador de los reyes Católicos : el Doctor Palacios Rubios y sus obras* (Madrid, 1927), 117-30, and Silvio A. Zavala, *La " Utopía " de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España y otros estudios* (Mexico, 1937), 33-43. Matías de Paz, *Del dominio de los reyes de España sobre los Indios,* trans. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico, 1954). Latin text in Beltrán de Heredia's " Un precursor del maestro Vitoria, el P. Matías de Paz, O.P., y su tratado ' De Dominio Regum Hispaniae super Indos ' ", *La Ciencia Tomista,* XL (1929), 173-90, and " El tratado del Padre Matías de Paz, O.P., acerca del dominio de los Reyes sobre los Indios de América ", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum,* III (1933), 133-82.

[51] Text of Enciso's speech in DIA, I, 442-47.

[52] Text in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar* (2nd ser. ; Madrid, 1885-1932), XX, 311-14 ; Zavala, *Las instituciones . . .,* 286-88 ; Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la dominación española en América : estudios históricos* (' Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles ', Vol. XXV ; Madrid, 1918), CCXCII-CCXCIV. Translation in Helps, *The Spanish conquest . . .,* I, 264-67.

[53] LCH, Lib. III, c. 57.

[54] e.g. Helps, *The Spanish conquest . . .,* I, 267 ; Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer : Einleitung zur Geschichte der Besiedlung Amerikas durch die Völker der alten Welt* (3 vols. ; Stuttgart, 1925-36), I, 556. For a defence see Bullón y Fernández (138). A history of criticism is in Hanke's ' The Requirement and its interpreters ', *Revista de Historia de América,* I, no. 1 (1938), 25-34, and in his *La lucha . . .,* 254-60.

[55] On this episode see Hanke's *The first social experiments in America : A study in the development of Spanish Indian policy in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935). The views of the colonists are in DIA, VII, 393-94, and those of the Dominicans are in LCH, Lib. III, cc. 94-95.

[56] MacNutt, 150-73.

[57] The lengthy surviving fragments have been edited by Agustín Millares under the title, *Del único modo de atraer a todas las gentes a la religión verdadera* (Mexico, 1942). A summary is in Antonio de Remesal's classic *Historia general de las Indias occidentales, y particular de la gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala* (2 vols. ; Guatemala, C.A., 1932), Lib. III, c. 9.

[58] MacNutt, 190-202, following Remesal, Lib. III, c. 16.

[59] *De Indis recenter inventis* (Scott, xxiii).

[60] Full text of letter (November 8, 1534) in Getino (144-46). The fragments and commentary in Scott (79-80) are poorly handled.

[61] Moon, 73. Kirby Page, *National defense : A study of the origins, results and prevention of war* (New York, 1931), 30-33.

[62] Las Casas, *Apologética historia de las Indias* (' Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles : Historiadores de Indias ', Vol. I ; Madrid, 1909), 336-39.

[63] *De jure belli . . .*, (Scott, lxiv-lxviii).

[64] Scott (85-86) quoting letter of November 10, 1539 from Charles V to the Prior of the Convent of San Esteban. For Vitoria's own admission that he did not participate in the debates, see Scott (xxxiv).

[65] Beltrán de Heredia, *Los manuscritos . . .*, 150.

[66] Declaration of *junta* summarized in Remesal (Lib. VII, c. 16). cf. Mariano Cuevas, S.J., *Historia de la Iglesia en México* (2 vols. ; Tlalpam, Mexico), I, 437.

[67] Text of letter discussed in Joaquín García Icazbalceta's *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (2 vols. ; Mexico, 1858-66), I, XCVIII-CXI.

[68] Details of life and career in Aubrey G. Bell, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Oxford, 1925) ; Alfred Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie de Charles-Quint* (Paris, 1913), 42-72. Works (exclusive of *Democrates alter*) in his *Opera cum edita tum inedita* (4 vols. ; Madrid, 1780).

[69] Extracts in Icazbalceta (XCV n. 116-XCVII).

[70] Remesal, Lib. VII, c. 16 ; Cuevas, I, 437.

[71] Simpson, 253.

[72] Summary in Llorente, (I, 289-311).

[73] Edited by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo under the title, *Tratado sobre las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios* (Mexico, 1941). Cited hereafter as *Tratado*. A summary of Sepúlveda's book is in Angel Losada's *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda a través de su " Epistolario " y nuevos documentos* (Madrid, 1949), 183-231. This author, like Father Teodoro Andrés Marcos in his *Vitoria y Carlos V en la soberanía hispano-americana* (Salamanca, 1946), believes (*horribile dictu*) that Vitoria and Sepúlveda are intellectually closely related.

[74] Sepúlveda, *Proposiciones temerarias escandalosas y heréticas que notó el Doctor Sepúlveda en el libro de la conquista de Indias, que Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas . . . hizo imprimir . . .* (Fabié, I, 299). This tract (Fabié, I, 298-302 ; II, 543-69) gives Sepúlveda's version of the debate.

[75] [*Indi*] *. . . tam longe superantur ab Hispanis quam . . . simiae prope dixerim ab hominibus. Tratado,* 100.

[76] *Nullum est id prudentiae humanioris argumentum, cum bestiolas quasdam opera fabricare videamus. Tratado,* 108.

[77] *Tratado,* 150.

[78] *Tratado,* 178 ; *Opera,* IV, 349.

[79] Domingo de Soto, *Controversia con el Doctor Sepúlveda acerca de los indios* (' Biblioteca de Autores Españoles . . .', Vol. LXV ; Madrid, 1873), 199. The tract of Soto (a Salamanca theologian, disciple of Vitoria, and partisan of Las Casas) was written at the request of the Valladolid Committee which found itself confused by the arguments of the contestants. cf. Llorente, I, 355 ff.

[80] Hanke, *La lucha . . .*, 322. It was Hanke who brought to light this ordinance of April 16, 1550.

[81] This narrative is based on Minaya's account which has been published by Hanke in his 'Pope Paul III and the American Indians', *Harvard Theological Review*, XXX (1937), 99-101. cf. Remesal, Lib. III, c. 16-17.

[82] Fray Julían Garcés (Bishop of Tlascala, Mexico) to Pope Paul III, 1535. Francisco Javier Hernáez ed., *Colección de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas* (2 vols.; Brussels, 1879), I, 56-62.

[83] *Pastorale Officium* (May 29, 1537); *Altitudo Divini Consilii* (June 1, 1537); *Veritas Ipsa* (June 2, 1537); *Sublimis Deus* (June 4, 1537). For texts and references see Hernáez, I, 101-02; 65-67; 102-03. MacNutt, 427-31. cf. Robert Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique: Essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionaires des Ordres Mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523-4 à 1572* (Paris, 1933), 112-13.

[84] DIA, VII, 414.

Mervyn Wall: The Demands of Satire

by THOMAS KILROY

'THERE has always been in the Irish nature', according to Robin Flower, 'a sharp and astringent irony . . . from Mac Con Glinne to Merryman the light of this inexhaustible irony plays upon Irish life and letters.' From this particular angle Mr Wall's novels might even appear to be traditional. One might go further and try to analyse this bias towards satirical comment which pervades Irish literature, and Mr Wall would fit in neatly somewhere along the line. At the outset, however, one must beware of such stimulating temptations. The more rewarding approach excludes such a reference as being quite irrelevant, as merely providing a colourful, unexplored historical background to more legitimate criticism.

Such a criticism revolves around the satiric element in the work of Mervyn Wall. Satire of its very nature imposes considerable demands upon the skill and technique of the artist. As a form of criticism it reflects an attitude of the writer : the writer rationally or emotionally involved in the arguments of his own characters, a state of affairs which is never conducive to the production of great art. To appreciate, then, the delicate control and finesse required of the satirist one must first examine in more detail some of the subtle, psychological equipment at his disposal. The achievement of Mervyn Wall may then be justly assessed.

The most characteristic instrument of the satirist is laughter, which is provoked deliberately and for a definite purpose. Under this particular stimulus, one's natural judgment may more easily be weakened, unbalanced or rather converted, a fact which has been recognized by indoctrinators as different as cartoonists and political demagogues. Under this stimulus, too, the sacrosanctity of persons and principles normally immune from such attack is very easily forgotten. That such laughter may be all the more effective in its ridicule the author must necessarily be cruel, unmoved by either the dignity or distress of his victim. The humorist by comparison has far greater sympathy with the misadventures of his characters. Since the figure of the satirist is an impressive, intimidating one, satire as a medium of forceful expression has a deceptive attraction for inferior writers with a grievance. For every Dryden or Pope there are hundreds of Oldhams, Denhams, Kings or Colly Cibbers, so that the true artist is as distinguishable as an aristocrat among commoners. Dryden has admirably illustrated this distinction on a purely technical level :

> There is a vast difference betwixt the slovenly butchering of a man, and the fineness of a stroke that separates the head from the body and leaves it standing in its place.

There is a certain hierarchy in the actual values of satire itself which provides a ready measure for its critics. For instance, mere noting or reporting of abuse could never of itself constitute great art. It is only when the indictment is elevated by the prose style of a Swift or the imagination of a Waugh that it approaches art. There is yet a further level. When the satire is not merely confined to isolated passages, but when every element of the work, style, characterization and mood is integrated towards the one objective, that of satire, then one may have a unity of form comparable to that of the lyric or the prose poem. One might apply this test of sustained or radical satire to the work of Mervyn Wall, for it is the characteristic which distinguishes the masterpieces of Swift and Pope, of George Orwell and Evelyn Waugh.

There is yet one further distinction which one must make in the case of Mervyn Wall. As a vehicle of satire, the novel, with its emphasis on psychological characterization, has brought about the development of the comic figures of satire, of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. This broadly speaking is the progression which the satirist has made from the allegory of the eighteenth century where the refrigerated creatures of his creation were then warmed by the life of wit :

> The Life of Man to represent
> And turn it all to ridicule
> Wit did a puppet show invent
> Where the chief actor is a Fool.

This use of characterization forces the satirical novelist to be particularly selective. Admission to this fatally gay world of the ridiculous, unhappy situations with Basil Seale, Captain Grimes or Lady Circumference is strictly reserved. Characters of the satirist must perform unprotestingly like the circus clown and even bear occasionally the scourge of the ringmaster's lash. The analogy is not unduly forced, as when the control of the satirist is relaxed the result is crude invective and pedestrian writing. The clowns escape from the ring. In actual fact the analogy of the clowns is timid and one-dimensional, as satire has all the contrived entertainment and suppressed ferocity of a menagerie.

This is the hysterical, uninhibited commentary which seems most interesting in the four novels of Mervyn Wall. In the following review it will seem most artistic and successful in its onset, when the satire is radical, when the control is sure and purposeful and the elements of the satire not dissipated in foreign material. As a satirist, Wall is particularly

interesting as a mouthpiece of that post-Treaty generation which has expressed itself forcibly in some of the work of Patrick Kavanagh, Donagh McDonagh and Myles na gCopaleen. As a satirist, too, he is greater than the others since his satirical output is more consistent and embracing.

Judging by these canons of criticism, Wall's first novel *The Unfortunate Fursey* still remains by far the best. It is a perfectly controlled radical satire (the only one in fact which Wall has yet written) with one of the finest comic creations in modern fiction as its chief protagonist. To provide an ideal environment for his satire on the Ireland dominated by petty clergy and bureaucrats, Wall has translated the whole action to the past when Ireland was the 'Island of Saints and Scholars' and where, according to one of the characters, 'anything may happen to anyone anywhere and at any time and that it usually does'.

Here Wall has allowed himself the maximum canvas, as one of the pitfalls of the satirist is a sort of literary claustrophobia where all imagination is stifled. In his wanderings the hero, Fursey, completes, in a highly fanciful way, a typical life cycle of modern Ireland, from religious orthodoxy to frustrated indifference, from Clonmacnoise to a grocer's shop in England—'the first of many exiles for whom a decent way of living was not to be had in their own country'. In this peregrination his closest friend is an outrageously good-humoured and sensible Mephistopheles ('If there's one thing I can't stand, it's superstition') with his crew of 'cacodemons, incubi, gryphons and galaxies of undraped females of unsurpassing loveliness'. His natural enemies on the other hand are Bishop Flanagan and his personal exorcist and inquisitor, Fr Furiosus, ('a fair trial and a quick burning') and the various petty people who persecute him on every available occasion.

Apart from revealing one of Mr Wall's prejudices, this division of forces provides a clue to Fursey's comic identity. His colossal misfortune provokes laughter and sympathy in the reader, an overwhelming combination which prepares the way for the lesson implied by the satirist. Fursey has all the effective characteristics of a Chaplin or a Tati: he is ugly, dull-witted and eminently lovable. Unable to pronounce the words of exorcism due to a natural impediment in his speech, Fursey unwittingly becomes a sorcerer and is expelled from the haven of Clonmacnoise into the merciless outer world. It is only when we have chosen his side in this struggle that we find ourselves on the side of hell and damnation. While we allow ourselves to be diverted by the antics of his intriguing acquaintances, of Cuthbert the master sorcerer, or the somewhat unsuccessful witch whom Fursey was forced to marry and who bore the unlikely name of the Grey Mare, while we are thus stimulated, we are at the same moment absorbing a lesson as effectively as if it were set out in impeccable logic.

Part of Wall's comic technique is a mischievous, impassively delivered dialogue, at which he excels. On a particular occasion Fursey feels some misgivings about being introduced to one of Satan's assistants.

> 'Oh she's a demon,' observed Fursey with distaste.
> A shrill feminine voice came from behind the veil.
> 'I'm not a demon,' it said testily, 'I'm an elemental.'
> 'That's alright, Gertie,' said the Devil soothingly, 'he didn't mean any harm.'

The Unfortunate Fursey abounds with such odd characters, invaluable in their eccentricity, as the world of the satirist is not an easy one to populate. In fact if there are flaws in the construction of the work they are largely due to Wall's over-eagerness to introduce further and perhaps slightly irrelevant creatures of his quaint imagination. Notice has already been taken of Wall's mastery over dialogue, and this economic taste is also evident in his narrative, in the sardonic description of the pre-historic Irish war for example. One is immediately reminded of Swift, and there is still one final observation on this novel which furthers the comparison. In radical satire, which is best illustrated by Swift's pamphlets and letters, every ironical comment and suggestion of the author patiently builds up, step by step, to a grand climax of ridicule and scorn. Isolated, the particular passage may seem pointless and unsuccessful in its intention, but by this stage one must remember that the reader has been perfectly conditioned, the point having already been partially made. With the fantastic meeting between the Devil and the clergy of Ireland Mr Wall has stretched the elasticity of his theme to its limits ; with the decisive summing-up of the Devil he has finally made his point.

> I promise the clergy of this country wealth and the respect of their people for all time. When a stranger enters a village he will not have to ask which is the priest's house. It will be easy of identification for it will be the largest house there. I promise you that whenever priests are sought, it will not be in the houses of the poor they will be found. And as a sign that I will keep my part of the bargain, I will stamp the foreheads of your priesthood with my own particular seal—the seal of pride.

A figure like Fursey gains in stature by being only partly known to us ; his charm is itself partly that of anonymity. Familiarity on the other hand destroys the bond of sympathy which is so necessary between the comic figure and his audience, and that is precisely what happened when Mr Wall fell to the temptation of writing *The Return of Fursey*. The second book has all the faults of numerous such sequels, its plot and characters being outrageously overworked, and there is little of the original

inspiration. The romantic minor plot with Maeve and Fursey, which was treated with the accurate, disciplined hilarity it deserved in the first novel, has now spread itself beyond its legitimate limits as a mere element of satire. Here Mr Wall seems to have lost his sense of satiric control, as he illustrates his knowledge (which appears immense) of demonology and demons in inartistic processions. Occasionally his real talent asserts itself. He shows his mastery of projected satire, veiled criticism of modern Ireland under pseudo-historical terms in his cameo of the censor at Clonmacnoise, whose skill in discovering indecent and obscene passages of literature was phenomenal, and whose real identity is revealed by implication. Such a skilful passage, however, is exceptional and Fursey inevitably suffers from the undue attentions of his author.

In his two later novels Mervyn Wall is concerned with the discomforts and misfortune of the intelligent Irishman who, like the prophet, is not recognized in his own country. In each case Mr Wall falls between the two high stools of realism and satirical extravaganza. Both novels fail because of this attempt to blend satire into the stately, uncompromising other world. Yet even as failures, both works deserve the attention of anyone interested in modern Irish writing.

The hero of the first and better of the two novels, Lucian Brewse-Burke, a middle-aged university graduate in Classics, who finds himself condemned to a life-time of frustration as a County Council clerk, might have been the Leopold Bloom of rural Ireland. One might force the comparison a further, final step as the action of *Leaves for the Burning* revolves around the dissipated wanderings of four educated Irishmen, who try to drown their frustration or mere ineffectiveness in a grand peregrination from country public-house to public-house, the wild, sad and bitterly funny funeral of Irish bachelorhood. The novel might have been the saga of post-Treaty rural Ireland which has developed most of its depression and elaborate inhibitions in the dark public-house, which does most of its business ' after-hours '. In spite of his accuracy and detail, however, Mr Wall does not seem to realize the full potentiality of his material, of the petty local politics and general lack of initiative. He has populated this dark world of whiskey fumes with eccentric characters worthy of the early Evelyn Waugh. There is, for instance, the little man who follows the influential party from public-house to public-house looking for an I.R.A. pension and pestering the hero with odd illiterate letters. With a touch of insane, savage comedy worthy of *Scoop*, this little man is thrown out of a window at a moment of drunken revelry. Much later, someone discovers that the unfortunate man has broken his neck, a victim of overzealous patriotism and an unsympathetic bureaucracy. There is the Doctor who when he is drunk thinks people are staring at him and when he is sober makes a habit of befriending all

the offensive-looking dogs in the neighbourhood. As if such habits could not cause sufficient trouble to the party, he continually invites everyone he meets en route ' to come along to the dance at Longford '.

However, the clean, sharp satire of this illogical, ridiculous Irish Odyssey, with its appalling masculine frustration, is diluted by the introduction of further shades of writing. As in *The Unfortunate Fursey,* Mr Wall's unhappy handling of a romantic theme spoils the over-all effect. The end of this novel is meaningless : the far-fetched heroism of Lucian is not far-fetched enough to fit into the distorted pattern which has gone before.

There is the same fatal, indecisive approach in Wall's latest novel *No Trophies Raise.* The novel begins with a successful, elaborate satire of the Civil Service, and this sharp commentary is then turned towards the figure of a ' get-rich-quick ' industrialist who proclaims his particular passport to wealth with the nick-name of ' Pig-feed ' Sam Welpely. Bound-up, however, with this vivid picture of an interesting, changing Ireland is the somewhat sentimental plot of a brilliant philosopher, Albert Thomas Hand, who writes world-famous theses after his office hours as a poor neglected, Dublin Civil Service clerk. In fact Mr Wall is never quite sure who he is writing about, as the chief character in the book seems to be Sam's spineless, helpless son Eugene, who appears and re-appears at intervals in a series of meaningless, negative incidents. The final chapter closes with the death of the philosopher, unwanted and unappreciated by his countrymen, an ending which is repulsive in its sentimentality and in its obvious, laboured conclusion.

It is surprising, then, that there is distinguished writing and intelligent social satire in such a bad short novel as *No Trophies Raise.* The picture of the ruthless industrialist and the powerful secret society *Warriors of the Cross* is very impressive and slightly Orwellian—' other things are always equal '. There is the same vivid picture of Irish country life which one found in *Leaves for the Burning,* as in the memorable scene at the sexless dance hall. The odd eccentric characters are here too, though hardly with the same life as in the earlier novel—Ulick the idiot, and the drunk in morning coat, top-hat and workman's trousers who haunts every public-house, coming as he said himself ' from a wedding in Limerick '. But even these splendid clowns cannot survive in the fog of sentimentality and insipid romance which darkens most of the novel.

The four novels of Mervyn Wall illustrate the struggle of a talented writer for artistic survival under the severe demands imposed by the medium of satire. Because of this severity his faults are unusually emphasized, and brilliant individual situations may be lost in the prevailing mediocrity. The tone of the novels is particularly interesting as it reflects the disappointment of a young, educated generation of our

country who have found self-government and official freedom a tragic, slightly hilarious, but always very serious predicament. Their frustrations and depressions are set out here, for the most part with impeccable wit and keen observation. It is only when Mr Wall shirks the unrelenting role of satirist that a form of literary paralysis sets in.

For this reason alone Fursey the lovable idiot will probably remain Mr Wall's most considerable creation and one of the outstanding figures of modern satire. Even the author seems to realize this, as there is a definite note of regret, as well as of antiphonal fanfare, about his final farewell to the ugly little monk of Clonmacnoise :

> Last Spring, I walked the road from Clonmacnoise to Cashel, and from Cashel to The Gap. Fursey and the others are still there, trampled into the earth of road and field these thousand years.

The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne

by R. A. BREATNACH

OF all the tales about Fionn mac Cumhaill and the Fiana none is better known than *Tóraigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne,* ' The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne '. It was first published with an English translation just over a century ago by Standish Hayes O'Grady in the Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855. O'Grady's text and translation have been reprinted several times, and in P. W. Joyce's rendering, published sixty years ago in *Old Celtic Romances,* the tale became known to a wider public. Many of us have studied the story in our secondary school days or read about it in text-books of history or savoured its charm in Mícheál Mac Liammóir's delightful play in Irish. For the reader of modern Irish, and indeed for the reader who has to depend on the translation, the appeal of the tale is immediate. Here is a theme that manifestly belongs to great literature : the story of a tragic love, set in a milieu of primeval nature touched with ' that magic of Celtic romance, which Matthew Arnold loved and praised ', and elaborated in a peculiar, original style of story-telling redolent of antiquity.

The poignant echo of the protest of the young girl when compelled to marry an old man is sometimes heard in later Irish songs. But the protest is verbal only. In *Tóraigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* it is otherwise. But Gráinne was the daughter of Cormac Son of Art son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, High-King of Ireland, and (we are told) she was young and ' the fairest of feature and form and speech of the women of the whole world '. At her father's bidding, she had agreed to marry Fionn mac Cumhaill who was old and a widower. But she loved Fionn's friend and follower, Diarmaid ' of the white teeth and lightsome countenance ', the darling of all the women and maidens of Ireland. She determined, at whatever cost, that Diarmaid should carry her off. Forced to betray his friend and leader under pain of infringing more sacred obligations placed on him by Gráinne, Diarmaid is the apotheosis of tragedy as he goes out with her into the night with the words of the seer Diorraing still ringing in his ears : ' I tell you to follow Gráinne, and your death will come of it, and I think it is an evil thing '.

The Ireland in which Diarmaid and Gráinne travel, for all its appearance of reality, for all the solidity of its woods and mountains, is really the land of Irish story-telling. The places all have well-known names,

it is true, and are given locations in Ireland, but the reader notices that nearly everyone of them has two names, one fictional and the other historical. For the medieval Irish story-teller was careful to give his tale geographical authentication, just as he sought to give his heroes historicity by providing them with genealogies. The world in which the action of the *Tóraigheacht* takes place, as in all the tales of the Fiana, is an ambivalent one, an amalgam of the real and imagined where the 'Peoples of the Goddess Donu', the Tuatha dé Danann, have equal rights with the race of men. And why not? They had accepted the Faith from Patrick himself according to the late twelfth-century *Acallam na Senórach*; and the fifteenth-century *Cath Fionntrágha* records that there was not 'a king's son or a prince's son or a leader of a band of the Fiana whose wife or mother or nurse or lover' was not of them. The mother of Fionn himself, the *Book of Leinster* records, was of these folk who, as we read elsewhere, were only 'another lot of the men of Ireland who dare not be over ground but in fairy mansions underground.' In such a world as this one expects that men should be something more than human and gods something less than divine.

The tragic concept of the romance of Diarmaid and Gráinne, it is apparent, deserved to be told in the grand manner. In fact, it was outside Ireland, in the French Arthurian cycle of Tristan and Isold, that the theme, derived from Celtic sources, reached its highest point of literary development. This was in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In Ireland, although it is certain that some form of the tale of the elopement of the lovers and their pursuit by Fionn was in existence long before this time, we cannot be sure that the story in the form in which we know it had taken shape until much later; perhaps as late as 1400. It would be interesting to spend a few moments with the poets and story-tellers of the tenth and following centuries in order to trace the theme back to its literary sources. They have much to tell us of a tale which *seanchaithe* of the last generation in Ireland and in Gaelic Scotland still remembered in outline; a tale of which cromlechs speak wherever they bear the name *Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, 'the Bed of Diarmaid and Gráinne', or *Leaba na Caillighe*, 'the Bed of the Hag'—a strange personage of whom more will be said later. But my immediate concern is to recall what the *Pursuit* is about rather than to discover its literary origins. It is not an easy matter to summarize it satisfactorily, because it is a long story running into some ninety-five demy octavo pages in its longest form. However, an attempt must be made, and presently an outline of the contents of the earlier version, which probably is not older than the early seventeenth century, will be essayed. But, first, a word about the MS sources of the tale and the versions that have come down to us.

The earlier version is found in a MS of 1651. It was written by a learned scribe named Dáibhí Ó Duibhgeannáin who has left us several other important MSS. It is now in the Royal Irish Academy numbered 24 P 9. The *Pursuit* is the first item of a collection of tales, poems and other matter, and is still unpublished. Unfortunately, the commencement is missing and the writing is obscured in many places ; but there is little that cannot be restored with the help of other copies. Linguistically—and perhaps artistically too—this is the best text. There are several copies of a later version all dating from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The oldest one of them is the Royal Irish Academy MS. 23 L 27, written in 1737. Substantially this text is the same as the one edited by O'Grady. These later texts differ from the earlier version not only in regard to language : within the tale and at the end they contain additional matter. The most important additions are, first, a poem of twenty-two quatrains describing an obscurely motivated chess-game, on the authority of which some changes have been made in the text, and, secondly, a conclusion which represents Gráinne as marrying Fionn after Diarmaid's death : an ending which has strong support in tradition.

Now for a brief résumé of the romance as David O Duignan has left it to us. Once Fionn rose early in the morning on the Hill of Allen and sat alone on the plain without. His son Oisín and Diorraing the Seer approached him and asked the reason for his early rising. He answered that a man who lacks a fitting wife is not wont to have slumber or repose. Moved to sympathy, Oisín and Diorraing undertook to arrange a marriage for Fionn with Gráinne the daughter of Cormac the High-King. Gráinne showed no enthusiasm, but everyone else was well satisfied and her consent was taken for granted. It was not until the great betrothal feast at Tara that she showed her hand—or rather her heart, and that quite shamelessly. Having caused a sleeping potion to be administered to all the assembled nobles, including her father and mother and, of course, Fionn, but excluding a chosen few, she sat between two of the latter, Oisín and Diarmaid. Then, with rare directness, she proposed to Oisín that he should take his father's place as her husband. Unabashed by Oisín's refusal, she made a like proposal to Diarmaid, who also rebuffed her. But she was not to be denied. Without more ado, she laid him under *geasa* to carry her off. Unmoved by her confession of long-standing love, the reluctant Diarmaid, after much hesitation and after taking counsel with his friends, with many a backward look, set out on the fateful adventure which, as he knew, must end in his death. *La belle dame sans merci* had him in thrall.

They went on horseback direct to Athlone where they crossed the Shannon. Leaving their horses behind them, they made their way to Doire dá Bhaoth, an imaginary wood allegedly situated in Connacht. Here Diarmaid made a clearing with seven doors, and in this clearing the lovers lay hidden. After much searching, Fionn and the Fiana reached Doire dá Bhaoth which Diarmaid, despite previous warning of Fionn's approach, had refused to leave. Now surrounded on all sides, Diarmaid himself refuses to be rescued by his otherworld foster-father, Aonghus of the Brugh, who intervenes, but he allows him to save Gráinne. Finally, as the result of a prodigious leap, he escapes, and follows Aonghus and Gráinne to Ros dá Ro-shoileach, another imaginary wood identified as Limerick. From this on, until we reach two-thirds of the way through the tale, Fionn and the Fiana take no direct part in the adventure of the lovers. Their adventures may be conveniently divided according to locale : those which take place in the district of Sliabh Luachra in Kerry and those which happen in Dubhros 'the black wood', a place supposedly situated in North Connacht. We must pass over their marvellous adventures, for unfortunately they do not advance the action very much.

When Diarmaid and Gráinne are in Dubhros Fionn again takes up the chase. Diarmaid, by killing a giant named An Searbhán Lochlannach, has gained possession of a marvellous quicken-tree which bears berries having magic properties. (The reader here will suspect that Diarmaid and Gráinne may be in the Irish equivalent of the Greek otherworld Garden of the Hesperides and that, like Heracles, Diarmaid, at Gráinne's command, has accomplished the task of obtaining the magic fruit.) Now Fionn attempts to bring Diarmaid to account. Gráinne and he are hiding in the magic tree ; Fionn and the Fiana are underneath it. Again Aonghus of the Brugh intervenes and rescues Gráinne ; and again Diarmaid, by dint of his own prowess, eludes his enemy.

Following this incident Aonghus made peace between the rivals. We are told that the peace lasted sixteen years and that during this time Diarmaid and Gráinne lived prosperously in Ráth Ghráinne in Keshcorran, Co. Sligo, and that she bore him four sons and a daughter. But then came the treacherous chase of the magic pig of Beann Ghulban in Co. Sligo, arranged by Fionn. Now one should know two things : first, that the pig was coeval with Diarmaid and at one time, in human form, was his foster-brother, and, second, that, arising out of the metamorphosis, it was taboo for Diarmaid ever to hunt a pig. Diarmaid slays the beast but is mortally wounded in the combat, and lies in agony when Fionn and the Fiana come upon him. Fionn has the gift of healing him, but despite appeal and threat allows him to die.

There is little more to tell. The news was brought to Gráinne who

was then heavy with child. And Aonghus came and passionately wept aloud for his foster-son, and bore away his body for burial in Brugh na Bóinne, that is the ancient burial-ground of Newgrange, Co. Meath. Then Gráinne summoned her children and divided their father's heritage between them, and exhorted them to avenge his death.

Thus ends the tale. Most readers will agree that this fine story deserved treatment by a consummate master of the art of story-telling. When it was written the immediacy, the austereness, the rugged strength had gone out of Irish story-telling. Compared with the ninth-century version of that other great tale of elopement, the Deirdre story, *Longus mac nUislenn,* the *Pursuit*, perhaps, is not a major artistic achievement. But it is a much longer tale. Anyway, one must not compare the evening of a long tradition with the morning when

> 'The world-wide air was azure
> And all the brooks ran gold'.

When set beside other modern tales of the Finn cycle—tales such as *Cath Fionntrágha,* the *Bruidhean*-tales, the *Giolla Deacair,* etc.—the *Tóraigheacht* is seen to possess merits which mark it out as the most charming story in Modern Irish manuscript literature. In human interest it surpasses them all. Stylistically also it is a pleasing tale. Indeed, I think that in directness and simplicity of language and style, and even in spirit, it is not unworthy of comparison with the great *Acallam na Senórach* itself.

And the tale has its moments. The opening episode leading up to and including the elopement is well told, and the action moves at a brisk pace down to where Diarmaid, now become a superman under the press of overwhelming odds, makes his first escape from the implacable Fionn. Again, in the narrative of Diarmaid's death there is a power and a tension and a pathos that grip the reader. Let me illustrate this by translating the passage which tells how Diarmaid went forth to meet his death :

Gráinne and Diarmaid lay asleep in Ráth Ghráinne, and Diarmaid heard the bay of a hound through his sleep in the night, and he started out of his sleep and Gráinne grasped hold of him and asked what he had heard :

'I heard the bay of a hound', he said, 'and I marvel to hear it in the night.'

'Safe keeping on thee', said Gráinne, 'for it is the Tuatha Dé Danann that do that to thy harm, despite Aonghus's ward over thee. And do thou lie down again in thy couch and heed it not.'

Diarmaid lay down again and sleep had not fallen on him when again he heard the bay of the hound. And he stood up and Gráinne

laid hold of him and said to him not to go whither a hound bays in the night.

Diarmaid lay down again in the couch and a deep sleep and lasting slumber fell on him, and for the third time the bay of the hound awoke him. And day in its full light came to him afterwards, and he arose and said he would go whither the hound had bayed since morning was come.

'Well then', said Gráinne, 'take thou the Móraltach, even the sword of Manannán, and the Ga Dearg of Donn.'

'I will not', said Diarmaid; 'I will take the Beagaltach and Ga Buidhe an Lámhaigh, and Mac an Chuill on the leash in my hand.'

Diarmaid went forth from Ráth Ghráinne and he did not stay or rest until he reached the summit of Beann Ghulban. And he found Fionn there before him quite alone, and he gave him no greeting, but he asked him was it he that was holding the chase.

Fionn told him that it was not he, 'But', he said, 'a company with which I rose out a while since; and one of our hounds that was running loose along with us chanced to come upon the spoor of a wild pig and could not be caught. And it is the boar of Beann Ghulban that he met, and it is idle for the Fiana to pursue it since often aforetime it has escaped them, and it killed fifty warriors of the Fiana this morning. And it is coming up the Peak towards us with the Fiana in flight before it, so let us leave this hillock to it.'

Diarmaid said he would not leave the hillock . . .

The tension following this is relaxed for a time by the telling of an in-tale; but later on it mounts again in the narrative of Diarmaid's death-agony. Now Fionn, full of malice, is deaf to Diarmaid's appeals for a drink from his healing hands; and the tale continues:

Then Oscar, son of Oisín (Fionn's own grandson) spoke: 'Fionn', said he, 'knowest thou that I am more nearly akin to thee than to Diarmaid Ó Duibhne and that I would not suffer thee to withhold a drink from him?'

'I know not a spring on this peak', said Fionn.

'That is not true', said Diarmaid, 'for not nine paces from thee is the finest fresh-water spring that is best in all the world.'

Then Fionn went to the spring and raised the full of his two cupped hands, but he had come no more than half of the way when he let the water pass through his hands, and he said he could not bring the water.

'I pledge my word', said Diarmaid, 'that it is of thine own will that thou dost so.'

Fionn went to fetch the water again and he had brought it no farther when he let it pass through his hands.

'I swear and my weapons are my witness', said Oscar, 'if thou bring not the water speedily, Fionn, that only the stronger of us twain shall leave this place.'

Fionn, at those words, turned for the third time to fetch the water and he brought the full of his cupped hands of it, and as he was coming forward, Diarmaid's spirit parted from his body. And then says the tale 'the company of the Fiana of Ireland that was in that place raised three grievous, exceeding mighty shouts of lamentation to the skies bewailing Diarmaid Ó Duibhne'.

Apart from the question of characterization, the weakness of the *Pursuit* is in its structure. It is evident that the author had a mass of traditions to draw on, only a fraction of which now survives. How much of the traditional material was written and how much oral are questions we cannot answer. Undoubtedly, whether written or oral, the traditions for the most part were old. For example, the explanation of how it came about that Diarmaid was under *geasa* never to hunt a pig bears all the marks of age. (This is the subject of the in-tale referred to above.) On the other hand, there is evidence that the author incorporated episodes which, for lack of convincing motivation, do not fit easily into the narrative. One of these is the chess-game played by Fionn and Oisín under the magic quicken-tree in which Diarmaid and Gráinne were hidden. In general, the body of the tale consists of a series of loosely-knit adventures in which Fionn has no direct part. This is a major literary defect; but it would be a mistake to think there was nothing more to it than mere lack of skill on the part of the writer. Much more could be said about the matter and the structure of the tale, but perhaps enough has been said to suggest that it is not a simple, straight-forward, late romance with an unhappy ending. It is that on the surface only.

To end this general examination of the tale, I shall deal very briefly with one other problem, a main one perhaps: that of interpretation. It has been said already that the Ireland in which the action is imagined to have taken place is the land of Irish story-telling. In fact, we may identify it with Fairyland or the Otherworld of pagan Irish belief. Once this is recognized most of the puzzling episodes and contradictions of the *Pursuit* cease to baffle us, and essentially the tale is seen to be an imperfectly carried out romanticization of a confused tissue of mythological material.

And what of the chief characters? O'Grady long ago compared Diarmaid with Adonis, the Greek god who, it will be remembered, like a number of other gods, was slain by a boar. That Diarmaid originally was a deity is not open to doubt. He is to be identified with the well-known god Donn, the Lord of the pagan Irish Happy Otherworld, of

whom widespread traditions survive. The genealogists make him *mac Duinn mac Donnchadha*, 'son of Donn, son of Donnchaidh' ; but this is invention. He is frequently called 'Diarmaid donn', which, as I think, is only an inversion of Donn Diarmaid, meaning ' Donn the Unenvious '. His surname Ó Duibhne marks his association with the *Corcu Duibhne*, the Ernean people who gave their name to Corca Dhuibhne in West Kerry. Gráinne likewise is a mythical personage. Her name may mean ' the hateful goddess ', which would well describe her true nature. Although there is not much trace of her true nature in the romanticized literary *Pursuit*, I think Gráinne is the ugly goddess of Irish tradition : the loathsome crone who becomes a radiantly beautiful maiden when she marries the sacred King in many Irish stories of kingship.[1] Under another name, this very personage has an encounter with Diarmaid in a Scottish folktale ; and in a puzzling tale of the eleventh century a *cailleach* betrays him to Fionn. So the mysterious hag in *Leaba na Caillighe*, the name cromlechs occasionally bear, would really be the genuine Gráinne. Fionn too, as the researches of Professor Gerard Murphy and the late Professor T. F. O'Rahilly have convincingly shown, was a divinity, probably the Otherworld God of another pagan Irish tribe.

Accordingly, the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne* may be interpreted as a romanticized development of the myth of the rivalry of two pagan divinities for possession of—what ? A goddess ? Lordship of the Otherworld ? Lordship of this world ? All of these, perhaps. It is a theme that has come out of the deep well of Immemorial Time in which Myth has its source. In origin it is an answer to an eternal problem posed by the groping human intellect. In its present form it is an elaboration of a half-forgotten, half-remembered thought from the treasure-trove of the Gaelic race's timeless memory.

[1] See ' The Lady and the King ', *Studies*, Autumn 1953, 321 ff.

Reviews

CARDINAL NEWMAN—A NEW BIOGRAPHY

NEWMAN: HIS LIFE AND SPIRITUALITY. By Louis Bouyer. London: Burns & Oates. 1958. Pp. xiii, 387. 30s.

Some fifteen years ago, the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory decided to open to scholars the archives in which are preserved an immense body of Cardinal Newman's manuscripts and correspondence. Since then there have appeared numerous works based on the contents of those archives. One may instance Maisie Ward's *Young Mr Newman,* Mr Sean O'Faolain's *Newman's Way,* Professor A. Dwight Culler's *The Imperial Intellect* and Mr Terence Kenny's *The Political Thought of John Henry Newman.* These have all been of high standard and great interest, but each was confined to a certain period of Newman's life or a certain phase of his activity. Père Bouyer's work is the first complete biography written with the advantage of access to all Newman's papers. It has also the special characteristic, as its title indicates, of emphasizing the personal spirituality of Newman. Père Bouyer is particularly suited to this task. He is himself a convert from Protestantism and an Oratorian, and bears a high reputation as professor in the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Paris. He had also the inestimable advantage of pursuing his researches under the direction of the late Fr Henry Tristram, of the Birmingham Oratory, whose knowledge of Newman was unrivalled, and to whom all Newman scholars are so deeply indebted. *Newman: Sa Vie, Sa Spiritualité* had a very favourable reception in France in 1952. It now appears in an excellent translation by Mr J. Lewis May, one of the foremost authorities on Newman in England.

Père Bouyer's plan is straightforward. He gives us, as he had promised, a treatise on Newman's spirituality set in the framework of his life. The story of Newman's life has often been told before by writers who had access to sufficient of the sources to secure substantial accuracy, and it cannot be said that much new light is thrown by Père Bouyer on its main events, to which, in view of the compass of his book, he has to confine himself. The great value of his work lies in his exposition and analysis of Newman's spiritual development during his early years, and of his courageous and consistent fidelity, in all the problems of his long and anxious life, to the concepts which he had formed of the relations between God and His creation. In the author's own words, the endeavour is made all through to 'draw attention to the measured and deliberate evolution of Newman's ideas, as well as to what we may call its homogeneous character'. One may not necessarily agree on all points with Père Bouyer's analysis, but it is always illuminating and stimulating.

It is only possible here to indicate a few of the major topics dealt with. There is, at the outset, Newman's first 'conversion' at the age of fifteen, in which Père Bouyer finds an intellectual conviction which expressed itself in terms of Evangelical 'enthusiasm'. In dealing with Newman's second conversion, to the Catholic Church, Père Bouyer can hardly make any clearer than did Newman himself in the *Apologia* its general progress, which may be

summed up as the evolution of the *Via Media* and its rejection as an entity existing ' only on paper '. But his treatment of this intricate period of Newman's life has much that is new and illuminating, notably his analysis of Newman's early works, *The Arians of the Fourth Century, Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, Lectures on Justification, Parochial and Plain Sermons* and *University Sermons,* as revealing the deep and searching strivings of his soul in its quest for truth. All through the work, as is to be expected, there recurs the consuming interest of Newman with the problem of the reconciliation of reason with faith. Père Bouyer defends Newman from the charge of anti-intellectualism. ' Newman, indeed ', he says, ' is mistrustful of the intellect when it sets itself up in opposition to Grace, but he is firmly convinced of its ability to reach the truth so long as it observes, in whatever domain it operates, the laws which that domain imposes '. Something which I cannot remember to have observed in any of Newman's previous biographies is the summary of his views on the religious life of the Oratory, expressed in a series of letters sent to the Fathers at Birmingham from Dublin in 1856.

Père Bouyer is constantly at pains to emphasize the personal sanctity of Newman. Some readers may even find this emphasis at times a trifle heavy-handed, and think that it would have been more effective to allow the facts and Newman's own words to speak for themselves. One reflection may be offered on this point. It can hardly be doubted that the events of Newman's life manifest a very high degree of holiness. His influence in the Oxford Movement, the history of his conversion and the unremitting dedication of his long life to the things of God are sufficient proof of this. But it may be argued that at least an equally cogent proof of holiness lies in his writings, and we may surmise that it was God's Providence that this should be so. Humanly speaking, the undertakings in which he engaged were almost uniformly failures. But his writings have achieved immortality, and that not merely as literary achievements, but as living documents which influence in a remarkable manner the spiritual lives of their readers. No doubt their superlative style is one cause of this, but an incomparably greater one would seem to be the magical power they have of speaking to the reader *cor ad cor*, of moving him in the inmost depths of his soul and giving him fleeting but vivid glimpses of eternity. Can it be doubted that the man who could exercise such a power long years after his death lived himself very near to the Unseen?

When Père Bouyer comes to deal with Newman's years in Ireland, he refers courteously to a work by the present reviewer (*Newman's University : Idea and Reality*), and states that he is ' indebted almost entirely ' to it for the facts. It may be noted, however, that the conclusions he draws from these facts are, in many cases, the opposite to those drawn in that work. For instance, he accepts the view held by Ward and others that the scheme of the Catholic University had no other object ' than to torpedo the official scheme ' of the British government (p. 301). I have pointed out (pp. 86-87) that the mere natural sequence of events demanded a university to respond to the growing intellectual needs of the country, and have quoted the statement of W. K. Sullivan, Newman's Professor of Chemistry, that ' it was established as an inevitable necessity '.

Père Bouyer (p. 308) holds that it was the Irish Bishops and in particular

Dr Cullen who successfully opposed the bestowal of a bishopric on Newman. In Chapter IX of my book I have given a detailed analysis of the available evidence, and have concluded that the allegation of opposition on the part of Dr Cullen or Dr MacHale rests on mere supposition, and that the true opponents may possibly have been some of those lesser figures who, with Mgr Talbot, saw in Newman ' the most dangerous man in England '. In dealing with the relations between Dr Cullen and Newman, Père Bouyer accepts the view of Ward and most other biographers that the Archbishop's concept of a university was ' a bigger sort of seminary—bigger but not broader ' (p. 312), with ' an exclusively clerical staff' (p. 315). Whilst granting that the difference in temperament between Dr Cullen and Newman was a serious obstacle to the success of the University, I have pointed out (pp. 501-502) that these sweeping assertions of narrow-mindedness against the Archbishop are not justified by the facts. The University never bore the slightest resemblance to a clerical seminary. It had from the beginning faculties of medicine, science and engineering, and there were chairs of Political Economy, Political and Social Science, the Fine Arts and Irish Archaeology. The fact that some of these departments failed to develop was due simply to lack of students and lack of money. As regards the professorial staff, when Newman left Dublin, out of thirty-two professors only five were priests, of whom all were devoted to theological or scriptural subjects, with the exception of the Alsatian Abbe Schürr, who held the chair of French and German. In my book there are many passages (v.g. pp. 339, 429) showing that the life of the undergraduates was anything but that of seminarians. And let it be noted that, though Newman often had reason to complain of Dr Cullen's slowness in acting, he did, in the end, get the Archbishop's approval of almost all his main measures.

The fact is that biographers have relied over much on Newman for the history of this episode. He undoubtedly had difficulties with Dr Cullen and recorded them fully. But there were other difficulties of the most serious nature, the refusal of the government to grant a Charter, the limited finances available in a country impoverished by famine and misgovernment, the paucity of secondary schools to provide students, the lack of realization amongst the Irish middle class of the value of a university education. If a balanced judgment is to be made of the causes of the failure of the University, these difficulties must be taken fully into account. It is regrettable that Père Bouyer has, apparently, not considered them. This omission has led him to another conclusion which cannot be justified by the facts, namely that there was ' opposition on the part of the Bishops of the time to the idea . . . of forming an educated and enlightened laity ' (p. 315). It may well be asked for what other purpose did the Bishops found the University, call upon their flocks to support it, and maintain it, though in a struggling condition, for twenty years after Newman's departure, whilst at the same time taking a foremost part in the effort to secure from the government the support to which Irish Catholics were entitled.

The book is admirably produced, but some will regret that a work endeavouring to give us the true Newman should have as its frontispiece and on its jacket the highly idealized portrait by Ouless.

FERGAL MCGRATH

HISTORY

GEORGE III AND THE HISTORIANS. By Herbert Butterfield. London : Collins. 1957. Pp. 304. 21s. net.

Fashions change in the writing of history as in every other intellectual activity and this book may well mark a decline in the influence of Sir Lewis Namier upon the way in which English historians approach the past. Professor Butterfield has here launched the first overt criticism of the implications of what has become a classic of historical prose, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III.* Butterfield's own view of this book is that it ' not only enriched this side of the study of George III's reign with new analyses and new techniques, but attained types of result which possess a remarkable precision, results that stand as a solid contribution to scholarship '. Having said this, however, and no reader of the *Structure of Politics* will quarrel with his judgment, Butterfield goes on to criticize the assumption made by Namier and his disciples that their picture of the past is more true than that provided by their predecessors in the field, from Adolphus to Lecky, Temperley and Winstanley.

Namier saw the reign of George III in almost comic terms. It ' started in ridiculous beginnings, while small men did things both infinitely smaller and infinitely greater than they knew '. Political changes took place in an intellectual vacuum and the labels ' Whig ' and ' Tory ' were meaningless tags in a political world in which ' interest ' and ' influence ' counted for far more than conscious choice based upon rational assessment. In this world, Edmund Burke dwindles from a political philosopher of genius to a more than usually articulate secretary for the Marquis of Rockingham. To Namier and his school the ' real world ' of history was, and is, one in which the influence of ideas is negligible compared to material considerations.

There is a half truth in all this, which proved of value at a time when Marxism seemed likely to prove influential, but the danger now is that it may come to be accepted as the norm. Recently, for example, there appeared a study of the Long Parliament in which the religion of the various members was barely hinted at. The author's view was that ' if the facts about local interests and connections could . . . be made available . . . it might with their help be possible to study in detail the history of the Parliament itself and to disentangle in the day-to-day work of the House and its Committees the little pushings and pullings from which the forces of the great conflict were made '. In this and in other periods, Namier's assumptions are made the starting point for historical investigation, without question.

Butterfield's charge is that the Namier view of politics is as unreal and as partial as the error which he claimed to replace. Not only is it untrue for periods of great political tension, it is even untrue for the early years of George III's reign. He shows that politicians of the time did believe that constitutional questions of considerable moment were in the course of being decided, even though the actual changes were less than they believed. His charge against the Namier school is that they reduce the interplay of the various parties into nothing more than an automatic scramble of opposing interests, and he insists that if they write in this way about the early years of

George III they must be prepared to see the implications for other periods. 'Namierisation' in the hands of research students can become as monotonous and predictable as the Marxist interpretation itself, and in its own way as materialistic.

It could be argued that Namier is not responsible for the excesses of his disciples, were it not for the fact that he has taken great pains to gather a school around him and to defend certain standards of orthodoxy. In this respect Namier resembles the figure of F. R. Leavis in the field of literary criticism. Both are men of undoubted originality but in both cases influence has extended itself into authoritarianism. It is, however, the followers who tend to turn a suggestive approach into a fixed and certain method, and not surprisingly therefore Professor Butterfield is most critical of the work of a disciple, Mr John Brooke, whose book *The Chatham Administration* has recently appeared in the series edited by Sir Lewis Namier. In this book, Butterfield finds glaringly illustrated all the major faults of the Namier approach, its excessive simplicity, its arrogance, its distrust of political ideas, its ignorance of the work performed by its predecessors in the field and its reduction of an important political episode into merely another minuet in the ball of eighteenth-century political life.

In a writer of less stature than Professor Butterfield such criticism might well have developed into negative carping. Most of the book, however, is in fact taken up with a profound analysis of the way in which the historiography of the reign developed from Horace Walpole onwards. In this section Professor Butterfield provides another example of the way in which the history of history can reveal the different assumptions which have been decisive at different times and so make possible a more historical treatment for the future. It may well be that if this approach becomes fashionable in its turn it could become as mechanical as that of Namier's disciples. In the hands of Professor Butterfield there can be no doubt as to its value. In some ways indeed this is the most rewarding part of the book and the critique of the Namier School by contrast is disappointing, almost as if the author had lost patience with his theme. Faults of presentation aside, this is a book of remarkable originality and power, which defends a richer and more rewarding philosophy of history against a narrow one, which had come to be accepted on its own terms.

H. F. KEARNEY

FATHER LUKE WADDING COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME. Edited by The Franciscan Fathers, Dún Mhuire, Killiney, Co. Dublin. Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds. 1957. Pp. 652. 63s. net.

THE course of the Counter Reformation in Ireland is one of the best documented episodes in the history of the country, but it is only now being written up. This volume is a substantial contribution towards a badly needed general account, and the anonymous editor is to be congratulated upon its contents. The central figure of the book is Luke Wadding who was fully as important in his own way as that other great Anglo-Irish scholar James Ussher, who died a year before him. In Wadding's career are to be found illustrated nearly all the major themes of the Counter Reformation. It was he who founded the Irish com-

munity at St Isidore's and the Irish College, which were the Irish counterparts of the various national seminaries founded in Rome during and since the Council of Trent. Wadding's part in the founding of the Irish College for secular priests is dealt with in an admirable chapter by Fr Corish. Wadding's political role in the Counter Reformation and in particular in the Confederation of Kilkenny is described by Fr Canice Mooney, who defends him from the charges levelled against him in the 1650's. The more general background to this period is sketched by Professor R. Dudley Edwards.

Wadding was also connected with two of the other remarkable movements of the first half of the century, the continued revival of scholasticism and the rise of the extreme Augustinianism at Louvain, usually known as Jansenism. Wadding's edition of Duns Scotus made available the writings of the great Franciscan and, as Wadding supposed, Irish theologian. The production of twelve folio volumes within four years of the beginning of the work was a considerable achievement, though it was of course a co-operative undertaking in which Wadding was assisted by several other scholars. This episode in Wadding's life is described most ably by Fr Charles Balic, O.F.M. In some ways the most controversial issue with which Wadding was connected was that of the famous Five Propositions. His attitude towards Jansenism was complicated by the fact that he knew two of his fellow Franciscans, Florence Conry and Hugh de Burgo, were favourably disposed towards Jansenism. Fr Lucian Ceyssens's chapter on this subject is a most interesting piece of work by an acknowledged master in this field, though it does leave Wadding's attitude still somewhat shrouded.

Surprisingly there is no sketch of Wadding's life in this volume, but Fr Benignus Millett provides an extremely valuable guide to the material for a biography. Here is the starting point for a work which will fill a distinct need. But it is only a starting point, and until Wadding's life and letters are as accessible as those of Ussher, the Irish Franciscans should not rest content. At the moment, and particularly during this centenary year, Fr Cleary's early essay (1925) on Wadding and the article in the Catholic Encyclopoedia have been heavily over-exploited and are beginning to show signs of wear. Perhaps during the next decade an up to date biography will be attempted.

The remaining essays in the volume do not deal with Wadding explicitly but with related subjects. In connection with the debatable question of Wadding's influence upon the appointment of Irish bishops, Fr Cathaldus Giblin edits extracts from the 'Processus Datariae', which though formal in character are nevertheless of great interest and will be indispensable for future scholars working on this problem. Fr Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., prints with ample commentary two letters of Fr Brendan O'Connor, O.F.M., to James Ussher and to Hugh de Burgo which add to the material dealing with Ussher's enigmatic attitude towards Catholicism. An tAth Tomas O Fiaich provides a valuable and full account of the life of Edmund O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh (1657–69), which throws a good deal of light on the confused period of the Restoration, during which the Franciscan Peter Walsh was so active. Finally there are two contributions dealing with the Gaelic background and one with the 'Old English'. Dr Thomas Wall discusses the position of

the bards at this period in a fresh and original manner and An tAth Cuthbert Mhag Craith, O.F.M., prints with translation some of the poems of O Conchubhair (fl. 1645). Fr John Brady deals succinctly with the Catholic family of the Gormanstons during the years 1569–1629.

It is rarely that centenary volumes of this character contain so much material which is relevant to a wider field. The Wadding centenary volume is a distinct exception to this general rule. Equally rare is a book on Irish history which brings one into contact with European movements and figures at almost every point. When the Wadding celebrations have been forgotten, this volume will remain as a substantial contribution to the history of Ireland and the Catholic Church in Ireland during the first half of the seventeenth century. It is, of course, in addition, yet another contribution to scholarship inspired by the Franciscan scholars at Killiney, who are so rapidly placing historians in their debt that some kind of long term loan will have to be arranged. The Wadding volume is a suitable monument to a remarkable Irishman and to a remarkable order.

H. F. KEARNEY

GLUBB PASHA

A SOLDIER WITH THE ARABS. By Lieut.-General Sir John Bagot Glubb, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1957. Pp. 460. 25s.

THIS book is so good that it seems to be on the borderline of greatness. Time will tell that. Meanwhile its quality is in danger of being obscured by its political importance. It deals with the key to Middle East politics, which is the struggle for Palestine that still goes on, a subject on which much has been said and written by ill-informed and untruthful partisans for more than a quarter of this century.

John Bagot Glubb was a mercenary soldier in the best sense of that misunderstood term ; that is, he gave such value for his pay as no money could buy because he served a king and a people whom he loved. The king was Abdullah of Jordan ; the people were the Arabs of the Syrian desert and of the hills on the east bank of the river Jordan. ' You are English ', said Abdullah, when he gave him command of his army, the Arab Legion, in April, 1939. ' If it should ever come to fighting between us and the English, I will hold you excused. But if by God's will this does not happen, I want you to be one of the people of Transjordan.' John Glubb gave his word of honour, ' except under the conditions you mentioned, and which I pray God may never come '. Both were speaking Arabic, in which the name of God comes naturally into men's speech without the embarrassments that seem to inhibit our Christian tongues.

The attraction of Islam for Englishmen living among Arabs is well known, but not many of them change their religion for it. The few who do are usually well accustomed, and already committed, to the Arab way of life in which the religion of Islam plays an integral part. It is interesting that John Glubb was not one of the few, notwithstanding his thirty-six years of intimate association with Arabs and his affectionate appreciation of their finer human

qualities. Indeed, if one may guess from certain indications that escape his English reticence, the effect of Islam upon him seems to have been to send him back to a deeper study of what he learned in the Church of England and the discovery there of spiritual resources that served his need.

He was to need all the help he could get from such resources. Nine years after he had given his word of honour to King Abdullah, his loyalty was questioned. It was the old story of politicians trying to run armies on the cheap and then blaming soldiers for not achieving the impossible. Not that Glubb Pasha had lost a battle. The only major victories won by Arabs against Jews were won by his Arab Legion. But the other Arab armies, except the Iraqi which kept prudently to defensive operations, had been everywhere defeated. He knew that the only chance of saving what was left of Palestine would be to accept the United Nations truce, and he so advised the government. He was accused of doing this on secret orders from the British Foreign Minister. He made no defence, believing that the course of events would justify him. In the House of Commons, about the same time, ' a member had asked how it was that a brutal British general was allowed to commit outrages against the Jews '. The comment in his book is : ' Perhaps for generations to come, the history of most Arab countries will teach that Glubb Pasha betrayed the Arabs and gave Lydda and Ramle to the Jews in accordance with orders received from Mr Bevin in London '. King Abdullah eventually came to see things Glubb's way and, like him, was denounced as a traitor to the Arab cause by the politicians of Syria and Egypt whose armies had fled from the Jews or had to be rescued from the Jews by the Arab Legion.

Glubb Pasha's dismissal by the grandson of Abdullah, King Husain, came in March 1956, nearly five years after the murder of Husain's grandfather by Arab fanatics. The account of his dismissal is prefaced by the author with the words of the Bible about the young King Rehoboam, son of Solomon : ' But he forsook the counsel of the old men, which they had given him, and consulted with the young men that were grown up with him.' This is a recurrent factor in oriental political life. The details which the author then relates, with complete calm and absence of bitterness, give the modern Arab's way of doing it. One difference from the biblical way is shown by a photograph of the young king in a silver frame with a highly complimentary expression of His Majesty's appreciation of ' the good services and untiring exertions of His Excellency General Glubb Pasha ', written in the king's own hand across the portrait. It was handed to him by the King's Chamberlain on the way to the airport the morning after his dismissal. ' I asked the Chamberlain to thank His Majesty.'

The author wishes that his book be taken only as a personal narrative which does not, he says, aspire to the dignity of history. But history cannot do without books like this. It is the only account from the Arab side that can balance the voluminous Zionist propaganda ; it is written by one who took a chief part in the events that he describes ; it is unexpectedly impartial. One would not have expected impartiality from a man so emotionally committed to the Arab side and officially identified with the armed opposition to political Zionism. Yet it seems to me that few will read far in the book

without noticing a rare serenity and detachment in the writer, even where his personal feelings are deeply involved. As far as my own knowledge goes, that is by personal observation in Palestine and Transjordan during the grim years 1946-'48 and six years more in the Arab world outside, I find nothing in his book but truth in matters of fact and fairness in matters of opinion.

I suppose I must mention a curious slip of the pen, or of the printer, on page 132 that put the little Arab town of Samakh at the southern end of the Dead Sea instead of the Sea of Galilee. Also, though the maps are good and plentiful, that on page 169 shows only the village of Beit Sira and not the crossroads. The text on the opposite page refers to the crossroads as a vital point in the battle. Its full tactical importance cannot be seen on the map because the road is over-printed that leads east from the village through Upper and Lower Bethoron on to Ramallah, by the main road. But such minor mistakes cannot take from the value of this fine book on a great achievement which ended without dishonour in a failure.

J. J. W. MURPHY

CLASSICAL STUDIES

GREEK CIVILISATION. By André Bonnard. Translated by A. Lytton Sells. London: Allen and Unwin. 1957. 30s.

As the study of the Classics as a discipline recedes, there is an increasing demand for the type of book which treats of the Greek or the Roman civilization as a whole, and which seeks to educate us by an exposé of the roots of our political and legal systems, and of our philosophy, literature and art. This book has already run into a second impression; it is beautifully produced, with attractive illustrations, at a comparatively low price.

Yet if compared with another recent book of the same type—Bowra's *The Greek Experience*—its limitations are pitilessly exposed. Unlike Bowra's more catholic approach, Bonnard has chosen to interpret the Greek creative achievements as being merely the outcome of the social evolution from feudalism to democracy; Marxian-coloured spectacles are handed round before the performance begins.

Thus on Homer: 'Homer lived in the eighth century . . . It was the era in which the class-war was to be unleashed . . . the wretched masses wrested from the propertied class its culture, and appropriated it by fashioning the first masterpieces of Greek poetry.' (!) On the *Iliad*: 'It is known (*sic*) that the cause of the war was the economic rivalry between the first Greek tribes established whether in Greece proper . . . or on the Asiatic shores of the Aegean.' On the *Odyssey*: Odysseus was 'the advance scout' to the tin-mines of Etruria, though admittedly 'our Odyssey does not *clearly and ostensibly* relate the story of the acquisition of tin' (italics mine). On Archilochus: he 'defends new values against the feudal caste' (i.e., he threw his shield away and ran, and thought more of the living than of the dead !). On Tragic Drama: the struggle between the tragic hero and Destiny is the reflection of the struggle between the powerful vitality of the masses and the pitiless power of the nobles and the rich. (Not for nothing is Professor George Thomson prominent in the bibliography.)

When he can forget this dogma, in part oversimplified, in part completely unsupportable by concrete evidence, Bonnard writes perceptively and with enthusiasm on such literary topics as Homer's powers of characterization, and again on the poetry of Sappho, which he has previously edited and translated in a Lausanne publication.

Unfortunately his central preoccupation draws him back to politics and social history, where his touch is less sure. In a chapter on slavery and the status of women, for example, he claims that it is generally agreed that there were 200,000 slaves for the 130,000 citizens in fifth-century Athens. This estimate of slaves would be cut by over a half by Beloch, Cavaignac, Zimmern and Gomme, so that the ratio of citizens to slaves may have been about two to one. No one wishes to minimize the social evils perpetuated by slavery, especially for the 20,000 mine-workers at Laurion ; but if the Old Oligarch's account (ignored by Bonnard) is at all trustworthy, the city-slaves lived a happier, more *human* existence than Aristotle or M. Bonnard suggests. On the status of woman, whilst conceding that Bonnard's strictures (' an ulcer as serious as slavery ') represent the majority view that wives were mere child-bearing house-keepers, I would beg him to look at Kitto's spirited rejoinder in *The Greeks,* where the valid point is made that one cannot detach a single facet from a whole civilization and exclaim ' We treat women much better in Golders Green '.

The translator, Professor Sells of Indiana, unfortunately appears not to be a classical scholar. Though he has exercised great care in the main, odd forms like *Silens* for *Sileni,* and strange sentences like ' She was called Lygodesmos which means that she lived amongst willow-trees (it doesn't), or Caryatis because of walnuts ' (*sic*) make their appearance. Background knowledge would also have helped him to qualify such claims as that the Greeks ' invented mathematics and astronomy ' (!) ; that Solon first instigated the re-conquest of Salamis, which ' accounts for his being chosen as legislator ' (here the cart is before the horse) ; and that the Council of Five Hundred was composed of former archons. It wasn't. The Areopagus was.

P. G. Walsh

IN THE BEGINNING. Some Greek Views on the Origins of Life and the Early State of Man. By W. K. C. Guthrie. London : Methuen. 1957. 18s.

This unpretentious volume, with a text running to barely a hundred pages, is based on a series of lectures delivered earlier last year to a Cornell audience of non-specialists. Professor Guthrie's difficult task was to steer a course between the facile compilation of conventional judgments and the clogging morass of academic technicalities incomprehensible to such an audience ; and he has triumphantly achieved this in a clear, crisply-formulated narrative, relegating Greek quotation and bibliographical references to the thirty-four pages of notes (*O, si sic omnes . . .* !). Especially admirable is his attempt to contrast the Greeks' views with modern scientific conceptions, whilst at the same time emphasizing the great differences in mental climate then and now.

The Greeks were not cursed by the modern thirst for specialization, which rigidly distinguishes as three separate disciplines the origins of the universe,

the origins of life, and the early state of men. Such problems of cosmogony, physiology and anthropology they regarded as closely related. As is well known, two conflicting streams of thought emerged on these topics. For Plato, nature is the embodiment of reason, which leads him to postulate a transcendent God who created the universe and endowed it with harmonious life. But most of the philosophers before him, approaching the question solely in a spirit of scientific *historia* or enquiry, had no concept of a transcendent rational being ; for them the gods might exist but *they did not create.* Indeed, the Milesians' explanations of the origins of life always presuppose the existence of matter in some form ; they were hylozoists, and hence the problem of the origin of life did not trouble them. It is with this second group rather than with Platonic and kindred theories that this book is chiefly concerned.

Most courses on the history of philosophy begin with these Ionian Greeks, and invariably the point is made that ' here for the first time in history, an attempt is made to supply a purely naturalist interpretation of the universe as a whole. Cosmology takes the place of myth' (so, Farrington). Here Guthrie argues most cogently that this development from a mythological to a rational view of the world is comprehensible only by noting the astonishing correspondence between the naturalistic explanation and the mythological. Repeatedly in mythology, both Greek and non-Greek, we encounter the imaginative notion of wedlock between Earth and Sky, which fertilizes Earth with its seed, the rain ; alternatively it is a river-god who causes the earth to conceive under the benign patronage of Hephaestus, the fire-god. And Earth begets not only plant-life, but also men, as in the Cadmus myth and the traditions concerning the Pelasgians. So when Anaximander suggests that life arose from the combination of earth and water heated to a particular temperature, he appears to be *translating* the myth into practical terms. Nothing could be more misleading than to attribute to him and his fellows a Darwinian spirit of scientific rationalism ; when Anaximenes postulates ' air ' as the prime element, he thinks of it as a divine essence, the life-force of the universe. Even Anaxagoras, who was able to renounce the notion of the air as a god, and who boldly suggested that the sun was not a divine being, but incandescent rock (it got him a gaol-sentence), could yet proclaim that the air contains the seeds which are the source of plant-life, and thus reveals the influence of the myth of sky impregnating the earth.

In another fascinating section, the ' Golden Age ' myth is discussed—the notion that man in early days lived an uncomplicated and self-sufficient existence, after which there was a disastrous degeneration. This idea is strong in the Homeric poems and in Hesiod ; but from the fifth century onward, as is evidenced by Aeschylus' version of the Prometheus story and by the myth told by Protagoras, it is superseded by the notion of a gradual improvement in the human condition. By the time of Hippocrates, indeed, the view is general that the life of primitive man was nasty, brutish and short ; but that equipped with reason and technical ability he was able to develop the moral and social virtues necessary for political life.

This book has been little reviewed so far, and it would be tragic if it passed virtually unnoticed outside the confined world of classical scholarship. It would be difficult to envisage a more helpful ancillary to the study of the

pre-Socratics, and all teachers and students of the history of philosophy who are looking for a clear, authoritative interpretation of these thinkers, whose works we can read only in fragments or at second or third hand, are recommended to read this book.

P. G. Walsh

THE POEMS OF DAME EDITH SITWELL

COLLECTED POEMS. By Edith Sitwell. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1957. Pp. xlvi and 445. 25s.

The reader is given hardly any excuse for failing to understand what these poems set out to do. Rarely is a collection of poems presented with such a complete and authentic explanatory apparatus : the author's Introduction (pp. xv to xlvi) and her notes (pp. 425 to 435). The notes, for the most part, indicate the literary or other origins of the poems and are not absolutely necessary to the reader. The Introduction, part of which has been printed before, is of fascinating interest.

In this Introduction, Dame Edith does for her own poems what she has done so successfully elsewhere for the poetry of Alexander Pope. She is concerned especially, as she was when writing of Pope, with the texture of the verse. She writes of her experiments with assonances, internal rhyme and rhyme of varying purity, of variations of speed and of the sounds words make when they are placed close to one another or far apart. Her power to hear, imagine and express what the sound of words is like is well known. Thus, of the poem in *Façade* that begins

> Said King Pompey, the emperor's ape,
> Shuddering black in his temporal cape
> Of dust. . . .

Dame Edith writes as follows : ' It is built on a scheme of R's, which in this case produces a faint fluttering sound, like dust fluttering from the ground, or the beat of a dying heart. . . . In the first two lines the sound rises. " Pompey ", in sound, is a dark distorted shadow of " Emperor " and of its crouching echo, " temporal "—a shadow upside down, one might say, for in " Emperor " the sound dies down in hollow darkness, whereas in " Pompey " it begins in a thick muffling animal darkness and then rises, dying away into a little thin whining air ' (p. xviii). Whatever one may think of that, one must admit that it is at least technical comment of the kind that too seldom finds its way into print. The dangers are obvious. The criticism may be based on impressions that are so private as to be almost purely subjective. The sensitivity about words may become precious. Still, I think it has to be admitted that, when Dame Edith tells what the sound of words is like, she is invariably reasonable if not absolutely right.

What is disconcerting is that the later poems seem to have too little of the varying textures and speeds with which the introduction is so concerned. The early poems and *Façade* are successful experiments in the marriage of

texture with image. *Gold Coast Customs* applies what has been proved by these experiments. But the later poems are not so clearly a logical development. In the poems written after the year 1940 one is surprised at the small use that is made of the undoubted technical skill acquired in the past.

In the early poems there are lines and whole passages that seem somehow more annoying now than they did the first time the poems were read. The annoyance seems to come from the clannish privacy of the language and the images. Sometimes it is the private language of the nursery (p. 40) :

> My coral neck
> And my little song
> And very extra
> And very Susie

The mice in the wainscotting are compared to housemaids ' trembling and nice ' (*Winter*, p. 33). These are hardly poems for children yet ' poppet rose ' is children's language. As a result, the severe and pleasing objectivity of these poems (Dame Edith wrote scarcely one personal line before 1940) is offset by the verbal privacy. And yet, in spite of annoyance, the power, coming from the good country-trained observation and the flashes of inscaped image, must be admitted and praised :

> The harsh bray and hollow
> Of the pot and pan. . . . (*Two Kitchen Songs*, p. 19)

The abstract *Façade* poems, exercises in pure texture and verse movement, are too well known to need comment. They are, of course, very amusing and young poets will probably study their technicalities for a long time to come. In *Trio for Two Cats and a Trombone* (the titles are sometimes more startling than the poems warrant), we read :

> Or the sound of the onycha
> When the phoca has the pica
> In the Palace of the Queen Chinee.

One does not condemn verses like that nowadays because they are gay and inconsequential. It is no longer necessary to shout ' spiv ' at them (p. xvii). The poems are charming and brilliantly accomplished but, by the author's own intention, limited. It was inevitable that all that technique should sooner or later leave the abstract and grapple with thought.

The grappling begins in *Gold Coast Customs*. The symbolism of the cannibalistic burial rites is powerful and an obvious comment on the more sophisticated beastlinesses of our own civilization. There is, perhaps, too much technique and some of it is too obvious. The trick of the bi-sensual image (squealing light) is played too often to be convincing :

> . . . leaves that shine
> With an animal smell. . . .

Somehow, although the language is vigorous all the time, the poem is not entirely satisfactory. The strongest passage is the one that describes

> The Rotten Alleys where beggars groan . . .

But there are too many capital letters in this passage. Capital letters have no weight and do not tell in the texture of a line. The word-order too is unnatural and strained :

> Against the Sea wall are painted signs
> ' Here for a shilling a sailor dines '.

The description of Sal

> That once was a girl
> And now is a calico thing to loll. . . .

does not communicate the pity and compassion that must go with condemnation. Perhaps the near rhyme (very ' U ') of *Sal* and *girl* is to blame. Perhaps *Gold Coast Customs* is merely impressive and not fully satisfactory because one is forced to compare it to *The Waste Land.* Now *The Waste Land* is (in Eliot's sense of the word) a classic : it exhausts the literary possibilities of a theme for a great many people for a very long time. But the end of Dame Edith's poem is good :

> Though Death has taken
> And pig-like shaken.
> Rooted and tossed
> The rags of me. . . .

The later poems bring Yeats to mind inevitably :

> I see the children running out of school ;
> They are taught that Goodness means a blinding hood
> Or is heaped by time like the hump on an aged back,
> And that Evil can be cast like an old rag
> And Wisdom caught like a hare and held in the golden sack
> Of the heart. . . .

The capital letters are more numerous. The personal statement is heard for the first time, a statement of Yeatsian nostalgia :

> I who was once a golden woman. . . .

These poems tend towards statement rather than imagery. There are images in plenty but they are fixed now into a kind of sign-language and lose their specific power. They evoke abstract ideas rather than dynamic pictures. For the ripeness of age we have the sun, corn, golden armoured golden youth. For the darker side of life there are the cold, the dark, dust (from *Façade*), cold emeralds and precious stones, bone and (a curious Shakespearean euphemism) *amber* dust to which we shall all, golden lads and lasses, be resolved in the fathom-deep grave. There are Christian images too : The Potter's Field, Cain. The pterodactyl who fouls his nest of steel is aerial warfare. But all these images tend to be moved around like counters. They are not freshly imagined for the reader each time they are used.

There is thought in these later poems and truth. There is learning and the use of sensuous words as before :

> . . . the great beasts
> Whose skin like gold fire or fire flies, and whose nostrils
> snort great stars. . . .

But the texture of the lines is thinner and the rhythms are not compelling. It is rarely one comes across a line like that in *Holiday* (p. 308),

> And distance is dead, the world ends in the heart.

As a result, the undoubted sincerity and concern is not communicated poetically. The poems are interesting, readable and very intelligent but one is always anxious about and not seldom disappointed over the lack of feeling.

Dame Edith's thought in the later poems is courageously religious. Her optimism is a splendid thing to see. Sometimes, however, she seems to be trying to do by religion what Browning tried to do, with infinitely less hope of success, by the snail on the thorn : exorcize and banish evil from the world. Surely the religious attitude must be one of acceptance. Pain and suffering must be accepted before they can be transcended. When Hopkins wrote 'I found it a winter and warm', he was expressing a dilemma that the Christian must experience without hope in this life of a full resolution.

JOHN C. KELLY

RELIGION

THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Edited by F. L. Cross, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford and Canon of Christ Church. London : Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xix and 1492. 70s.

THE learned and diligent Dr Cross has here brought to a triumphant conclusion an enterprise which will recommend itself not merely to students of Christian history and theology, but to the wide public which seeks accurate information on the great factors of western civilization. No self-respecting library can afford to be without this comprehensive and reliable encyclopedia, while such religious houses as do not boast a library strictly speaking would do well to acquire it, both for its ready information and for the pointers to further purchases which are to be found in the book-lists appended to each of its 6,000-odd entries. The price of the volume may put it outside the reach of many private purchasers, but those who summon up the cash and the courage will be enduringly rewarded.

No doubt many Catholics will view with misgivings an epitome of Christian history and theology which derives from a source, which however obviously conservative, is not in their eyes necessarily orthodox. The code of Canon Law prohibits the reading of books which treat expressly of religion, when written by non-Catholics. But there is a proviso : 'unless it is clear that they contain

nothing contrary to the Catholic faith '. This Dictionary is well-informed and precise in stating the true Catholic position for each item of Catholic belief, and Catholics will actually find themselves grateful to the editor and the contributors for presenting Catholic doctrine in its full force to a much wider audience than their own writings could hope to reach. The articles on such controversial subjects as Indulgences, Invocation of Saints, Mary (conspicuously and consistently called ' the Blessed Virgin ' and ' Mother of God ') will in fact be of apologetic value.

In the historical entries, the editor has not of course tried to please everybody ; but he seems to have made it a rule to try and offend nobody. The articles maintain a factual and dispassionate tone throughout. Old unhappy far-off things are wrapped, though not masked, in a benevolent reticence, which calls at times for all the technique of understatement which Oxford has made its own. This is very soothing for both sides, so to speak, in such articles as Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots and Mary Tudor. Only rarely are the contributors allowed the luxury of an adjective, as when Tetzel, whose preaching on indulgences did so much to spark off the German reformation, is branded as ' notorious '. In the next column or so, the ' excesses ' of Luther are noted, so a balance is kept. But what will the descendants of the Irish whom Cromwell massacred, expropriated and transported make of this : ' The RC rebellion of 1641 led O. Cromwell to set up Protestant economic superiority ' ? That they should be grateful to Cromwell for relieving them of sur-tax ?

Inaccuracies are noticeable in fact only in the entries dealing with Ireland. Some details : the obligation of contributing to the support of the clergy and of abstaining from the solemnization of marriage at the forbidden times are formally imposed in Ireland, contrary to what is implied under ' Commandments of the Church '. The *De Profundis* is recited after Mass in Ireland not ' for the victims of former religious persecution ' (we pray to them, not for them) but, as far as we know, to supply for the Mass-foundations which perished in the persecutions. The Benedictines of Downside do not staff any school in Ireland ; the school at Gorey is now only a memory. The general article on Ireland is worse than inadequate. It is written, sincerely no doubt but without much sense of proportion, as if the Church of Ireland supplied the main terms of reference. At times it might be misleading. It says, for instance, that during Cromwellian times ' the Church of Ireland lost the adherence of the majority to Rome '. As Papal Legates had the unqualified obedience of the Irish Church since 1100, and since the previous independence of the Irish Church is a matter of confused and wishful thinking, not history, it cannot be said that the Church of Ireland ever ' lost ' the majority, because it never had its adherence. Hardest to forgive, however, is the tribute to the Anglican (*sic*) Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Whately, for his ' valuable work as a Commissioner of National Education '. The Archbishop himself proclaimed his pride in having so worked the rules that hundreds of Catholic children were receiving religious instruction from Protestant teachers. ' Such is the process', he wrote, ' by which the minds of a large portion of Roman Catholics have been prepared for the reception of Protestant doctrines. The education supplied by the National Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the

Irish Roman Catholic Church '. The reading books for the National Schools, composed by Dr Whately, his daughters and friends, contained such gems as ' I thank the goodness and the grace, That on my birth have smiled, And made me in these Christian days, A happy English child '. This is ancient history that we should be all glad to forget. It is a pity to see it revived as an accolade to Dr Whately.

As has been said above, no part of the Catholic faith has been mis-stated, and we may add that Catholic history and interests have been treated with the greatest of generosity. But there are some slips with regard to minor points of discipline and theology : e.g. ' Acc. to Catholic moral theologians a vow to be valid must be freely made by a person who is of age (18 years in the RC Church) '. There is in fact no lower age limit except ' the proper use of reason ' ; the 18 years holds only for the reservation of two special vows to the Holy See. A ' salutary act ' is said to require the state of grace. This is not RC terminology ', which applies the term to acts like prayer and contrition, which precede the state of grace, though they require actual grace.

There is one obvious defect in the hagiography, which is abundant. Under ' Roman Martyrology ' and at other pertinent places, there is no mention of the edition and commentary which the Bollandists published in 1940, as a sort of compendium of their lore, when the war threatened their work with irreparable disaster. It forms the *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris*, and should have been noted under the entry ' Acta Sanctorum '. The entry ' Delehaye ' records this *Propylaeum*, but gives no clue to its contents. Lack of reference to this fundamental work has affected, to some extent, several of the notices of the saints.

The biographical entries include what may seem to some a disproportionately large number of obscure Anglican and dissenting divines. But no doubt they have their significance for an Oxford Dictionary, which must be allowed to cater especially for Anglo-Saxon interests, even in the articles dealing with America. It is part of the charm of this book that it satisfies the curiosity on even out-of-the-way matters, from the Muggletonians to the technical terms of the Eastern liturgies. Good notes are included on all books of Scripture, the Apocrypha and even the Dead Sea Scrolls. The few shortcomings which we have noted are trifling in comparison to the vast amount of scholarship which the Dictionary makes so attractively accessible.

KEVIN SMYTH

THE MELOS AMORIS of Richard Rolle of Hampole. Edited by E. J. F. Arnould. Oxford : Blackwell. 1957. 50s.

PROFESSOR ARNOULD is to be congratulated on the completion of a work on which he has been engaged for many years ; and the Board of Trinity College on their decision to make a grant towards the cost of publication, without which this major work of an English medieval mystic would have had to wait, most probably for many years, without due recognition of its value and peculiar interest.

Richard Rolle of Hampole (in Yorkshire) was born about the year 1300, and died in 1349 when the Black Death was still active in England. He was for a time a student in Oxford, if we are to believe (as Professor Arnould

would, I think rightly, have us believe) that the medieval *Officium de sancto Ricardo* gives a trustworthy version of the main facts of his life. After leaving Oxford, overpowered by the thought of life's uncertainty, the false value of riches and the true end of man, Richard clothed himself in an unconventional hermit's garb, which he had fashioned for himself out of one of his sister's dresses and his father's hood ; and began his strange career as hermit, writer and mystic.

The exact dates of Richard's life or of his works—some of which were written in English, some in Latin—are not known. The *Melos Amoris* ranks with the *Incendium Amoris* as one of his more important Latin treatises. It is extant in ten manuscripts which give the complete text, and three others which are incomplete. Professor Arnould had been working on a critical edition of the text for some years before his appointment as Professor of French in Trinity College ; and it was a very pleasant surprise for him to find that the T.C.D. MS. of the *Melos* (MS. c. 3.13) was in fact the most reliable, though not the oldest version of this curious, highly rhetorical and alliterative, yet none the less personal and moving account of a lonely hermit's mystical experiences.

Professor Arnould has not the art of making the most of the wares he has to sell. His Introduction gives a detailed account of the *Melos,* with frequent quotations in Latin from this text and Richard's other Latin treatises ; and also a very detailed description of the ten extant manuscripts. But he has reserved for two appendices the substance of two really important contributions to the study of Rolle's life, which were first printed twenty years ago in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1937 ; 1939).

In one of these he proves conclusively that Richard Rolle was never a student or fellow of the Sorbonne, as was first erroneously stated by a French antiquarian of the seventeenth century. The present reviewer may be pardoned for taking some personal interest in this minor problem, since the French antiquarian (whose identity is uncertain) has wrongly identified ' Ricardus filius Rodulphi ', who paid fifteen *solidi* for himself and his pupil in or about the year 1329, as Richard Rolle. Professor Arnould is certainly right in arguing that this ' Ricardus filius Rodulphi ' is Richard FitzRalph, the future archbishop of Armagh, who spent the winter of 1329-30 in Paris as tutor to the young nephew of John de Grandison, the bishop who built Exeter Cathedral and who was at this time FitzRalph's friend and patron.

This conclusion overturns some of the arguments brought forward by the distinguished American scholar, Miss H. E. Allen, who made much of this supposed visit to Paris and built up a whole theory as to French influences on Richard Rolle's thought and style. Professor R. W. Chambers was nearer the mark when he claimed Richard as one of the main representatives of continuity in the evolution of a native English prose.

In another appendix Professor Arnould reprints an essay in which he demolished most effectively an interpretation of Richard's whole attitude to episcopal authority and orthodox Catholic tradition by showing that this wrong-headed view is derived from a misunderstood passage in the *Melos,* divorced from its context. Richard Rolle, as a good Yorkshireman, was not

afraid to argue in support of his own opinions against high authority. In this passage he is defending his personal view that a hermit's lonely way of life is holier and more pleasing to God than the active virtues of a pastoral apostolate. It is an age-old controversy, here set forth with surprising vigour, though in language that is obscured by Richard's distressing use (or abuse) of extravagant alliteration.

In conclusion, Dublin readers may be reminded that the library of Trinity College contains a very interesting and valuable group of medieval English mystical texts, which were apparently collected by the greatest of all T.C.D. scholars, James Ussher. Among them are no less than five copies of the fourteenth-century *Pricke of Conscience,* which was formerly attributed to Richard Rolle, but which Miss Allen has shown to be the work of another writer.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE CHASTISING OF GOD'S CHILDREN, and the *TREATISE OF PERFECTION OF THE WAY OF GOD.* Edited by Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge. Oxford : Blackwell. 1957. 42s.

A SHEWING OF GOD'S LOVE : the Shorter Version of *Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love.* By Julian of Norwich. Edited by Anna Maria Reynolds. London : Longmans. 1958. 9s. 6d.

JULIAN OF NORWICH : *the Teaching of a 14th Century English Mystic.* By Paul Molinari, S.J. London : Longmans. 1958. 16s.

IN 1952 Mr Eric Colledge gave us a translation of Ruysbroek's *Spiritual Espousals,* with an excellent introduction on the spiritual doctrine of that great Flemish mystic of the fourteenth century. In this new volume he has collaborated with Miss Joyce Bazire in giving us a critical edition of two Middle English texts : one of them based largely, but not wholly, on the doctrine of the *Spiritual Espousals,* the other a Middle English translation of Ruysbroek's treatise of the same name.

Only one manuscript copy of the *Treatise of Perfection* exists to-day (British Museum Add. MS. 37790), formerly the property of Lord Amherst, and before that a family heirloom in an old English Yorkshire family. The editors are no doubt right in their conclusion that this literal translation, made by an unknown author in the early fifteenth century, was never popular and could not compare in influence with the far more famous *Cloud of Unknowing.*

The text of *The Chastising of God's Children* has a very different history. It survives in no less than fourteen copies, all of them dating from the fifteenth century, and most of them giving a complete text. Its author is anonymous, but internal evidence shows that he was almost certainly a confessor or spiritual director who was familiar with the problems and needs of a community of religious women in England towards the end of the fourteenth century. The Introduction, in which the two editors give a full account of the extant manuscripts and also an admirable analysis of the treatise itself, shows that the author was familiar with several contemporary continental writings, but was above all influenced by the teaching of Ruysbroek in his *Spiritual Espousals.* But Ruysbroke

was writing for Flemish readers ; the author of the *Chastising* has English readers (or listeners) in mind. His main subject is concerned with the benefits that may be drawn for the soul's good from bodily and spiritual afflictions ; but there are many sidelights on the English scene.

No student of medieval English piety should miss the section of this Introduction (pp. 65-83) in which the editors discuss the very practical problem of how the divine office can be sung devoutly by women who do not understand a word of Latin. Medieval opinion was as divided on this subject as is modern opinion to-day. The use of the vernacular in public chant was suspect on the whole. The nuns of Syon Abbey were encouraged in the fifteenth century to learn enough Latin to understand, at least in a general way, the words that they were chanting. But the community of Syon was an unusual and somewhat exclusive community. The author of the *Chastising* is content to assume that most of the sisters for whom he is writing will not understand the office which was nevertheless so large a part of their daily devout life. His practical advice, and the advice given by other contemporary directors, which Mr Colledge has collected from a variety of manuscript sources, is worthy of careful study.

The simultaneous appearance of two volumes, both published by Longmans and dealing with the *Revelations of Divine Love* of Blessed Julian of Norwich, is a remarkable testimony to present-day interest in the problems of contemplative prayer and the spiritual life. Sister Reynolds, who is a member of a community of Sisters of the Cross and Passion at Bradford, is fully entitled to claim Blessed Julian as (in Evelyn Underhill's phrase) ' the first English Woman of Letters '. The indirect influence of devout women on the development of medieval English prose is plain enough from the *Ancren Riwle* or the *Chastising of God's Children.* But Julian of Norwich is a literary force in her own right, and Sister Reynolds has made a first approach to her writing easier by editing, from the sole surviving manuscript (once more Add. MS. 37790), a slightly modernized version of the shorter, earlier and more vivid account of the visions which came to her in May 1373, and which remained the central theme of her meditation and prayer for the next thirty or forty years.

Two Jesuit scholars, Fr Paul Molinari and Fr J. Walsh, have given Sister Reynolds the benefit of their expert knowledge of mystical theology ; and Fr Molinari has published, simultaneously with the appearance of this short version of the *Divine Revelations,* his own detailed analysis of Blessed Julian's spiritual doctrine. For this study he has used, not only the shorter account of the visions of 1373, but also the longer and better known text in which the mystic of Norwich adds to her first profoundly moving account of her visions the fruits of her prolonged meditation and thought on this experience. As Fr Molinari says, by way of apology for the appearance of his book, ' the time seems to have come, if it is not overdue, for detailed studies on various aspects of Julian's writings '. His own study is concerned primarily with Julian's teaching on prayer and contemplation. It is planned as a systematic study after the manner of the schools : first the accidental elements, then the essential elements of the spiritual life as taught by Julian, and finally a long and careful study of that ' homely loving of God ' which is the heart of Blessed Julian's

teaching. Here is a book which is designed, not for the student of medieval English literature, but for those who are striving to practise according to the measure of God's grace the simple, but mortifying lessons of contemplative prayer.

AUBREY GWYNN

MARTYR IN SCOTLAND. By Thomas Collins. London : Burns & Oates. Pp. x+268. 21s.

WITH the departure of the Reverend Dr W. E. Brown for S. Africa, the awakening interest in historical criticism among the Catholics of Glasgow University received a severe set-back. For Dr Brown was not only a priest, to whom they could refer matters of religion and morals, and a man of broad humanity and wide interests of the kind most likely to appeal to the developing minds of youth, he was also a scholar who at the time of his conversion and up to his entering the priesthood was Lecturer in British History at that University. The seed he planted, however, was strong enough to grow and flourish without the guiding hand of the gardener. Glasgow Catholics can boast of at least two eminent laymen in the field of historical criticism, John Durkan and Thomas Collins, who by their learning and uncompromising Catholicism have carried on the good work begun so many years ago by Dr Brown.

It is interesting to note the apparently different but actually complementary styles of those two writers. Mr Durkan's work bristles with footnotes, and his style is quiet and undemonstrative. Mr Collins, whose *Martyr in Scotland* is the subject of this review, has produced a book with only three footnotes, written in a highly personal style with a strong leaning to irony. In other words, Mr Durkan writes for the specialist and Mr Collins for the ordinary educated man. The absence of footnotes, however, should not deceive us into thinking that this is a mere imaginative hodge podge of one or two standard text-books. There are quotations in plenty in the text from the original authorities and it is obvious that the list of sources, although not imposingly large, has been so thoroughly digested as to colour the presentation of the narrative on almost every page of the book.

The story is one so common to-day as to have become almost boring in the recital, like references to the atomic bomb. A young man of good birth, one of the Ogilvies of Drum, was brought up near Keith in Banffshire in the latter part of the sixteenth century. As was not uncommon at the time, some of the family group were Catholic and some Protestant. John Ogilvie was brought up a Protestant, but while still in his teens became a Catholic during a journey on the Continent. He became a Jesuit, was sent to his native country and was captured after ministering to his co-religionists in secret for almost a year. After a long interrogation, punctuated by torture, and a correspondingly shorter trial, he was condemned to death for ' treason ' and hanged at Glasgow Cross on 10 March 1615.

We have only to change the proper names to something with a Slavonic ending and we have a series of events repeated to-day in every country behind

the Iron Curtain. It is one of the chief merits of this book that its author continually brings this out, showing that Blessed John Ogilvie is a martyr not so much because of his individual sufferings as because his trial and sentence can only be properly understood *sub specie aeternitatis*. Not only must Ogilvie's fate be viewed thus against a more universal background, the secular persecution of the Church, it must also be seen and indeed can only be properly understood in relation to the history of his times. Mr Collins in two fine chapters brings out the relationship between the fate of Ogilvie and the religious situation not only in England and Scotland but also in the Europe of his day. The character of James I is vital to an appreciation of Ogilvie's fate. Mr Collins is to be complimented on the charity with which he avoids all references to the singularly nasty side of that monarch's private life, a side too well documented in recent studies to be open to question. He shows, however, the connection between James's sensitivity at the rough handling he received from Cardinal Bellarmine and the final fate of the martyr. There were more personal feelings involved than the acrimony of Spottiswoode, pseudo-Archbishop of Glasgow and chief prosecutor at the trial, who was merely the instrument of the King's will.

A feature for which Mr Collins is to be thanked is the English translation of the Apostolic Process for the beatification of John Ogilvie which forms Appendix I to the book. The high-lights of this account are undoubtedly the objections of the Promoter-General of the Faith (more picturesquely known as the Devil's Advocate) and the replies to those made by the Advocate of the Congregation. Here the battle chiefly takes place on the question 'Did John Ogilvie die mainly, if not entirely, because he was a Catholic?' He himself told his judges: 'I am sent to my death for religion alone.'

The pros and cons of the argument are set out by the author in his account of the interrogations and the trial, but necessarily interspersed with other matter and incidents occurring at the trial itself. The matter is also dealt with as a separate issue by Prosecutor and Advocate in the Appendix, but perhaps the *locus classicus* on the subject is still the three articles contributed by Dr W. E. Brown to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1929 entitled 'Considerations on the trial of John Ogilvie'.

A few discrepancies in what is a very satisfactory piece of work might be mentioned here for consideration if the book reaches, as it ought, a second edition. The Index is poor, being confined entirely to proper names of persons or places. The pre-eminent position of Dr Brown in the examination of witnesses for the cause is obvious from the many references to him by both the Promoter and the Advocate. This is hardly borne out by the exclusion of his testimony in the Appendix where that of other selected witnesses is given, an exclusion probably forced on the author by exigencies of space. Perhaps a note could be added to this effect. Misprints and wrong punctuation are remarkably few. 'Glenlivat' on p. 68 should read 'Glenlivet' as, indeed, it is correctly given on p. 34. '*A redemptionem*' on p. 210 should be '*ad redemptionem*'. On pages 183, 238 and 263 the misplacement, omission or insertion of punctuation marks should be easily rectified.

ALEXANDER BOYLE

CATHOLICISM AND THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. By John M. Todd. London : Longmans. Pp. 111.

This book is an essay in Ecumenism, the effort to smooth the way to reunion, but Mr Todd is concerned with worship rather than with doctrine or dogma. Loyal Catholic though he be (and that he is such is clear from the fact that he is assistant editor of the *Downside Review*) he is plainly not quite satisfied with Catholic worship in general and English Catholic worship in particular. He looks rather wistfully across the religious frontiers at the worship of other Christian bodies—the hymn-singing and emphasis on preaching among the Nonconformists, the vernacular liturgy of the Anglicans, and he quotes with approval Père Roger Aubert (*Problemes de l'Unité*) as to what the Church would gain by the return to her of the various dissident bodies :

> The Nonconformist would surely bring to the Catholic a deeper sense of grace as something given, a gift from Christ ; and many of the Nonconformist bodies, if they returned, would bring also a tradition of a more frequent and intimate recourse to the Bible ; the Anglicans would, of course, enrich us with their tradition of a sober piety enriched from liturgical sources . . .

The Catholic Church in England, Mr Todd thinks, is not English enough in its worship, and so he would favour the use of the vernacular.

Catholics and Protestant are kept apart, he argues and he is surely right, by mutual ignorance, prejudice and misunderstanding, leading often to positive hostility. Whence it would follow not only that Protestants would do well to acquaint themselves with the real facts about Catholics and their religion, but also that Catholics, such of them at least as have frequent contacts with non-Catholics, ought to come to know their traditions and beliefs, in particular what they have, often without knowing it, in common with Catholicism. This is the subject of a valuable and informative chapter in Mr Todd's book, viz. Post-Reformation Christian Traditions in England.

Mr Todd devotes a chapter (III) to some details of what Catholics have been doing towards narrowing the gap between themselves and non-Catholics. And here I would like to pause and register a conviction that no good purpose is served by describing the latter as members ' in some sort ' of the Church. Surely they are either members (in which case they are on the same footing as Catholics) or, which is the fact, simply not members. The Church, after all, is a visible society.

There follows (chapter IV) an excellent up-to-date summary of the world ecumenical movement and its results.

The Abbot of Downside contributes a brief but valuable introduction.

Stephen J. Brown

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LONGMANS

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MURPHY : Fr J. J. W. Murphy, C.SS.R., served as a chaplain with the Irish Guards during the war and was Senior Chaplain (R.C.) at Headquarters, Cyrenaica district, 1952-55.

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SHAW : Francis Shaw, S.J., M.A., is Professor of Early and Medieval Irish at University College, Dublin.

SUTTON : Ralph G. Sutton, M.A., Barrister-at-law, is a graduate of University College, Cork; he is a member of the Commission set up to consider the law relating to the election of Panel Members to the Seanad.

Ireland's Role in a Free Trade Area

by J. F. CAHAN

THE idea of establishing a free trade area between the member countries of the O.E.E.C. (Organization for European Economic Co-operation) was launched nearly two years ago, and since then it has been widely discussed in the public press as well as in the O.E.E.C. It is not necessary for me to try to explain in detail what is meant by a free trade area, but it is perhaps worth while to review, for a moment, the history of the development of this idea and the reasons which led the United Kingdom to put it forward.

The concept of a free trade area is first found in the Havana Charter—a document which was drafted just after the War, with the idea of establishing universal rules of good behaviour in international trade. Customs Unions are well known in history, but some countries who took part in the Havana negotiations—and notably the French and the British—felt that for them a Customs Union might be very difficult and they consequently thought up the idea of a free trade area. I believe that the name was essentially a French contribution to the debates in Havana. The difference, of course, between a free trade area and a Customs Union is that while in both cases, trade between members is free, in the former case members are at liberty to conduct their trading relations with the outside world as they see fit, whereas in a Customs Union they must have a common external commercial policy. The Havana Charter was never put into effect, but parts of it were taken over in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and you will find the G.A.T.T. rules relating to free trade areas in Article XXIV of that General Agreement.

Now we in the O.E.E.C. have been concerned from the beginning of our operations—that is to say 1948—with trying to remove barriers to trade in the form of quantitative restrictions, i.e. we have tried to do away with import licencing. We never, however, undertook to get rid of tariffs between our member countries, because it was felt by certain of them—and notably the United Kingdom—that the problem of tariffs was a world-wide problem and one which should therefore be reserved for consideration in larger Institutions. This attitude, as time wore on, became more and more irksome to the low tariff countries of the O.E.E.C. The more successful we were in getting rid of import licencing restrictions,

the greater was the difficulty for these countries, because the protection which their industries enjoyed consisted only of relatively low tariffs, whereas their exports to the higher tariff countries were subject to relatively high rates of duty. They therefore pressed very strongly that the O.E.E.C. should examine the tariff problem and try to find ways and means of reducing tariffs within the European family of nations.

This pressure from the so-called ' Low Tariff Club ' never achieved very great results, but another movement was taking place in Europe at the same time. This movement had a political rather than an economic *raison d'être*. Many people in the six countries of Central Western Europe France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries—felt after the war that the best guarantee of continued peace and prosperity for Western Europe would be some kind of a Union between them. Political unification being ruled out for the present, for a whole host of reasons, they sought to achieve the unification which they desired by economic means, and their first effort was the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community—a body of which the principal founder was M. Robert Schumann, then Foreign Minister in a series of French Governments.

The European Coal and Steel Community was created just over five years ago, and after a rather sticky start has turned out to be much more successful than most of its critics thought it would be when it was established. It is essentially a Customs Union in coal and certain steel products. Having seen the advantages of the Coal and Steel Community, and having seen, particularly, that many of the dangers which had been forecast by pessimistic pundits were not realized, the six countries set out to establish a Customs Union which would embrace an even wider range of products. The negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Rome of the 25 March 1957, which established the European Economic Community were led, in this case, mainly by a Belgian, M. Paul Henri Spaak.

Of course, when the negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Rome were begun, there were many sceptics—not only in the six countries concerned, but in many other countries as well. M. Spaak, however, confounded these sceptics and it became clear many months before the Treaty was finally signed, that he would, indeed, achieve his objective. In the early months of 1956, therefore, we in the O.E.E.C. began to cast about to see whether we could find ways and means of associating this new Customs Union with the work of the O.E.E.C. and in July, 1956, the British came forward with the suggestion that we should establish a Free Trade Area.

The reasons behind this suggestion were quite simple. The British felt—and they were supported in this by many other countries including, in particular, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland—that the establishment of the European Economic Community would endanger the close cooperation which we had built up in O.E.E.C., unless some

very special arrangements were made for holding the O.E.E.C. together. In particular, they were concerned that the trade of the Six between themselves should not be carried out on terms which were markedly more favourable than the terms on which trade was permitted between the Six and the other Members of O.E.E.C., because it is on the basis of complete equality of treatment by all Member countries that the co-operative effort of the O.E.E.C. has been built up.

When we began our negotiations in the O.E.E.C., we naturally started by looking at the Treaty of Rome. We did this for two reasons : first of all, because it is a very interesting document and sets out in considerable detail the way in which the Customs Union of Six will work ; and secondly, because the Six, having spent over two years in drafting the Treaty, were extremely reluctant to think of any other methods of solving the problems involved except those which they had found for themselves and which were enshrined in the Treaty. We found, after some debate, that a great deal of the Treaty would be applicable as a basis for the Free Trade Area. I do not mean that the actual words of the Treaty can be used, but that in case after case the ideas contained in particular Articles of the Treaty can be used again for the Free Trade Area. All that is needed is a slight change of drafting. Moreover, half of the Treaty of Rome does not apply at all to a free trade area. It is concerned either with the rules which are necessary in a Customs Union because there is a common external tariff and common external commercial policy, or with financial or administrative provisions which are necessary because the Six are setting up a new Organization, but which would not be necessary for a free trade area, because that Area would be established under the existing O.E.E.C.

Having cleared this ground, we found, in fact, that there was real doubt about the applicability to a free trade area of only some twenty-five to thirty of the two hundred and forty-eight Articles in the Rome Treaty. It is about these that we have been having some of our most animated debates in Paris.

In general, however, we are going to follow the Treaty. We are going to have rules for the removal of tariffs, which correspond almost exactly to those in the Treaty. We are going to have rules for the elimination of quantitative restrictions which again correspond almost exactly to those of the Treaty. We are going to have rules about the harmonization of social policies and the harmonization of economic policies which run parallel to those in the Treaty.

We are even going to have something about agriculture, although you will remember that when the British launched this idea, they said very firmly that agriculture would have to be excluded. They have now admitted that it is not possible to exclude agriculture from the Free Trade

Area, because this would mean that the countries which depend upon agricultural exports would be unfairly treated. They would get no compensation in the agricultural field for the concessions which they would be making by removing their tariffs and quantitative restrictions on imports of industrial products.

In addition to the subjects which are covered by the Rome Treaty, there are, however, bound to be in any Agreement establishing a free trade area, articles about some subjects which are not covered at all by that Treaty, because they deal with matters with which it was not necessary to deal in setting up a Customs Union between the six countries concerned. The first of these new problems is that which has come to be known as the problem of ' Definition of Origin '. The difficulty here is that if members of the Free Trade Area have widely different external tariffs, it may be possible that an article would be imported into a low tariff member of the Area, and after some more or less minor processing in that country, re-exported to another member of the Area on a free trade basis. Now, if the second member maintains a high tariff on imports of the article in question from the outside world, its tariff would be circumvented by this procedure and those of its industries which it was seeking to protect in this way would find that their protection had been undermined. This is not a problem which arises in the Treaty of Rome, because after an initial period of adjustment, all the countries are going to have the same external tariffs and it will be a matter of indifference, therefore, to importers, whether the articles come in through one national customs barrier or another.

I should say at once that, in my opinion, this is a problem, but it is a problem which has been greatly exaggerated in public comment, especially in certain countries. In fact, the differences between tariffs in different countries on articles which are important for international trade, are not always as great as is sometimes imagined. Even some of the so-called low-tariff countries have fairly high tariffs, while some of the high-tariff countries have, in many cases, quite low tariffs on certain products. In addition, the pattern of international trade is determined not only by tariffs, it must always be remembered, but also by a host of other factors. But there is certainly a hard core of a problem here which will have to be tackled, and various means of tackling it are now under discussion, including a plan suggested by Professor Carli, the Italian Minister of Commerce, which has received a certain amount of publicity. My own personal feeling, at the moment, is that no one solution will be found for this problem, but rather that in particular cases different methods of coping with it will have to be evolved as time goes on.

Another problem which the drafters of the Treaty of Rome did not have to face, but with which we are concerned in Paris in our negotiations

for a free trade area, is the problem of what I call ' the special cases '. These special cases arise because of the really very great differences between the economies of our seventeen member countries. There are, of course, differences between the six too, but taken by and large, they are a pretty homogeneous block of countries. We, however, embrace a much wider area and include among our members countries in very different stages of economic development and with very different endowments of natural resources.

Two of the special cases which have been mentioned fairly prominently recently are the cases of the Swiss watches and the Scandinavian pulp and paper industries. The Swiss have developed over the years particular skill in the making of watches and special equipment for the purpose, which enables them to make high-class watches at prices with which nobody else can compete. Similarly, the Scandinavians, endowed by nature with abundant forests, have so developed their pulp and paper industries as to enable them to produce these products at prices which are far below the costs of production in many European countries. It is argued that any system which permitted completely free trade in products of this kind in which particular countries have preponderating advantages, would be unacceptable in that it would necessarily involve the wiping out of the less efficient industries in other member countries.

I do not know what solution we shall reach to this problem. There are on the one hand, those who say that it is indeed the purpose of the Free Trade Area to encourage production in places where that production can be carried on most efficiently, and that we should allow the efficient industries to expand at the expense of the less efficient, taking care only to see that if less efficient industries have to be closed down, nobody suffers too much in the process. On the other hand, there are those who say that this process can only be allowed to be carried on to a certain extent, that it is necessary for a balanced economy and social development that countries should possess a wide range of industries and that they should not be forced to give up industries on which important numbers of people depend, merely because those industries are less efficient. Somewhere here we must find a compromise, and I cannot tell at present what form it may take.

Another problem with which we have to deal is that of the United Kingdom's relations with the independent countries of the Commonwealth. These relations, strengthened by the existence of the Sterling Area which includes all the Commonwealth countries except Canada, are said by some of their Continental members to put the United Kingdom in an unfairly advantageous position. The British, they say, would have a foot in both camps. They would be able to trade freely with the Continent in the Free Trade Area, while at the same time enjoying preferential

trading relations with their Commonwealth friends under the Commonwealth Preferential system. This not only gives advantages to British exporters, it also makes Britain a most attractive place for foreign investors who wish to set up factories, and it makes the British market a more competitive market for Continental exporters who would have to meet in it, not only the competition of the British manufacturer and producer, but also that of Commonwealth producers whose goods are given free entry into the United Kingdom market.

Here again, I do not deny that there is a problem, but I cannot tell you what the solution will be. Clearly, the British cannot give up their Commonwealth relations. They are much too valuable in many senses. Clearly too, if the Continent attaches importance, as it seems to do, to the participation of Britain in a free trade area, it must be willing to make some sacrifices in order to achieve this. This is, in short, a very difficult problem both politically and economically, and one to which we must give further attention before we complete our negotiations.

And now I come to the last of the special problems which I want to mention : the problem of the so-called ' under-developed countries '. I use this phrase because it is the current jargon of the O.E.E.C. It is not a very happy phrase, but it has come to convey a particular meaning which is this : these countries are generally countries in which there are ample labour resources, many of which are unemployed or underemployed. They are countries in which adequate modern capital equipment is notably lacking, not only equipment in factories, but also the basic equipment which other countries take for granted—roads, schools, communications and things like that. Finally, these countries have in common that because of the lack of capital equipment, they are basically exporters of agricultural (or fisheries) products.

These countries present a problem to us, because if they join a free trade area, we shall be asking them to abolish barriers to imports of industrial products into their countries, and thereby to remove some of the incentives which exist to industrialization. But industrialization they must have, if they are to employ fully their manpower—which is, in many cases, increasing rapidly. Agriculture to-day, as you are well aware, is an industry in which the need for manpower per unit of output, is diminishing rapidly. As new methods are applied to agriculture in these countries, fewer people will be required, and the only hope for them to provide a decent life for their populations, is to industrialize.

Clearly, they cannot come into a free trade area if it is made a condition of their entry that they give up this hope. We must find ways and means of bringing them into the Free Trade Area movement and, at the same time, giving them the possibility to develop their economies. For this purpose they need time. They cannot be expected to abolish their restrictions on industrial imports right away. They also need

markets for their agricultural products. They ask the industrialized countries to open their doors fully to the agricultural exports of the under-developed countries. Finally, they need money. Because they are so poor, their own savings are inadequate, and because their exports are agricultural and usually precarious, their foreign exchange earnings are inadequate to finance an industrial expansion. They need, therefore, capital in the form of foreign exchange to finance long-term development plans.

Now, some of the more advanced countries in Europe, looking at this problem, have been known to say to themselves ' Why do we bother to bring these countries into the Free Trade Area ? ' Membership of the Area is going to be a burden for them and for us. It would be far better to have a free trade area of industrialized, developed countries, and some looser form of association with these less-developed countries—sometimes, because of their geographical situation, referred to in O.E.E.C. circles as ' peripheral countries '. But the arguments in the other sense are overwhelming. There are, of course, political arguments, military arguments, social arguments and economic arguments in favour of bringing them in. If the Free Trade Area is to be a success, it must cover the widest possible area. It must cover all the members of O.E.E.C. and the countries who have been co-operating together in this way for ten years. After all, what is our objective ? Our objective is to create a better Europe. We do not go so far as the Six. We are not yet thinking in terms of political unification. That must still be beyond the horizon for any of us who are living to-day. But we do need a closely knit co-operating European community and we cannot afford to leave anybody out of it.

Nor, indeed, can the under-developed countries themselves afford to remain outside. What would be the fate of these relatively poor countries competing with a highly organized Free Trade Area, comprising some dozen of the most developed European countries ? For them, therefore, the Free Trade Area is a challenge. It is a challenge to make the best use of their resources, to develop their economies, and so to organize their affairs that they can, within a period of time which will be limited and laid down in advance, take their place in the Free Trade Area on a footing of equality with the more developed industrialized countries of Western Europe.

And now I come to Ireland. I doubt that one can really say that Ireland is under-developed, in the sense that Greece or Turkey, or even Portugal are under-developed. If you were to visit these countries, as I have to do from time to time, you would see the difference almost from the moment you stepped out of your aircraft. You have nothing in Ireland to compare with the squalor and poverty of the slums of some of their cities. You have nothing to compare with the primitive agriculture

from which the peasants of Anatolia eke a meagre sustenance. Until 1950, conditions of life in Anatolia had not changed for perhaps three thousand years. Little villages of mud-brick huts, huddled together for protection ; peasants scratching the soil with pointed sticks to raise a little wheat on the dry Anatolian plateau ; no glass in the windows, no windows, indeed, in the houses ; the principal fuel was dung ; contacts with the outside world were few and far between.

To-day, all this has been changed. There are quite decent roads almost everywhere. There are tractors by the thousand. They have windows, and some of them even have glass. They cook with kerosene, and the dung is used to fertilize the fields. But the houses are still mud-brick ; the clothes are still pretty ragged, and the standard of life is still a long way below anything which any of you have ever experienced in this country in your own life-times.

We set up, in O.E.E.C., a Committee to examine the needs of these under-developed countries and to see on what terms they could be brought into the Free Trade Area, and that Committee—which is under the chairmanship of the Irish Ambassador in Paris, Mr Fay—has set up a special Working Party of experts to study, in particular, the financial needs of these countries. The occasion for my visit to you here to-day, is that these experts have come to Dublin to examine this problem with your officials.

I have heard a certain amount of rather pessimistic comment since I arrived. People who say that Ireland can never develop ; that there is no hope. I think that it is desirable, from time to time, that one should sit down and count ones blessings before abandoning oneself to this kind of black despair. Think, therefore, for a moment, of the blessings which you, here, enjoy. You had no war, and therefore none of the destruction which war brings. You were not occupied by an enemy, and therefore suffered none of the moral degradation which is the inevitable accompaniment of military occupation, and which is, to my mind, far more horrible than mere physical destruction. You have, to-day, no defence burdens.

On the positive side, you have very adequate educational facilities at all levels. Everybody can read and write. Think what that means in relation to countries where not more than a quarter of the population can do so ! You have an efficient administrative machine, a trained civil service. Things get done. The country is well run. You have the necessary basic equipment. You have a transport system and you have telephones. You have electricity and you have buildings. You are almost the only country in Europe which has no serious housing problem. You have already established a great deal of industry in the country. Anyone who knew Ireland twenty years ago, as I did, must be astonished at the industrial development which has taken place since then. You have,

finally, a banking and commercial system which can collect the savings of the people and channel them into useful investment.

You have all these blessings and you call yourselves under-developed, and you are pessimistic about the future. I can assure you that some of my other clients would be very pleased to change places with you.

I said, a minute ago, that the Free Trade Area presents a challenge to the less developed countries. I think that this is true in the fullest sense in your case. It presents a challenge to Ireland, a challenge which I am sure you will meet. Ireland is offered here the chance of becoming a member of a system in which the fullest use will be made of natural resources, of manpower and of skill, for the benefit of the whole. Of course, you will not get your benefits merely by sitting back and waiting for people to bring them to Dublin. You will have to work yourselves. You will have to work hard in order to meet this challenge.

What do you have to do ? First of all, I think if I were you, I should try to find out where you think you are going. I should sit down with a pencil and paper and try to draft a programme of what it is you think you ought to achieve in the way of development, in the next five or the next ten years. I am not one of those people who believe that planning can cure everything, or that by intelligent planning you can foresee everything which is likely to happen. On the contrary, many things will not be foreseen in any plan. But I do think that one should attempt to foresee something and not just leave it to the ' Good God ' or the whim of the moment to decide how your development is to take place. You need a programme and you need to set targets. You need to be able to judge, as time goes on, how near you are to reaching the targets which you have set yourselves.

Secondly, you need to encourage people to invest in Ireland. Special steps will have to be taken to do this. The attractiveness of investment across the Irish Channel is, of course, great and bound to continue to be so. But I have little doubt that there are plenty of Irishmen in the world who could be induced to invest in Ireland, and not all of them are resident here to-day, if it could be shown that this were an attractive and profitable thing to do.

Now, in order to make this an attractive and profitable place in which to invest, you need ideas ; you need enterprise, and above all, you need faith in yourselves. It is perhaps odd that a member of a family which left Ireland two hundred years ago should come back and say these things to you tonight, but I hope you will forgive me. These are the qualities which are displayed by Irishmen in every walk of life in the countries of the New World which have been so largely built by Irishmen, and I see no reason why they could not be developed here in Ireland as well. It is above all, I think, the question of inducing bright young men to have bright ideas and to stay in the country to carry them out.

It is not only a question of developing new and strange industries and occupations which have never before been carried on in Ireland. Are you sure that the way in which the products which you already produce are marketed, is the best and most efficient way? Are you sure that the salesmen of Irish products are as active as they might be? Do they go out and seek customers? Do they try to present their articles in packings and in forms which make them more attractive to the buyer? Do they pay sufficient attention to design? I saw, to-day, some very beautiful Waterford glass which I was told was made from a design which was two hundred years old. No doubt it is beautiful and I certainly do not decry the copying of the past, but do all customers want designs which are two hundred years old? Those of you who have seen some of the products of Scandinavian glass factories will know what I mean.

Thus, I repeat, the Free Trade Area is a challenge to Ireland. A challenge to have faith in your own future and to roll up your sleeves and take advantage of the opportunities which are open to you. Ireland is a member of the O.E.E.C. She has been a member since the beginning. We have developed a system of co-operation and mutual self-help in Paris, in which you are full partners. We will help you in any way we can. If you think that there is something that we can do, you have only to ask us. But you will get nowhere if you merely rely upon the help of others. The foundation of your development must be produced here by you, yourselves. We, who are outsiders, can give you help, but it will be useless unless you put your own backs into it as well.[1]

[1] The substance of a lecture delivered at University College, Dublin on 8th May 1958. Mr. Cahan spoke from notes on that occasion. We are greatly indebted to him for his generous readiness to prepare subsequently this version.

Editor

Communist China

by JEREMIAH McCARTHY

IT is now ten years since the Red Army began the drive that was in little more than a year to give the Communist Party control over the whole of China. The resistance of the Nationalists (the Kuomintang), when they resisted at all, was feeble, and the Chinese people were inactive spectators of the struggle. They were, on the whole, sympathetic to the Communists : they were disgusted with the ineptitude and corruption of the Nationalist régime, and they had been so deceived by communist propaganda that they had no inkling of the fate that was overtaking them. With the completion of the conquest in 1949, the Communist Party devoted three years to consolidating their hold over the country, and then, at the beginning of 1953, they were ready to launch their first five-year Plan which was to bring what they called the transition to socialism. This year saw the beginning of the second five-year plan ; it offers a suitable occasion to survey China as it is today, after a full eight years of communist rule.

At the outset, we meet a fundamental difficulty : have we the necessary information for a survey ? The iron and bamboo curtains are very real ; reliable information does not easily find a way through them ; foreign correspondents are not readily admitted and, when admitted, are restricted to conducted tours and to official sources of information ; we learn little from them. In the early years of the régime, many residents, foreign or Chinese, were leaving China and were able to give clear accounts of events in the country. In recent years, the number of people finding a way out has been small, and the information they had to give meagre, for very often they knew little even of what was happening in their own neighbourhood, and nothing of the rest of the country. There remains the Chinese Press, and it is upon that that we rely in the main for what follows, not the English language press for this is pure propaganda and has been well described as a guide to paradise in the construction stage, but the vernacular press, printed for circulation inside China, *The People's Daily* of Peking and subsidiary papers—for papers, like Party Leaders, form a hierarchy, and *The People's Daily* is at the apex. Contrary to common belief, the Communists are quite open in declaring their aims and purposes and these vernacular papers are the means by which the Party transmits its orders and directions to the people of China, tells the people what they are to do and what they are to think, what has been

accomplished in the country and what remains to be done. They are, too, the medium through which the endless succession of drives and campaigns are initiated and maintained, giving news of successes and failures, of criticisms and purges. Much of the news, of course, is unreliable, representing as it does what the Party at the moment wants believed, but by patient reading day after day, by collating with earlier and later news, by analysing and searching for motive and purpose in the news put out, one can arrive at a picture of life in China.[1]

The conquest of China is credited to the Communist Party, but in China, as in other communist countries, all power is concentrated in the hands of the few leaders. In China there is a Politburo, which now consists of seventeen members, and this has a standing Committee of six members, who apparently are the effective conquerors and rulers of the country. That one of these six, Mao Tse Tung, is in fact dictator is likely enough, but the Chinese Communist Party, again like all communist parties, is a secret society and we can only guess who it is who in fact gives the orders. The first thing that strikes one about this Politburo is that it does not contain a single member who joined the Party less than thirty years ago. They are all survivors of the heroic days of guerrilla warfare, not easily distinguished from banditry, of fratricidal strife and Party purges ; all have had military experiences ; all are hardened in a long and bitter struggle that attained success only after long years of failure ; perhaps most important of all, they are now all aging men, for no new blood has been taken into the Politburo.

The Communist Party, at the time when it conquered China, was for the most part composed of peasants—or even village vagabonds—and nearly all of them were completely illiterate. Evidently, they can have grasped only the outlines of Marxist ideology, but they were determined, ruthless and devoted ; even so, they were not an apt instrument for the task before the Leaders—to govern, direct and rule an immense civilized country. It was, of course, in itself contrary to Marxist principles that peasants should effect a communist revolution and nowadays an official fiction pretends that the original Party consisted of workers and peasants. From the beginning a persistent effort has been made to reduce the proportion of peasants by recruiting more of the workers in the cities. At the same time, every effort was made to reduce illiteracy in the Party ranks by rapid courses in elementary subjects, but these seem to have produced indifferent results. Recruiting into the Party is always going on ; by the end of 1957, there were twelve million members—two per cent of the population. It is the ideal to have a Party cell ' in every factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, army unit, office or school ' as the Party constitution tells us. It was the Red Army which conquered

[1] For many years now, this has been done in the weekly newsletter *China News Analysis* and it is upon that laboriously compiled analysis of news that we chiefly rely in this survey.

China and which administered the country in the early years, but gradually as these Party cells were developed, the civilian administration was able to relieve the Army of the task of government.

Of the Government of China, that is, the official State Government, it is unnecessary to speak at length. The Communist Party constitution speaks of the Government as the instrument of the Party, and that is what it is, a façade, without real power, certainly without power of decision, carrying out the orders that come to it from the almighty Party—which again means from the Leaders of the Party. Ministers may or may not be members of the Party ; if they are not, they are without real power.

Within a remarkably short time after the first conquest, the new régime had imposed itself upon the country and established a unity of administration such as China had never known in her long history ; the Party and Government controlled every aspect of the nation's life, every facet indeed of the life of every individual. When one considers how ill-prepared the Party was for such a task of administration —before 1945 it had never had even a large town under its control—its success is well nigh incredible ; it would have been quite impossible without Russian help. It was the appearance of the Russian Army in Manchuria in 1945 which had paved the way for the communist victory, for Manchuria is the key to China ; after the final defeat of the Nationalists, Russian advisers poured into China. They behaved discreetly, living apart and not mixing with the people, but they controlled everything. Some foreign observers have been misled by the fact that the Russians are referred to in the Press as advisers or experts into thinking that they were mere technicians sent to help with the industrial drive which orthodox Marxism demanded, but a close study of the Press shows that this was not so. Each of the Ministries in Peking has its Russian adviser, and there is one supreme adviser to the Government ; they are found taking part in policy-making conferences and are quoted in every context, and quoted as infallible directors who must be obeyed.

When the Chinese Communist Party emerged from the wilds of Yunnan, it was obviously incapable of governing a great country ; the administration could only be carried on under Russian tutelage ; when, later, industrialization was undertaken, it must be directed by Russian engineers and technicians. This could not have been welcome to the proud Chinese people—no foreigners holding such a dominant position could have been welcome—but the Chinese people had no say in the matter. The Leaders have continued to insist that the Russians are always right, that their directives must be carried out without question and without modification ; any sign of resentment against them, any departure from their directions, is punished as subversive activity. In banking, finance and accountancy, Russian methods have been imposed ;

in industry, all the work has been done under Russian direction and the more important projects are exclusively of Russian design and construction so that China supplies only the unskilled labour and the necessary capital ; education has been completely remodelled on the Russian system, with specialized technical schools replacing the old universities ; the Peking People's University is a Russian political university planted on Chinese soil, with Russian professors, Russian text-books and Russian methods of study ; practically all books published in China in the last eight years have been translations from the Russian. In agriculture and animal breeding where one might have thought—and not without good reason—that the Chinese could have taught the Russians, the Russian experts have introduced Russian methods and practices. In law, science, music, painting, ballet, theatre, film-production—in everything in fact—there are Russian experts with dictatorial powers.

Some have affected to believe that this universal subservience to Russia is no more than imitation arising from the common ideology, but this opinion will not bear examination ; after all the common ideology imposes subservience, for the orthodox communist must give absolute obedience to the central leadership of the world front. The Peking Press reports at length the news and the directives issued from Moscow, much as a provincial press reports news from the capital, and any directive coming from Khrushchev—e.g. his strictures on bourgeois architecture—is obeyed as completely and as promptly in China as in Russia. At the end of October 1956, *The People's Daily* did support the claims of the Polish and Hungarian ' demands for democracy, independence and equality ', showing that the Chinese Leaders were chafing under the continued pressure of their advisers, but a few days later, there was a violent reaction which can only be explained by fear, and *The People's Daily* hailed ' the victorious Russian Army which has for a second time liberated the people of Hungary '. The Russian advisers remain in China to this day, and one must not expect them to be withdrawn. No doubt the present Chinese Leaders want the Russians there, though they might prefer a little more liberty of movement for themselves. Moreover it is clear that these Chinese Leaders can only continue to hold their places as long as they find favour with the Russians : this is what it means to be a Russian satellite.

During its first three years, the régime was occupied in consolidating its power and extending its control over the population and over each member of every family. There is no space in this short article to explain what it means to live under a communist government. There was perhaps no country where there was so much individual liberty as in the old China, where the instinct of the people was to avoid as far as possible all contact with government ; now all that was changed and each found himself

brought again and again under official scrutiny. The Ministry of the Interior drew up a table of Household Regulations for each province which imposed registration of births, deaths, marriages, divorces, separations, cohabitations, disappearances, adoptions and employment for each household, a household being defined as ' people living and eating together, whatever their relations may be, under the authority of the head of the household '. The police—who are under the Ministry of Public Security and not the Ministry of the Interior—maintain a register of residents with an individual card system. Formerly they had ' street bureaux ' subject to them, responsible for the good behaviour of everyone in the street, but they have now transferred this to the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry of Food, with its rationing system, necessarily maintains an accurate register of persons ; so does the Ministry of the Textile Industry, responsible for distributing the ration of cotton. The Labour Unions have all the workers on their files,and the cooperatives in the country have all the farmers and their families on their registers. The Propaganda Department is always busy, arranging for the citizen's indoctrination : there are indoctrination classes for Party members, for clerks, for workers, for farmers, for wives, for youth, for children, for every section of the population.These commonly consist of the compulsory reading of the newspapers, with learning by heart of selected passages : (it is this last which accounts for the amazing uniformity of the answers given by people to questions put to them by visitors : people learn the safe answer to be given to every question.) Above all, there are the drives, campaigns, purges, which follow one another incessantly with their public accusations, criticisms and counter-criticisms, confessions and professions. Attendance at these, and participation in them, is compulsory.

We shall follow in brief summary the steps which have brought the peasantry to their present position of serfdom, as an example of what has happened in every section of the population. The first act of the new régime was the ' Land Reform ' which swept the country in 1950. This has often been described and there is no need to dwell upon it here, except to say that it was the most bloody of the campaigns, for millions died in it. There were mass trials, with accusations against landlords, mass-hysteria with thousands shouting for blood, followed by summary executions. The Party, which managed everything, remained in the background, but, true to its principle of ' *divide et impera* ', incited the ' tenants ' against the ' landlords ', and roused class against class. Very many, if not most, of those who perished were landlords only in name, or were branded as landlords because of some private enmity ; the ' tenants ' were commonly enough ne'er-do-wells, who curried favour with the Party by the violence of their denunciations. After this dreadful year, the land was divided

amongst the survivors, the average holding being of the order of half an acre. There followed in the ensuing years the drives against counter-revolutionaries and against corruption, but these were directed mainly against the commercial and business interests and did not penetrate into the countryside. The farmers were left in comparative peace. They found that their taxes came to more than they had formerly paid in rent, but their animals were their own. The Government indeed tried to buy up their crops to feed the cities and the army, but there were still private merchants operating, and they preferred to sell to these, and to buy from them, rather than from government stores, the salt, coal, sugar, soap, clothes and other things a farmer needs.

In the autumn of 1953, the Government took over a monopoly of buying and selling of food ; it had always had difficulty in securing the supplies it needed, and now, at one stroke, it eliminated all competitors. Seeing that there was no system of storing and distributing food, it was a rash move and must have caused untold suffering to the people. Many of the farmers, even now, managed to secrete part of their crop, but in some places they were left without food and without seed, and the government stores which should have brought supplies to the places where they were needed proved most inefficient. The breakdown of government plans was perhaps not unintended, for it left the farmers quite defenceless before the next move. In December 1950, while the land-reform with its distribution of land to the farmers was still in progress, the Party had taken a decision to group them into collective farms, but this decision remained secret until three years later. Then in 1954, the drive towards cooperative farms began, coupled with a campaign against rich farmers. Liu Shao-ch'i, the second in the Party hierarchy, subordinate only to Mao Tse Tung, mentioned in a speech that rich farmers had only twice as much land as poor farmers : this would mean that their holdings were about one acre, so they were not so very rich. 'Rich' farmers were in fact those who resisted the plans of government, and must be removed. This drive went on through 1954, while collective farms (called Production cooperatives) were being built up where possible. Like 1953, 1954 was a year of disastrous floods, and the economic distress of the farmers was used by the Party as a lever to force them into the cooperatives. In the autumn of 1954, the government was unusually successful in buying up all crops, and as a result, in early 1955, great numbers of farmers were starving. This drove them to desperation, and even the official press in the summer of 1955 was full of stories of the murder of Party officials, arson, looting of food stores, banditry and even armed rebellion. It was for the farmers the last desperate throw, and they knew it. In the autumn of 1955 and through the early months of 1956, the farmers were being taken into the Production Cooperatives—the Collective farms—and at the end of March,

1956, it was reported that 106 million households—90 per cent of the households of China—were in the collectives. Thus in a few months the millions of little plots which made up the farm-lands of China were swallowed up in great latifundia, the lives of more than 100 million families were fundamentally changed, and the farmer's income now depended on the work he did on the fields of the collective farm.

Nominally, entry into the collectives had been voluntary, but in fact the farmers had been forced in by sheer economic necessity : they could not live outside them. How did this great change affect the lives of the 510 million people, who according to official estimates make up the population of the countryside of China ?[2] For the collectivization drive, the Government had drafted into the countryside its most reliable officials ; unfortunately, these were also the youngest and least experienced, often boys and girls. They knew nothing about agriculture, yet refused to listen to the advice of experienced farmers. With the regulation of ' labour-days ' they had the farmers completely in their power. These ' labour-days ' were the cause of endless trouble ; they were not the work actually done in a day but an arbitrary unit, used to determine remuneration. Labour days could be increased or decreased as a reward or punishment, and since the ' food per mouth ', or ration, was deducted from the remuneration due for labour-days, a member who was fined might find himself or his family starving. In the agricultural village of the old China, everyone had worked hard, but production was not high enough to support a leisured class. Now, that too was changed : the collective must have a staff, and the staff made place for their friends. *The People's Daily* tells us of one collective with 210 households and a staff of 101 officials, of another with 418 households and a staff of 294, most of them with high-sounding titles, but little or no work to do. The staff, and its remuneration, tended to grow and grow, putting an intolerable burden on the organization. In a collective with a hundred or perhaps several hundred households, accurate book-keeping was obviously necessary ; it was also difficult, not to say impossible. The complicated accounts had to cover taxation, advance payment by the State, loans from State banks, common funds, contributions by individual members, and, above all, evaluation of labour-days. Widespread illiteracy often made book-keeping impossible, and *The People's Daily* admitted that in many collectives, no books were kept, and in the same article mentions many cases of corruption and embezzlement among the officials.

[2] The 1954 Census, with its return of 600 million as the population of China, appears to be quite unreliable. It was made without adequate preparation, at great speed, employing an untrained staff, many of whom were illiterate or semi-illiterate. The Census was made at a time when the authorities were anxious to exaggerate the population of China ; it was only later that the idea gained ground that the country was over-populated and that propaganda for birth-control and abortion started.

Conditions no doubt varied from collective to collective, but, even in the best of them, the farmers were under continual strain. They rose at five o'clock and worked in the fields until eight o'clock at night ; then, after a rushed supper, they had to go to meetings for indoctrination and assignment of the next day's work. The meetings might last until ten or eleven o'clock and then they went home to bed, to be up at five next morning. Worse than this, was to see their women-folk more over-burdened than themselves, and completely at the mercy of the officials. In the old China, women had in some places worked in the fields, while in other provinces this was unheard of. Not that the women were idle : in the home, they had to care for the children, make shoes and clothes for the family, work the mill, do the weaving and spinning, as well as the shopping for the family. Now, they too were recruited into the labour force, and few of the arrangements of the government have caused such fierce resentment. *The People's Daily* admits many tragedies owing to pregnant women being forced to do heavy work, tragedies too among children, gathered in ' nurseries ' while their mothers were at work, and warns the officials to treat women with more consideration.

Apart from the work of tilling the fields, the farmers—and their wives—were also employed in such tasks as well-digging, upkeep of roads, collecting of fodder and fertilizer, carrying of crops, often for long distances, to government granaries. The Government had promised them that collectivization would bring them an increase of income, but when the reckoning came at the end of 1956, the officials dare not face the farmers. It had been a relatively good year, from the point of view of natural disasters—drought, floods and locusts ; the cotton crop was poor, but the food harvest was fair. However, the farmers had been so pressed that they had no time for the home industries on which they had always relied to supplement their incomes—handicrafts, pig-raising, etc.—and they found themselves much worse off than ever before. In the winter, there was widespread sabotage, neglect of winter work and of preparation for the spring-sowing, but they knew that they were helpless in the hands of their masters, and their lot did not improve during 1957. In the autumn of 1957, the government pushed a new purge into the villages, with a drive against ' rich ' farmers, and also against corrupt and superfluous officials : even Party members did not escape. Those found guilty are transferred from the collectives to the forced labour gangs, although indeed one gets the impression at times that, for the farmer, there is little to choose between the two. One possible escape had always been open to the farmer : he could go to the towns or cities, and, if he could succeed in securing employment there, he could bring his family to his new home. It was against the regulations, but millions succeeded in doing it, and the lot of the worker in the cities was always better than that of the farmer in the collective. Now quite recently hundreds of thousands

of these —as well as other residents in the cities—have been rounded up and sent back to the country. In future, no one may leave his collective. Thus, almost casually, five hundred million people are effectively reduced to the status of serfs !

We have dwelt on this at some length, for it gives clearly and definitely the status and the life of the common people of China.

The pressure for more and more work to which the farming population was subjected, and the corresponding pressure placed on the workers in the towns, was aimed at increasing production. Marxism would be judged by its effects on production, and, with its heritage of mid-nineteenth century ideas, particularly on production in heavy industry. What has China to show in this respect after ten years of communism ?

At the beginning of 1953, the first Five Year Plan was launched to effect the ' transition to socialism '. The full conspectus of the Plan was not produced until the middle of 1955 when half the five years had already run, but from the beginning the emphasis was exclusively on heavy industry. The Plan envisaged the building up at Anshan in Manchuria of what was to be one of the greatest steel cities in the world, with numerous blast furnaces, batteries of coke ovens, steel-refining plant, steel rolling mills, and subsidiary plant. There was to be a similar smaller plant at Paotou in Inner Mongolia, and others at the Wuhan cities and Chungking. Then, mainly also in Manchuria, there were to be automobile factories, wire-drawing factories, machine-tool factories, etc. Of the major projects, more than 150 were to be designed and constructed by Russians, and all others were under Russian direction. This was inevitable, for China herself had not the necessary technical knowledge or personnel. The delay in formulating the Plan was perhaps due to the necessity of completing negotiations for Russian aid. The terms of the Russian loans have never been made public, but there is no doubt that Russia drove a hard bargain, as she has done with other satellites—Poland, for example. The press mentions from time to time the export to Russia of non-ferrous metals, leather, textile products, wool, silk, tobacco, vegetable oils, peanuts, tea, meat, beans, rice, eggs, all in repayment of the loans. Further the Russian experts had to be paid, and paid at a rate which is said to be ten times the rate paid to Chinese engineers.

The choice of Anshan for the steel city is itself curious. It had indeed been developed by the Japanese when they controlled Manchuria and production of steel there is said to have reached one and a half million tons during the war, but in 1945, the Russians denuded the plant, carrying off all the equipment to Russia : now they undertook to replace it, at Chinese expense. But Anshan is not a good site for the central steel

city of China : it is in a peripheral province, the iron ore there is of poor quality and the coal is not of mineralogical grade. One cannot but observe that all the major industrial projects of the Five Year Plan are sited in proximity to Russia. However, the Five Year Plan progressed, and each year there were triumphant reports of targets reached ; visitors to China are invariably taken to Anshan, and they are duly impressed, as well they may be, by the gigantic scale of the works. In 1956, however, the planners began to have second thoughts. The accumulated wealth of the country had been gathered by the State through the yearly selling of Government Bonds, which all were forced to buy, through forced saving deposits, through the taking over of private industry and commerce, and in other ways. All this wealth had been poured into the industrial development. The result was that in 1956, the economy of the country was utterly exhausted : there was no more hidden wealth to tap, Russian aid had shrunk to a trickle, while the Russian loans had still to be repaid, and the gigantic plants at Anshan and elsewhere were as yet making no contribution to the economy. Even *The People's Daily* reflected that a moderate sized steel plant with a capacity of 160,000 tons a year could have been finished in four years and would be producing in three. China might have had ten such plants ! Instead they had a 1,600,000 ton plant which would not be finished for ten years and would not be producing for six ! Necessarily, for lack of resources, orders were sent out for the reduction of plans and commitments at Paotou, Wuhan and Chungking, and even at Anshan. The Anshan plan still goes forward, but more slowly. At the same time orders were given to revive the small iron works which had existed round Shanghai, Peking and elsewhere in the country. At the inception of the Five Year Plan, it had been laid down that industry was to be removed from the coast and even the mines there were closed down : the very grave mistake had been made of neglecting the foundation for industry which already existed and which might have been quickly expanded : instead all resources had been thrown into the grandiose projects suggested by the Russians. The changed plan of 1956 is still being pushed, but by 1956 equipment had deteriorated, mines had fallen into disrepair, and the technicians had been scattered. Revival of the local industry has not proved as easy as its destruction.

Anshan is certainly producing pig iron and steel in considerable quantities, but the quality of the steel is poor, and all special steels have still to be imported ; generators, tractors, trucks, and most types of machine and instrument are also being imported. Industrialization has not yet begun to deliver the goods !

Before the ' liberation ' China had a flourishing textile industry, and there was a great deal of other light industries and great numbers of skilled craftsmen, plying various trades. Much of the textile machinery was sent to Hong Kong before the liberation, but the régime has done

something to build up the industry again : most of the craftsmen seem to have disappeared or to have been drawn into other work.

In the coal-mining industry, the Government more wisely concentrated on the development of the old mines, and they claim to have increased production to 100 million tons a year, but the target has been reached through a falling off in quality : dirt and ash-content have increased enormously—to twenty per cent and sometimes to as much as forty per cent. Mechanization of the mines is going forward slowly; many of them are most primitive, using methods that have been unchanged for centuries so that mechanization may mean very little, but some modern mines are under construction. Some of the best coal reserves of China, however, are untouched because they are in places where there is no possibility of transporting the coal once it is mined. China has long been an exporter of tin, tungsten and antimony, and no doubt exports them still, but she is badly off for other non-ferrous metals. Intensive search for these and other minerals, and especially for petroleum has proved fruitless, or nearly so. There are small oil fields in Kansu and Sinkiang, but these were known before the liberation.

The industrial development of the country would seem to demand a development of transport, but the Government has shown little interest in this. The Nationalist régime had started to build a network of motor roads, but the communists have not continued this work, and the Minister of Communications said recently that no road-building programme was contemplated ' since the automobile and petroleum industries are not developed.' China, a country considerably larger than the United States, three and a half million square miles, has little more than 100,000 miles of road, most of which is rather to be called dirt track than road ; there are reckoned to be about 70,000 trucks in the whole country. More work has been done on the railways : two connections to Russia have been completed and a third is under construction, but on the whole, progress is very slow : less than five hundred miles of track were completed in 1957. The total length of line for the whole of China is given as 15,000 miles, of which half is in Manchuria. Naturally there is grave congestion on the railways, and the Minister in charge complains of shortage of locomotives and rolling stock.

It is in the light of such facts as these that one should consider the great Yangtse Bridge at Hankow, which was formally opened last autumn.

It is undoubtedly a triumph of engineering, a mile long bridge, with a double railway track below and a six-lane motor highway above, but it is fantastically out of proportion to the needs of China. The Minister of Communications has stated that in all China there are only 500 miles of double railway track, and that, on the roads of China, eighty per cent of the traffic is by oxen and mule carts—much as it was two thousand years ago. It does not seem too much to say that, though China may be

making progress towards industrialization, the first steps have been on entirely wrong lines. It has been argued that it should be as easy for China to industrialize as for Russia, but there is no parallel between the two. Czarist Russia, though backward, had many technicians and a distinguished body of scientists : in rocketry, for instance, both theoretical and practical, Russia probably led the world in 1914, as she does in 1958, and the Germans learnt much from the Russians. China on the other hand starts from scratch in a field that seems alien to the Chinese genius. Again China, unlike Russia, is poor in mineral wealth—China has long possessed an adequate geological survey—and it appears that China can never be a great industrial country.

It might be thought that in agriculture at least the drive to increase production would be successful, although the experience of Russia has shown that agriculture does not take kindly to communism. Intensive propaganda has been directed towards increasing the output of the land, for it is agriculture that must pay for industrialization ; three quarters of China's exports are agrarian products, going mainly to Russia, but also to other countries, to pay for the Russian loans, and to earn the foreign currencies needed for the purchase of steel, machinery and petroleum. (The other quarter of the exports is mainly minerals, with comparatively little manufactured goods.) The Finance Minister has emphasized the fact that the yield of agricultural taxes gets yearly less, but the main contribution of the farmers to the State Budget comes from the fact that they must sell all their crops to the State at prices fixed by the State, and buy the supplies they need from the State, again at prices fixed by the State. Thus, it is the farmers who carry the whole burden of industrialization and the State has no money to spare for investment in agriculture. In the early days, there was much talk of mechanization of agriculture, but this found no place in the Five Year Plan, and practically no mechanization has taken place : any increase in production that has taken place comes from the sweat of the farmer, who has been under continual pressure.

The Government claims that there has been a rapid rise in food production : this may well be true, considering the way the farmers have had to work in tilling the fields and in extending the arable lands by new cultivation and new irrigation. We shall not quote the statistics given ; all published statistics are unreliable, corresponding as they do rather to the demands of propaganda than of fact, but agricultural statistics are particularly unreliable since emulation, whatever it may effect in the factory, is at its most effective when officials are filling in reports to headquarters of the production targets they have succeeded in attaining. *The People's Daily* has quoted innumerable examples of these faked reports, so that it is evident that the Government itself does not know the

real figures for food production. What is quite certain is that the people are short of food. How far this is due to export of food, we do not know : certainly food is being exported in large quantity, although before the liberation, China was an importer of rice and wheat.

Almost continuously through the five years of the Plan, there has been constant complaint of the quantity and quality of the basic food—rice in the South, wheat, millet or sorghum in the North. In the towns, the ration has been just adequate, but in the country it has been insufficient—except in those places where the farmers have succeeded in hiding a portion of their crop. It is interesting to note that this practice seems to be as widespread after collectivization as before. There has, moreover, from the beginning of the régime been a chronic and serious shortage of peanut oil : since this is, especially in the South, the sole source of fat in the diet, it is from the point of view of nutrition a grave defect. Vegetables are also in very short supply ; this is felt more in the towns, which in other respects are comparatively well off, for in the country, the farmer may succeed in growing his own vegetables on his own little plot. Again, green vegetables are essential in the diet of rice-eaters. Meat, in China, means pork, and it is particularly galling for the farmer who raises the pigs to find that he and his family can never get meat to eat. The facts given here are taken from reports in the communist press, which would be likely to minimize rather than exaggerate the sufferings of the people: it is notable that in reports of floods, while we are told of losses of livestock and of efforts made to save them, there is never a word about loss of human life or of the starvation that follows floods, just as, in the reports of industrial accidents—which are very numerous—we hear of the damage to machinery, but not of human casualties.

In China, cotton ranks with rice or wheat or millet as a necessity of life. Winter is a season of dire misery and even of death for all who cannot wrap themselves in cotton-padded clothing by day and cotton-padded quilt by night : cotton, not fire, is the shield against cold. It is also practically the sole material for every garment. Again, although the Government claims an increase in cotton-production, there has been a perennial shortage of cotton, and the ration allowed has been repeatedly cut. This, too, is a cause of great distress. In this, again, farmers in the cotton-growing areas have managed to retain a portion of the crop, and there is a black market in cotton.

As in Russia, so in China, it is the livestock of the farms which has shown the most emphatic reaction against communism. China has always been the leading producer of pigs in the world : in 1934, the number was assessed at 69 million, in 1952 at 87 million, and in 1954 at 98 million. (The U.S.A. the next highest producer, had 63 million in 1951.) But collectivization was now going forward, and the number of

pigs was estimated in 1955 at 88 million, and in June, 1956, at 80 million : disaster was overtaking the pigs ! In the old China, there had been large pig-breeding establishments, but also every farmer had his pig which was responsible for a very real supplement to his income, and which was carefully reared and tended. Now the pigs began to get thin and die, for there was a universal shortage of food ; or the pigs were taken over by the collective, and no one cared for them. Worse still, the Government had seen in the pigs a most promising material for export, and enormous numbers of them were assembled for export to Russia. The purchasing and care were in the hands of men who knew little or nothing about pigs : *The People's Daily* records one instance of 6,000 pigs being despatched on a train journey which only 1,200 survived, and of 10,000 dying in a week in one assembly yard ; they were often left without food or water, and disease ravaged the herds. Later, these conditions seem to have been corrected, but the pig population did not rise, and collectivization was recognized as the cause. In the spring of 1957, it was ordered that pigs should be returned to the ownership of the farmers who should be given a plot of land on which to raise them. It is now said that the number of pigs is rising again, and that is likely enough : they have expressed their opinion of communism. Even more calamitous was the fate of the other animals of the farm, the draught animals, oxen or buffaloes, mules and donkeys, and, in the North, horses. These were taken over by the collectives before the pigs. They suffered from the shortage of food, especially when the drive to extend arable land took over their feeding grounds. They had been well-cared for by their former owners, but when these foresaw that they were to lose their animals, they lost interest in them, or slaughtered them, or, if they could, sold them. Taken over by the collective, the animals were not looked after, they were not fed, they were not watered, and there were numerous reports in the press of animals dying of starvation, or of freezing to death at night. We read of one province where half the animals died and the survivors were too weak to pull a plough. This trouble with the animals seems still to persist, and it does point to a fundamental error in communism : the animals of China, like those in Russia, have given the lie to Marx.

In agricultural production, therefore, communism in China has little to boast of, but perhaps it is idle to go into this question of production at all, for surely the most important thing to observe is this : that whatever progress has been made has been achieved at the expense of an immense sum in human misery.[1]

[1] Of set purpose I have omitted all reference to the religious situation in China. To treat it adequately would require a further article.

Artists in Tokyo

THE QUESTION OF ZEN

by DESMOND FENNELL

IN Tokyo, to a greater extent than I have met with elsewhere, the intellectual life is absorbed by the artistic. Ideas are very often tied up with or embodied in art ; and the art world—both literature and the plastic arts—is lively, dense and very extensive. I had a memorable discussion one afternoon at Fukushima Hideko's place. Miss Fukushima had been holding a joint exhibition with another young woman painter in the Yoseido gallery. That was where I got to know her. The paintings were all abstract and done in oils. For two young women it was surprisingly mature and concentrated painting. It was personal and, at the same time, disciplined art. Fukushima-san belonged to an *avant-garde* group called the Experimental Workshop, and a few days later I met some other members of the group at her studio.

The Experimental Workshop has thirteen members altogether. Besides Fukushima-san, four others were there that afternoon—a poet, a composer, a photographer and a painter who also worked in vitrines. They were all young men. English was the only language that all of us knew something of, so we managed to get along with it, though none of the Japanese spoke it fluently.

The group had come together a few years ago and had organized various public exhibitions, entertainments and concerts in Tokyo. Nothing was too new for them. In their concerts they went in for Messiaen, Copland, Schönberg, Erik Satie and the like. They also presented works by the four composers of their group. They had had concrete music and electronic music and exhibitions of paintings with accompaniment of special tape-recorded music. They were at home with auto-slides, mobile sculptures and ' poems for tape-recorder '. They had staged Schönberg's masque *Pierrot Lunaire,* had made a film composition using vitrines and mobile objects with concrete music. One of their most interesting ventures had been a completely modernized version of one of the classical Japanese *noh* plays with 12-tone music, modern décor and a modern Japanese text. Professional *noh* actors took the parts.

I shall try to give some idea of what we talked about, though I cannot always specify who said what. They shared many of their ideas in common. As might be expected, therefore, it was largely a dialogue between them as a group on the one hand and myself on the other.

Fukushima-san showed some of her paintings. They were all abstract and very pleasing. A couple were called simply 'Man' and I asked her why she had given them that name, for the pictures didn't seem to have any real relation to such a title. 'I was thinking a lot about man when I painted them,' she said. 'But anyhow the title's not important.' It was such a simple answer that it satisfied me.

Looking at one of her paintings I was reminded of Japanese *ikebana* art. *Ikebana* has to do principally with flower arrangement, but by gradual extension it has come to include the artistic arrangement of other things besides flowers, indeed a kind of art of the still life, seen as forms and colours. I remarked that *ikebana* ought to help the Japanese artist in his approach to modern abstract painting and Fukushima-san said that in the case of this particular picture it had indeed influenced her.

We got to talking then of the connection between traditional Japanese art and modern art. I suggested that this connection could be traced along two lines—through *ikebana* in its widest sense and through the *sumi* or black-ink paintings of the old *bunjin-ga* school—the 'literati style' of painting that had come to Japan from China. Under *ikebana* I included rock-gardens—or rather the strictest kind of rock-garden, where only rocks and white sand are used with no plants. But indeed all kinds of Japanese garden could be said to come under *ikebana*. And I was thinking too of kimono design. I had seen the kimonos of the Tokugawa period—from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries—that are displayed in the National Museum. Their designs are often entirely abstract—irregular shapes and blocs of colour asymmetrically arranged.

They said that, of course, the rock-gardens had concrete 'explanations', each group of rocks or single rock having a certain significance. But they agreed that this interpretation was ultimately no more important for the aesthetic—as distinct from the philosophical—appreciation of the rock-garden than, say, the well-known explanatory 'story' of a walk in the countryside is necessary for the appreciation of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. They pointed out too that first and foremost under *ikebana* came flower arrangement and its aestheticism could hardly be described as altogether abstract, since the different schools had rules to be followed that were usually of philosophical or religious derivation. However, whatever the *derivation* of the rules, their effect was aesthetic—there was no *content* that could be called 'literary' and since flower arrangement depended ultimately for its appreciation on the trained aesthetic taste, the rules did not really take away from the abstraction of the art. Besides, there were 200 schools, each with its own rules, so that they cancelled each other out.

I mentioned the skilful use of *ikebana* on modern Japanese neckties—perhaps the most inspired fusion of *ikebana* with modern Western art. And I remembered some subtle *ikebana* I had seen done by a woman in

her little confectionery shop—a few nuts, a single pastry, a leaf or the like, arranged on a plate. It was an example of the penetration of ordinary life by the *ikebana* spirit.

Regarding the black-ink sketches of the old literati artists—*bunjin-ga* art—we had more disagreement. I suggested that they ran into or connected with modern Western impressionism and expressionism. But the photographer pointed out very justly that impressionism was concerned with the exact physical reproduction of nature, while *bunjin-ga* was not. *Bunjin-ga* aimed at expressing the *inner* reality of things, or the inner experience of the artists viewing those things. Of course, I said. But in that very respect it was expressionism. They agreed that Van Gogh's *Chair* was *bunjin-ga*. On the other hand Van Gogh's *Country Postman* was a particular man with a name. *Bunjin-ga* art was never so concerned with particularities.

I agreed that impressionism had certainly been concerned with the physical reality of light and colour ; but there were Monet's pictures of Rouen Cathedral to be taken into account—ten of them painted at different times on the one day, a sort of log-book of the changing moments. It was in this respect that I found *bunjin-ga* was like impressionism—in its concern with the fleeting moment, the instantaneous impression of the external world on the artist. With this they agreed. And *bunjin-ga* had shared with impressionism the weakness of being an *unsolid* form of art. When Cézanne said that he wanted to create once more ' an art worthy of museums ', his implied criticism of expressionism's instability and lack of permanent substance could apply equally to *bunjin-ga*.

I felt that the Japanese painter should have advantages in his relation to modern art—in his approach to it—for he came out of this tradition of abstraction, of a mingled expressionism and impressionism. (We must not forget either the woodblock artists such as Sharaku and Utamaro, whose style was strongly expressionistic and basically abstract. And indeed in the late nineteenth century these artists influenced Western art by way of the Parisian school.) But the Western artist had arrived at the modern abstract movement with a heritage of naturalism—except, as we noticed, in music, where the West had quite amazingly reached abstraction on a grand scale—absolute music, such as the sonata, the symphony, the string quartet—as opposed to what we might call the functionalism of Japanese music. I mean, the main role of Japanese music is to accompany drama and dance.

Talking of music, I asked them who were the favourite European classical composers in Japan. They smiled at each other and enumerated in an ironical tone of voice, ' Beethoven, Mozart, Chopin.' I asked them what about themselves and people like them—did they agree with this choice ? Not at all, they said. They were for Bach. I thought to myself, ' How up to-the-minute they are ' at least, if one takes the taste of the

contemporary West as standard. But I wondered were they for Bach, just because Bach was once more *avant-garde*—along with Messiaen and Erik Satie? Or was it deeper than that, were their experiences and needs similar enough to ours to make the astringent music of the seventeenth century with its existential probings really the most meaningful music for them? I believe this was the case.

We came back to the Japanese painter, and we agreed that his position was in fact only *potentially* advantageous. For as things are now, he had assimilated the modern Western technique without penetrating it with his spirit, without having the experience of winning through to it as an intellectual and artistic achievement. You see in Tokyo the amazing spectacle of an immense number of very *competent* artists in modern Western style—this was clear as day in the Japanese section of the international exhibition of contemporary painting held in Tokyo in July 1957. So much so that one of the best Tokyo art critics, an American Charles Terry, commented that the main reason that good Japanese artists do not get recognition is that there are too many of them.

At the same time the really creative genius is absent—the man who is more than highly competent, makes a strong style of his own and gains a wide international following—a Matisse or Chagall. The modern style came to Japan from the West and it is still executed by a Japanese artist—like so many other things which came from the West—with the external part of his person, so to speak. But his most intimate Japanese soul, where the *bunjin-ga* and *ikebana* traditions and many other things are experienced and remembered, *that* holds aloof, so that no intimate wedding takes place.

This is so often the difficulty in the East to-day. Talent and technique are not enough to make great art. What gave their force to the new styles in the West was that they had roots and background in the Western cultural organism, in basic attitudes, in responses to intrinsically Western challenges, in religion, in the *élan* that comes from an artistic synthesis wrung out of resisting circumstances. I heard just at this time of a Japanese girl pianist who had given a recital in Paris. She played something by Bach and one critic said of her that her technique was excellent but that one knew from her playing that she was not a Christian.

These young Japanese artists were aware of this problem, this schism or alienation in the soul of the contemporary Japanese artist. We all agreed that it was not a thing that need last—a transition was still going on and the process of assimilation was still incomplete. Just as Japan had earlier assimilated Chinese styles and made them her own and developed them as something Japanese, she would ultimately do the same with the modern artistic styles from the West. But it would involve a change of

basic Japanese beliefs. The flowering of Chinese culture in Japan took place only after the Japanese had accepted Chinese Buddhism.

There was the question too of Japanese-style painting on paper scrolls and silken *kakemonos* with the Japanese brush and Japanese paints. There is a great deal of this painting being done in Tokyo and it has its own independent development, its own modern movement. But its media and canons are so different that there can be no real fusion with Western oil-painting. We could not see clearly, talking it over, what the future relationship of the two styles would be. One great weakness of Japanese artistic life in this transition period is its splintering into many streams and gussets that are mutually exclusive.

We talked about Zen Buddhism, which is much discussed in intellectual circles in Japan. It is the Buddhist sect which appeals most to intellectuals and artists. The practice of a system of meditation is its central feature. Enlightenment is sought and it is achieved not by a gradual rational progress but by an act of intuitive cognition.

I admitted that I was wary of it, for a rather fake product was often hawked around and talked about simply because it was fashionable. But our composer said that he and the rest of the group were very serious about it and felt they must study it and get at its essence. For since Zen was based on the intuitive, on that region of human experience where the rational no longer helps, it was of great value to the artist. We compared this ultimate leap on the path to truth and beauty with that last stage which the Christian mystics describe, when nothing more can help and the soul and God leap to union in the dark above the abyss. It is indeed a strange paradox of Zen that it teaches that all must come about by one's own efforts—out of oneself (and so has encouraged individualism) but that the ultimate goal is an illumination from outside.

It was the ultimate irrationality of Zen and the ultimate irrationality of the artist's creative intuition that made it attractive and suitable for artists, they said. The Japanese mind had always been largely irrational and, while this explained its preference for artistic expression rather than intellectual formulations, it had also been a serious weakness. They held strongly that an important component of art must be rational and solid ; this was the principal contribution which the West had brought to Japanese art. It was only as the ultimate determinant of art that they valued irrationality.

We hadn't talked about ballet. For that I had to wait till I met the dancer Komaki in a Russian restaurant after his show. His wife, the prima ballerina and a few of the troupe were there too. That evening they had done the Third Act of the *Nutcracker Suite,* the Black Swan dance from *Swan Lake, Sylvia* by Délibes and *Prince Igor* by Borodin.

Komaki-san told me he had deserted the Japanese army and gone to Shanghai in 1939. He lived in the French Concession and joined the Ballet Russe. After the war he began working in Tokyo. He said that in Japan a bad foundation had been laid for the proper appreciation of classical ballet. A certain Rossi, an Italian, had spent two years there about forty-six years ago and had introduced Japanese audiences to Western classical ballet. ' They were like paper to be written on,' said Komaki, ' but the writing was badly done. They acquired an adulterated taste, their eyes were deformed from the beginning.'

He stressed the need of the academic. Japanese artistic life was too avid for novelty, too careless of foundations in its imitation of Western art-forms. Before the war they had been building a modern theatre movement on Stanislavsky's theories, when they hadn't even a proper repertoire of modern dramas. The musicians were asked to play *Petrushka* before they had the remotest hope of being able to *feel* it, before they had felt Tchaikowsky through and through. He himself liked modern dancing but his world was the classical. He would work at that, he said—laying proper foundations.

' We take on too many things at the same time,' he said. ' We don't know where we are going. And it is difficult to know just yet. What kind of ballet will we ultimately have in Japan ?—Let that take care of itself ! Now we must work hard.'

His own best role was Prince Igor, he said. His wife, who danced too, was best as the White Swan. The troupe gave two to five performances a month, including television engagements. (There are, of course, several classical ballet troupes in Tokyo.)

The prima ballerina, Saiga Toshiko, told me she had not been dancing recently, for she had water on the knee. She began dancing when she was twelve and later spent two years in Paris. She said she liked modern dance too, but was best at classical ballet. The roles she preferred were Don Quijote in Minkus's ballet of that name and the Fish role in a ballet called *Beneath the Sea*, which one of her colleagues had written the previous year.

A difficulty about classical ballet in Japan, she said, was the shortness of Japanese legs. And then there was the problem for Japanese of really feeling the Western music in their bones. ' I don't *smell* the music in their movements,' she said. That would take time—or it might never happen. The sound of *geta*—the Japanese wooden clogs—couldn't be heard in the Western ballet music. And the way Japanese walked, their sloped shoulders, their particular way of moving their feet, which they acquired from walking about in stocking soles on *tatami* mats—these physical idiosyncrasies clashed with the Western choreographic movements.

Nor was love between man and woman expressed in Japan in the same way as in Western ballet. Take the White Swan dance in *Swan Lake*—those looks, those gestures. That was the white people's way of expressing

love, she said. ' We mustn't just ignore these difficulties. We must work hard, try to live ourselves into the dances, be creative, and perhaps cut them to our own measure.'

I went home by electric train that night, still thinking of what Saiga Toshiko had said. The carriage was crowded and I was standing, waiting for the compressed-air door to close and the train to start. I noticed a girl standing on one side of the door. She was small, rather plain and very tired. A young man was standing on the other side of the door, a tall lad, with a proud manly face. When the train was due to start she leaned across a couple of times and motioned him away from the door with her hand, so that it wouldn't hit him when it was closing. He moved back a step.

When the door closed and the train started she leaned back against the wall and closed her eyes. When the door opened at the next station, the boy was standing close to it again. The girl roused herself, leaned sleepily over and motioned him to move away. He obeyed. I watched this very same thing take place several times. Between stations she dozed and seemed abstracted, but she always roused herself to make that protective gesture, which was never really necessary. Only once during the journey did he lean over and say a few words to her.

I thought of what Saiga Toshiko had said about the different ways of expressing love. This was a Japanese way. They never looked at each other and hardly spoke. The boy's attachment was expressed by his docile acquiescence in her concern, his acceptance of her protection. Her assumption of that role, her gratuitous display of concern, were her expression of affection. It was not an isolated instance. A German friend of mine in Tokyo had told me how the couples sheltered under trees during rain. It was the boy who leaned back against the tree, the girl who stood protectively in front of him. What I saw on the electric train was an adaption to modern mechanical conditions of innate Japanese attitudes. Saiga Toshiko felt the need of something similar in the field of ballet.

To come back to Zen. There is certainly a relationship between Zen Buddhism and many of the highest achievements of Japanese art and aesthetics. How exactly this relation should be understood has puzzled me a good deal. The problem is similar to that connected with the great Dutch art of the seventeenth century. Was this Dutch art a product of Calvinism or was it rather that a *sort of man* emerged in late sixteenth-century Holland, who expressed his religious urge in the form of Calvinism and his sense of beauty as in the pictures of Vermeer, Rembrandt and Franz Hals?

Dr Suzuki, the well-known authority on Zen, would have us believe that most of Japanese art and higher culture since the thirteenth century—tea ceremony, flower arrangement, poetry, rock-gardens, painting, noh, house-styles—has been inspired by Zen. For him it is the quintessence of Japanese life.

In the grounds of Daitokuji Temple in Kyoto an American lady, Mrs Ruth Sasaki, lives and works. She knows Japan and the Japanese well, has followed Zen for many years and translates Chinese Zen texts. Hers was one of the keenest, most balanced minds I met with in Japan. I asked her about Zen and art. She believed that when Zen reached Japan from China, those Japanese who were devoted to gardens, archery, black-ink painting and poetry, found in Zen a possibility for increasing their intuitive sensibilities, as well as new reasons for doing these things. She pointed out that the Zen monk, Rikyu, the great early master of the tea ceremony, had several companions who were Christians and likewise masters of the tea ceremony.

In her experience and in her reading of history she found that Zen developed a type of individual who did not fit easily into Japanese society, in other words, an eccentric type by Japanese everyday standards. But the Japanese liked eccentrics for their entertainment value—it was something like the delight of the grotesque in sculpture. In her own everyday contact with masters of Zen she found them very often the shortest spoken, the most punctual and reliable of Japanese. They had discarded the muddle-headedness of Japanese life, the accumulated baggage of Japanese culture. They were men to assess a situation and seize a moment.

However, the reputed recklessness of Zen towards the rational intellect and hallowed custom led to errors on the part of the uninitiated. Students who came to study at Daitokuji, both Japanese and foreign, would often say, ' We are leaving intellect behind, we don't care about it. We wish to get places by intuition.' Such people, said Mrs Sasaki, must be told : ' Lay your intellect to one side, but be ready to take it up again—you'll need it ! It's like having spent your whole life using your right hand. Here you'll learn to develop your left hand. But you'll need both.'

' I should like to see Zen preserved,' she said, because of what it could mean to the world. But I think it will be preserved by Westerners, if at all.' Indeed, it is arguable that one big factor in making Zen so popular recently in Japan is its great vogue in America and Europe. Mrs Sasaki once asked a Japanese, ' Why do you make such a fuss of Dr Suzuki ? ' and the Japanese answered, ' He is regarded in the West as the greatest Japanese Buddhist scholar.'

I heard of a businessman in Tokyo who gave Zen sessions to his staff during the lunch-hour break. Office-girls make retreats in Zen temples. Some firms require their future employees to take a three-month course

in Zen. During the last war the Army used to send soldiers for periods to Zen temples.

Fr. Heinrich Dumoulin, S.J., of Sophia University in Tokyo has just published a book in German on Zen. He knew personally most of the Zen masters in Japan and spoke highly of them. He had spoken with young students for the Zen priesthood and told me that he had encouraged them to persevere.

At dinner in Tokyo one night a young diplomat, who was a Zen Buddhist, told me he believed in Zen's efficacy, though, sad to say, the sect itself, like all traditional religion, was in decline. After the war it had enjoyed a great revival. He said that it developed will power and people had needed a lot of will power then. It taught a man to find everything in himself. He had done the *zazen* (or directed-meditation) a couple of times. It was not merely passive, he said. The priest had posed problems such as this one. ' Imagine yourself before a great gate too strong to break down and quite unscalable. How will you pass through ? You *must* pass through ! '

Of course, this man was talking of Zen in that easy, inconsequential way that most educated people in Japan do talk of it. It is a conversation piece, a thing to grace an evening.

The conundrum the diplomat had mentioned was one of the famous *koon*, which are used in Zen meditation. About 1500 of the Chinese *koon* are used in Japanese temples. There are 50 original Japanese *koon* made by the eighteenth-century monk, Hakuin. These *koon* are a sort of assault on rational thinking.

It was also in Daitokuji Temple that I spoke to the Zen master and priest, Kobori Solaku. A young, dynamic man, he lived in a lovely old house with a garden. Like any good Japanese host he began by pointing out to me the fine screens, the austere little tea-room and other details of house and garden. There was a single flower in a vase. He had chosen it for the occasion. We sat beside the garden and drank green tea.

It was a memorable interview for me in many ways, but the things which made it memorable are such as one feels ought not to be spoken about. They are perceived and felt and appreciated. They make you feel that life is very much worth an effort, that its secrets can be discovered and that wisdom can really be learned and lived. But such perceptions become ungainly when put into words and the attempt to do so is unseemly.

Kobori-san did not agree with Dr Suzuki's view that the approach to Zen is through art. Practicality must come first, he said. There must be years of meditation, in which the world gradually opened to you and the smallest things acquired meaning. Zen was first and foremost a method, a striving. Zen was not art nor joy of life, but it was based on a passion for life. It was great earnestness.

□

He believed that the turning back to Zen in Japan these last years was due to two factors—its success in the West, and the desire of the Japanese to meet the challenge of the West by drawing strength out of their own native resources.

The place Zen occupied in Japanese life, he said, was concrete on the one hand, vague and general on the other. A small number of persons consciously made Zen a part of their lives. But at the same time, most Japanese, even those who believed themselves to be opposing Zen, were influenced by it in a hundred ways through its partial expression in the tea ceremony, poetry, flower arrangement and the general tone of Japanese ethics and cultivated living.

I tried—others who have tried will appreciate the futility of it—to gain some rough outline of the doctrine or moral views of Zen. When I had asked Mrs Sasaki what, according to Zen, becomes of the soul after death, she had answered that Buddhism couldn't be read off a tree while passing in a train ! Now I asked Kobori-san about right and wrong. But he rejected the whole idea of enunciating principles.

' Let us leave principles,' I said. ' If you go out on to the street now and knock a man off his bicycle—what then ? Is that right or wrong ? '
' But you posit an " if ", ' he said. ' I have not done that. We must keep to what is here and now. I take this dog up and fondle it.' He did so. ' Is that good or bad ? I drink tea.' He drank. ' The garden is darkening. It will rain now and that will make the moss look very bright and green. Perhaps later this evening I'll feel hungry and eat something.'

But as I questioned I sensed his reluctance. He was being polite, while believing his talk futile. He acted as a person does, who has a precious secret and resents the mere curious questioner, who is not prepared to buy that secret by a personal commitment, but wants the gist of it for its sensation value and as a conversation piece. In fact Kobori-san said to me, gently,' ' I don't like talking about these things. I like to work at them, make progress and then, when the occasion demands it, talk plenty—with accumulated force ! '

Historical Background of Christendom in the Middle East

by J. J. W. MURPHY

Part I

DURING the years 1940-55 there were many English-speaking Catholics in the Middle East.[1] Most of them were in the British Forces. They came and went while the fighting went on in the Western Desert, in Libya, Syria, Iraq and Tunisia, followed by civil war in Palestine and by political turmoil in Persia and in Egypt, with the usual violent accompaniment.

Catholic Service men and women of all ranks, on leave in Cairo, might ask some English-speaking Egyptian to show them the Catholic church. He would take them to a Greek Orthodox church, in almost every case, for that was the only church he had ever heard called Catholic. After the ensuing confusion had been cleared up, he would explain that it was, of course, the Latin church they should have asked for. When they had found it and had been reassured by the sight and sound of Mass as they had known it at home, there were further complications. In the porch they could read notices of Masses and church services in churches with strange names, Armenian, Chaldean, Coptic, Maronite, Melkite, Syrian, and information such as that his Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch, or (it might be) of Babylon would be present at such a function. The Patriarch of Babylon ! The name Catholic appeared only in the suspicious combination, Greek-Catholic. If they could read French and bought the *Rayon d'Egypte*, they got more of these outlandish names and titles.

No wonder then that Army chaplains began to get awkward questions at padre's hours and even in their own Messes. Most chaplains had not more than distant memories of the church history in which they had studied, before ordination, the religious divisions of Middle-East Christianity. Books were few and on active service time to read was short, but we had the advantage of contact with the reality. The churches of those Eastern Christians were all around us ; we could meet men who knew all about them. Eventually I worked out on a large chart the family-tree of Eastern Christianity, something as follows.

The parent-trunk divided in the fifth century into three main branches, from which all native churches in the Middle East descend,

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[1] The Royal Institute of International Affairs says that it has become standard British usage to include in the term ' Middle East ' the countries formerly called ' Near East ' or the Levant. It is now a political rather than a geographical designation, applied to the area between a line drawn west of Turkey across the Mediterranean south to Egypt and a line drawn east of Persia south across the Arabian Sea. Not all American writers have yet accepted this change, and still use the term ' Near East '. See *The Middle East, a Political and Economic Survey*. page 2.

Nestorian, Monophysite, Orthodox. The first division was caused by the condemnation of the Nestorian heresy in 431, the year before St Patrick came to convert Ireland. The second came twenty years later when the Monophysites were condemned. The Orthodox, as their name indicates, were those who agreed with both condemnations and held to the traditional belief which both heresies, for opposite reasons, denied. The followers of Nestorius, called after him, as is the heresy, maintained that our Saviour was a distinct human person from God the Son. The Monophysites, rightly objecting that this would make Christ merely human, went to the other extreme. They held that he had no human nature at all ; that the Incarnation consisted in a human nature's absorption into the divine nature of God. This, of course, would make Christ man only in appearance, with one sole nature and that divine. The heresy is therefore so called from the Greek prefix mono- and the Greek word for nature.

The human mind being what it is, such inquiries into the mystery of the Incarnation were inevitable. But in the words of Duchesne,

> at least this investigation should have been made quietly by men of proved competence and prudence, far from the quarrelsome crowd. The contrary occurred. Amid religious bigotry let loose, amid continuous quarrelling between metropolitans, rivalries between prelates, turbulent councils, imperial enactments, deprivations, expulsions, riots, schisms—those were the circumstances under which Greek theologians studied the mystery of the Incarnation. If we look for the result of their work, we see at the end of the story the Eastern Church incurably divided, the Christian Empire broken up, the successors of Mohammed crushing under foot Syria and Egypt. This was the price of those metaphysical exercises.[1]

These severe words were justified, as we shall see. But the word *Greek* needs explanation. It only means that they wrote in Greek, just as medieval theologians wrote in Latin, because it was the language of scholars at that time and place. They were Greek only because they were in the Byzantine Empire, which included the countries of the Middle East, to which they belonged by birth. Some used their native tongue, like St Ephrem who wrote in Syriac. That did not help clarity or charity, when the controversy started on the nature and person of Christ. Greek had a definite philosophical vocabulary well established and understood, developed over a thousand years, since the 5th century

[1] The pattern of that situation remains ; the numbers vary.

The latest estimate by the American National Catholic Welfare Council gives the total population of the Middle East as 50 millions, 86·3% Muslim, 9·3% Christian, 3·3% Jewish. Of the Christians over a million are Catholics of Latin or of ' Uniate ' Eastern rites, about 3½ million are ' non-Uniate ' Eastern Christians, about 200,000 are native Protestants. The great majority of the non-Uniates, so called because they do not accept the Pope as the centre of Christian unity, are historically of Monophysite origin (Copts, Jacobites, Armenians) : the Nestorians are only about 40,000 ; the Orthodox about 500,000. All Oriental statistics are unreliable.

B.C. The native languages of the Middle East had nothing of the kind ; they had to make up words for the terms in which the debate was conducted. Naturally each theologian made up his own and put his own interpretation on words used by others. Moreover writing in popular language which anybody could read who knew his letters, made appeals to the gallery dangerously easy. That temptation is seldom successfully resisted by men of good faith who are getting the worst of an argument which conscience tells them they deserve to win. Hence the situation described by Duchesne.[1]

The popular prestige which in the modern West is accorded to intellect has been held in the East by sanctity as long as history records. The motor car may to some extent have replaced the camel in the streets of cities and on desert tracks ; the scientist has not replaced the holy man in general esteem either in the city or in the desert. This would seem to be one result of the sound Eastern attitude which accepts religion as an integral part of a healthy man's natural activity. The ordinary man, having played the game a bit himself, knows how much it takes to play it really well. He admires the man who has that much extra, which he has not. All over the Arab world, in the heart of cities as in the depths of the countryside, one sees thousands of lone white tombs where Sidi *this* and Sheikh *that* await the resurrection in which they firmly believed. Some have lain there for many centuries ; others only a few years. All are remembered as holy men. More who are living will join them in course of time.[2] Their tombs are hung around with bits of cloth on sticks, like holy wells in Ireland. It seems safe to say that people would not continue so long taking the trouble to come there, if they did not receive some real benefit to mind and body. Not all cures at Lourdes are miraculous, but all are answers to prayer.

Popular canonization has its dangers, as the Western Church discovered. It must be admitted that a reputation for holiness can be rather easily acquired in the Arab world, at least by Muslims. Without being a conscious hypocrite, a man who finds that piety pays may cultivate piety from mixed motives and accept its mundane reward as an instalment of the everlasting recompense which it deserves. Such men may not be tempted by money or by pleasure. But power, especially when needed by some cause they have at heart, is seldom refused.

The holy men of the Middle East in the fifth century were the Christian monks. They were nearer to the laity than to the clergy. Like the monks of early medieval Europe, few of them were in Holy Orders. Consequently they had no training in theology and no more secular learning than they

[1] Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise* vol. 3, pp. 323-4.

[2] *Sidi* is the Arab title for a saint. The word *sheikh* means a religious leader in this context. Again the Arab implication—the man who can lead his tribe, must lead in prayer.

had brought with them into the monastery. Their lives were devoted to religious exercises and to manual labour. There were hundreds of thousands of them all over Eastern Christendom.

Historians agree that politics had more to do with the spread of heresy in the East than had theology, and that the monks were politically-minded. Their freedom from family responsibilities and normal human ties, which keep the average man busy and content, tended to make them extremists in any cause. They had great influence with all classes of the laity, as might be expected.

> All sorts of reasons have been advanced to explain the various Oriental schisms, but the factor of nationalism has not, perhaps, been sufficiently emphasised . . . When we call to mind the manifold concessions made to the Syrians and Egyptians at the time of the Christological controversies, the various attempts to frame conciliatory formulae—which were rejected both by the orthodox and the heretics— . . . . we understand more fully how greatly nationalism influenced the origin and maintenance of the various schisms. Heresy seemed to many peoples the best means of weakening the central power and working towards the re-attainment of an independence which they had lost and never ceased to regret . . . . It has been remarked that the schism was already ripe on the day when the monks, who were of the people and influential with the people, were no longer in sympathy with the Pope.[1]

Twenty years before Père Janin wrote that, this political aspect had been described by the master-hand of Dr. Adrian Fortescue :

> It is difficult to believe that the reason which drove crowds of Egyptian peasants and Syrian monks to wild acts of violence, rebellion, fighting, burning soldiers alive, was an abstruse question about Our Lord's nature. So most historians see in all this story really a political motive, working under the guise of a theological dispute. Egypt and Syria were just the two provinces in the East which had never been really loyal to the empire. They had never been thoroughly Hellenized. Both kept their own languages, both had ancient civilizations of their own, totally different from that of the Greek court of the Roman Emperor at Constantinople . . . . We see how loose was the bond which held them to the empire by the ease with which they fell a prey to the Arabs in the seventh century . . . . Understanding very little of the theological issue, the Egyptian monks, parabolani, peasants, triumphed again when at Ephesus in 449 their Patriarch once more deposed a Bishop of Constantinople . . . . As St. Cyril had defeated Nestorius, so did Dioscor, Cyril's successor, defeat Flavian, Nestorius's successor. And then Chalcedon reversed the process. There Anatolius of Constantinople and the Emperor deposed Dioscor. It was an appalling, an unheard-of outrage on Egypt that its Patriarch, its 'ecclesiastical Pharaoh' should stand as a culprit before Byzantine bishops, should be deposed, excommunicated, banished. So Egypt rose to defend its Pharaoh . . . . It was the

[1] Janin, *The Separated Eastern Churches*, pp. 232-3.

> Egyptians who first persuaded people in Syria and Palestine to join them in the common cause against the Emperor and his government . . . . If they could not overturn Caesar's rule altogether, at any rate they could stir up riots in this matter and show how they hated him by refusing his theology.[1]

Dioscor, or Dioscorus, was a bad man who deserved at least the punishment awarded by the Council of Chalcedon, which was held with the authority of Pope and Emperor. Dioscorus could have avoided the punishment by submitting to the Council's condemnation of his heresy. His reaction was to defy Pope, Emperor and Council. If he had been allowed home to Egypt, he would certainly have stirred up all the trouble he could, so the Emperor banished him to Paphlagonia, at the other end of Asia Minor, where he died three years later. The ' parabolani ' mentioned by Fortescue are described by him in a footnote : they ' were a kind of corporation at Alexandria originally founded to nurse the sick. They became a kind of rowdy bodyguard of the Patriarch and a public danger to peaceful citizens. It was the Parabolani who murdered Hypatia in 415.' Charles Kingsley, in his historical novel called after Hypatia, implies that she was murdered by the monks, but he seems to have had a pathological aversion to celibates of any sort and may have been unfair to them. Fortescue says that Dioscorus came to the ' Robber-Council ' of Ephesus, two years before Chalcedon, ' with twenty bishops and a great crowd of parabolani, sturdy fellows armed with clubs, who understood nothing about *nature* and *person*, but were going to brain anyone who annoyed their Pharaoh '.[2]

The ' Robber-Council ' was so called by Pope St Leo who, though a Roman of the decline and fall, had not ' forgotten how to call things by their right names,' as the Roman satirist wrote of decadent Romans.[3] It started as a legitimate Church council, with Papal legates to preside. Dioscorus thrust them aside, took over the Council himself, forced through it a Monophysite formula, and deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was so roughly handled by Dioscorus's gang that he died a few days later. All this happened at Ephesus, almost on the Emperor's doorstep. It provides an interesting exception to the general rule that theology followed politics in these Eastern controversies. The Emperor, Theodosius II, not himself a Monophysite but influenced by the monk Eutyches who propagated an extreme form of Monophysism now called after him, gave full support to Dioscorus who was certainly no loyal subject of the empire. If Theodosius had not died within a year of the Robber-Council, Dioscorus would probably have succeeded.

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[1] Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 182-3.

[2] Fortescue *op. cit.* p. 173.

[3] *Latrocinium Ephesinum*. It would be the Second Council of Ephesus if it had been properly held.

In the first half of the fifth century the theological debate may have been dominated by politics, yet it remained what in origin it was. But the Council of Ephesus in 431 and finally the Council of Chalcedon in 451 put an end to the debate as a theological issue between Catholics. Of course the minority who would not accept the Councils' decisions still considered themselves members of the Holy Catholic Church, but they soon received and in practice accepted the names which they now bear. The Nestorians are still called Nestorians, but the Monophysites are divided into Armenians, Syrians[1] and Copts, so called from the areas where they have managed to survive in spite of persecutions from the Orthodox Church and the Emperor on the one side, and persecutions from the pagan Persians and the Muslim Arabs and Turks on the other. On the map these areas form a wide strip curving southwest from Georgia, on the Russian frontier between the Black Sea and the Caspian, through Syria, Palestine and Egypt.

The Monophysites of Egypt are called Copts. Copt is a local name, originally meaning Egyptian, with no religious significance ; now it always means a Christian native of Egypt and a Monophysite, except in the rare case where he is Catholic and is called a Uniate Copt. So likewise are there Uniate Armenians and Uniate Syrians who have returned from their ancient heresy and schism to the unity of the Catholic Church. So too have some of the Nestorians returned ; indeed as they were first to wander away, they seem to have been first to think of coming home again. But for some reason they are not called Uniates, but simply Chaldees, or Chaldeans. Their Uniate Patriarch bears that remarkable title in the official Roman list of prelates—*Patriarcha Babylonensis Chaldaeorum.* Now we have the explanation of most of those names which so often puzzled British soldiers and sent Army chaplains back to the study of early Church history, during those long years of war and civil strife in the Middle East.

One main branch of the Eastern family-tree remains to be accounted for. The Orthodox Church merits that proud title from its rejection of the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies. Heresy is the worst thing that can happen to any group of Christians : the next worst is schism. The Orthodox Church did not escape that. But it carried with it out of the shipwreck of Christian unity the true faith as then defined, valid episcopal and priestly Orders, the Sacraments and the Mass. It must have been these spiritual resources which enabled it to survive and, in our own time, to put up that good fight against the worst that Communism could do to it for over thirty-five years in Russia, and forced Stalin to come to a compromise with religion during World War II. That heroic struggle and partial victory are not as well known as they

[1] Called also *Jacobites* after a Syrian monk Jacobus Bardaeus who did most to spread their heresy in its early stages.

ought to be. Whatever its shortcomings the Orthodox Church in Russia deserves for that witness in blood the admiration of all Christians whose faith has not been so sorely tried.

As politics had helped to spread heresy all over Eastern Christendom, so politics caused the schism of the Orthodox Church from Rome. It was the same narrow-minded pride and shortsighted selfishness that drove the Egyptian nationalists into heresy and the Byzantine imperialists into schism. Neither of them could see themselves as self-respecting units in the framework of a larger unity, Church or Empire. Byzantium, named Constantinople after the first Christian Emperor, capital city of the new empire, would not submit to the spiritual primacy of Rome whose material empire had passed away. The Patriarchs of Constantinople tended to do without Rome and to make it plain that they could do so indefinitely. The Greek monks played the same part in swaying popular feeling against the Pope's authority as the Egyptian and Syrian monks had played in favour of heresy. When the Byzantine empire went down before the Turks at the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the Orthodox Church had already been several centuries in schism.

There is no supreme authority in the Orthodox Church. Each Patriarchate, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow, with others of more recent origin and of less importance, is independent. Their bond of union is a common faith and liturgy, common, at all events, in fundamentals, and—it must be said—a common aversion to Roman, or as they call it, Latin Christianity, to the Catholic Church as we know it. Yet there are many of them who have returned to the unity of Christendom which their ancestors had lost. They are called Melkites, not Uniates, by a strange freak of history. Melkite is derived from a Syriac word meaning king. The king referred to was the Byzantine Emperor of the fifth century ; the name was meant to suggest that they had taken their religion from him. It was applied by the heretics to all the Orthodox, with a certain amount of truth, as we have seen. But applied to Uniates nowadays its original meaning makes no sense, for they have done just the opposite : they have left the Church of the Emperor that was, for the Church of the Pope that is. For that reason, it seemed to me, when I lived among them, that some did not like the name and preferred to be called Greek-Catholics. But Melkite is still the common Eastern name for them, as far as I could judge.

Another name which does not seem to make sense is Assyrian. The Assyrian Christians were very much in the news during the 'twenties, as we shall see, for a reason common for centuries with Christians in the Middle East : massacre by Muslims. Their name was a puzzle to most Catholic Army Chaplains because there were no Uniate Assyrians that we could find and, according to the books, there is one

Uniate group for each separated Christian Church of the East. But our Protestant colleagues knew about them and came to our help. The Assyrians are the Nestorians : their Uniate group is called Chaldean, about whom we knew. Apparently some well-meaning Protestant missionaries, not liking the name Nestorian because of its association with fifth century heresy, and judging with good reason that the so-called Nestorians had, by the nineteenth century, lost any little understanding of the ancient controversy that their ancestors ever had, suggested the change of name and got it, to some extent, accepted.

But why Assyrian as a name for Christians ? The Assyrian empire fell 600 years before Christ : its territory was taken over first by Babylon, then by Persia. The Second Book of Kings tells how ' the Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold ' to destroy Jerusalem, as Byron's poem once taught every school-child in the days when our primary school-books gave glimpses of great literature to the young.[1] On the east bank of the Tigris, north of Mosul, the ruins of Niniveh, the Assyrian capital, remain. In 1820 the resident agent at Bagdad of the British East India Company visited them and wrote a book, which mentioned among other things that there were native Christians in those parts. Soon afterwards the excavation of the ruins was started. Layard the famous archaeologist employed them as workmen. He found that they spoke Syriac, a later form of the language known as Aramaic spoken in Palestine at the time of Our Lord. Syriac was thought to have been dead for centuries.

These discoveries caused a lot of wild speculation in England and America. It was said that these Christians were a kind of Protestants from before Luther's time : that they might be the lost ten tribes of Israel. They were not the ten tribes and they had not been lost, or not for long. Catholic missionaries from the West had been working among them since the Crusades. Since the sixteenth century there had been a Uniate group of them organized as the Chaldean Church. Now in the nineteenth century came Protestant missionaries from England and America. It was a change from the days when from this little corner on the ancient troubled frontiers of Roman empire and Persian, persecuted from the west because they were heretics and from the east because they were Christians, the Nestorians sent missionaries far and wide.

> These missions are the most remarkable and most glorious episode in Nestorian history. It would be cruelly unjust to forget them. We think of the Nestorians as a wretched heretical sect, cut off from the Catholic Church and so gradually withering. They are that. But there is another side too . . . Those forgotten Nestorian missionaries, they were not Catholics but they were Christians. Braving long journeys,

[1] 2 *Kings*, 19 8-36.

> braving heathen tyrants and horrible danger, they brought the name of Christ north to Lake Baikal, south to Ceylon, and east right into the heart of China. They must have baptised thousands, and they taught the wild men of Tartary to worship one God, to serve Christ, even if they did think him two hypostases, to love his mother, even if they did not call her Theotokos. Let that be remembered to their honour.[1]

I quote this moving tribute from the great work of Dr Fortescue because I feel it is deserved and that my own knowledge is inadequate to support it. He tells how, when the Jesuit missionaries got into Middle China in 1625, they found at Si-ngan-fu a stone monument with a long inscription in Syriac and Chinese, dated 781. It records how Christianity was brought to China in 635 by Nestorian missionaries and describes a flourishing and well-organized church, the result of their century and a half of work in it. All was swept away long before the Jesuits came. So was the Jesuits' great work in turn. So probably will the work done in our own time by the Maynooth Mission to China. No Christian could admit that all of that work was wasted effort.

When Dr Fortescue says the Nestorian missionaries braved horrible dangers, he uses the right word for those dangers. Death is the least of them. The farther east one goes, the more appalling cruelty one meets. In the technique of torture the west is still far behind. Compared with eastern tyrants, the Romans were clumsy and half-hearted persecutors. The rhetorical boast of Tertullian that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians, does not find much support in the history of the Church east of Suez. It would be rash to attribute the grains of truth in it to superior western virtue. After surviving many persecutions, in the intervals of which it prospered and expanded, the Nestorian Church fell before Timur the Lame (Tamerlane) in the fourteenth century.

> Timur finally broke the Nestorian Church. Their missions went to pieces ; countless numbers of Nestorians were massacred or apostatized. Fleeing from total destruction the Patriarch with a feeble remnant took refuge in the Highlands of Kurdistan. So we come to the last act in their story. Since the 14th century the Nestorians remain a tiny handful of families in Kurdistan and the plain of Mesopotamia.[2]

The blood with which they had watered the Christian missions so fruitfully in China and India, flowed then more copiously at home. But there was no harvest this time.

Driven by the pressure of the Orthodox Church to the far end of the Byzantine empire on the Persian frontier, the Nestorians had little chance of contact with Rome. The great Orthodox Church lay between, anti-Roman even in the intervals when it was in communion with the

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[1] Fortescue *op. cit.* pp. 109-110. One distant mission has survived, that on the Malabar coast. Most of it has passed from Nestorianism through Monophysism back to Catholicism.

[2] Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 100.

Pope. Then came the Muslim invasion, and the Nestorian Church was a small Christian island in a Muslim sea. Perhaps because of that isolation, perhaps by reaction against their anti-Roman Orthodox persecutors, they seem to have developed a latent friendliness for the west. Certainly there were few signs of that bitter suspicion always characteristic of Constantinople, and there were intermittent movements towards reunion, some of which had temporary success. If these reunions did not last, it would seem that they lapsed rather than broke, leaving no hard feelings on either side. Rome was so far away.

In the thirteenth century at the height of their missionary glory, the Nestorians had one curious contact with the Holy See, of which there is a full contemporary record. A Mongol potentate sent an ambassador to Europe. He happened to be a Nestorian monk from Pekin, named Rabban Sauma. He tells how he got permission to celebrate his own liturgy in Rome and even got Holy Communion from the Pope himself. Naturally he was asked for a profession of faith. He gave without hesitation the Nicene Creed with variations as used in his Church. Some Cardinals demurred at certain points of it. He said : ' I did not come here to argue with you but to venerate the Lord Pope.' They seem to have let it go at that, but one wonders what the Cardinals really thought. Of course we have Sauma's account only. But it seems an honest one. At all events it is plain that the famous philosophical terms for nature, person, substance, and essence, that were fighting-words in the streets of Alexandria and Ephesus eight hundred years before, caused no stir at Rome in the maturity of the thirteenth century with the *Summa* of St Thomas Aquinas behind it. It makes one feel that the Nestorian schism need not have happened. Certainly the heresy had to be condemned once it was formulated : it cut at the root of Christianity. But as Duchesne pointed out, the whole debate and its long-drawn conclusions were at the wrong times and the wrong place, amid the wrong people.

In modern times the Nestorians have seen the growth of the Uniate group, the Chaldeans, at their expense, and converts made by certain Protestant denominations working from Mosul. No church likes to lose members, especially when its numbers have been reduced by misfortune and it can look back to better days when it was making converts instead of losing them. Much worse was soon to come upon them. It came from Muslims whose hostility was no surprise ; they had borne its worst for centuries. They were surprised and bitterly disillusioned when Christian nations not only failed to save them, but threw them to their enemies. Russia, France and Great Britain were all three to blame.

When Turkey entered World War I against the Allies, the Nestorians were induced by Russian offers to rebel against the Turks. They

certainly had no reason to be loyal to the Sultan, who had encouraged their neighbours the Kurds to molest them for years. The Kurds were a pack of savages who would have been liquidated in a civilized empire. The Turks did not try to liquidate them, partly because they lived in mountains hard to get at, partly because they were useful for those periodic massacres by which the Christian population of the Turkish empire was deliberately kept within limits. The Kurds massacred their northern neighbours, the Armenian Christians, as easily and rather more often than the Russians used to massacre their Jewish subjects. But the Nestorians in the Hakkiari mountains on the south of Kurdistan were just as tough as any Kurd. Resisting Kurdish raids for generations gave them good practice and some training for real war. The Russians got good fighting material in the Nestorians, but they did not make the good use of it which it deserved. Russian operations against the Turks were seldom successful ; their quality deteriorated until the Revolution of 1917 gradually put the Russian army out of the war altogether. Their Nestorian allies were left to the vengeance of the side which Russia had induced them to desert.

Turks and Kurds closed in for the kill. But the Nestorian Christians had not lost their ancestral spirit. They took up a strong position in the town of Urmia, where they had fair supplies of arms and ammunition left behind by the demoralized Russians. Months went by ; they still held out and fought back. The Turks had to bring up more and more troops. By July 1918 there were two Turkish divisions around Urmia. Things were looking bad when a British aeroplane flew in with a message from Major-General Dunsterville. He was in command of a small force moving north-east from Bagdad to the Caspian, to support the collapsing front against the Turks and Germans who were driving for the oil-fields of Baku. It was not his business to relieve Urmia. But he was no ordinary man. He was Kipling's ' Stalky,' living up quite incredibly to the character given him as a schoolboy in the semi-fiction of *Stalky and Co.*

He had a plan for the Christians to break out of Urmia, link up with him, and together roll-up the Turkish line from where they had broken it. This would have been a perfect Stalky touch. But he had too many irons in the fire, even for Stalky. The plan had to be altered to a break-out with the limited object of passing supplies into Urmia where ammunition was running low. While that operation was in hand and going well, a panic broke out in the town. There was an exodus of non-combatant inhabitants which nearly led to their complete destruction, for the enemy fell on them at once and the usual massacre began. The handful of British troops that had come with the supplies, then took a hand. The enemy drew back ; a rearguard was formed to keep him back ; the survivors were rescued, and about 50,000 men, women and children reached Bagdad safely.

In Mesopotamia, now Iraq, they were safe while the British Mandate lasted. Safe, but unhappy : they were refugees in the midst of hostile Muslims, and they wanted to go home. It was not so hard for their Chaldean cousins who lived mostly in the plains around Mosul and were accustomed to Muslim neighbours. Most of the Nestorians were highlanders whose homes were in the mountains north of the present Iraqi frontier with Turkey, between Lakes Golu and Urmia, where their experience of Turks had made then resolve never to be under Turkish rule again. Some ventured home only to be driven out when the Turks came back in September, 1924.

The British Government, trying to fulfil its wartime promises to the Arabs, proposed that Iraq should become an independent state and be admitted to the League of Nations as such. A treaty on those lines was concluded with the Iraqi Government in January 1926, but the British Government still retained some control and responsibility under the League of Nations mandate. The Nestorians looked with dismay on the prospect of complete Iraqi control, and their Patriarch protested against the declared intention of Britain to relinquish responsibility. The Iraqi politicians aimed at getting all the money they could draw out of Britain first, and then, when it did not look as if any more was forthcoming, to apply for entry to the League of Nations as being able to stand on their own feet, and, of course, able and willing to safeguard the lives and liberties of minorities in their land. But from many responsible quarters came warnings to the British Government and to the Mandates Commission of the League, that neither the power nor the will to protect Christians would be found in Iraq once the British left.

What was the League to think when the British High Commissioner of Iraq, Sir Francis Humphreys, assured it that never in thirty years' experience of Muslim countries had he met such tolerance of other races and religions as in Iraq ? He even went so far as to say that if Iraq should prove false to this trust, the British Government accepted full moral responsibility for having recommended its admission to the League of Nations. Mr T. F. Johnson tells an astounding story that he was listening to the British Representative supporting these assurances, when he heard a member of the British Foreign Office staff seated beside him say : ' He's telling damned lies and he damned well knows it '.[1] He may or may not have known that he was telling lies, but what he said was soon proved to be false. Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations as an independent sovereign state in October 1932. The

[1] *International Tramps*, p. 348. The author T. F. Johnson was Assistant to Dr. Nansen, the High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations, and had fifteen years' experience as Executive Head of Nansen's great work. He had much inside knowledge of the workings of the League.

British Government got much credit for doing the right and proper thing by the sacred cause of national independence. Even Irish and American newspapers had a good word to say, and of course a good word to add in favour of bigger and better performances by Britain on the same sound lines. Things went from bad to worse for Christians in Iraq.

In the summer of 1933 a number of them decided to accept a French invitation to settle in Syria, then under French mandatory control. The Iraqis were glad to let them go. They took their arms with them. Many had served in the British Army under the title of Assyrian Levies. Officers who served with them still remember them with respect and affection. The French welcomed them, but in accordance with international custom took away their weapons. Then suddenly they were told they must leave Syria. Their weapons were handed back. The French authorities gave no notice to the Iraqi government and no information that an armed party was about to cross their frontier. The local Iraqis thought it was an invasion ; troops were called out and shooting started.

When blood starts to flow between people who dislike each other, it is hard to stop the flow becoming a flood. A general massacre began among the Christians in the Mosul area and lasted several days. In the House of Lords on 28 November 1933 the Archbishop of Canterbury said :

> I have seen accounts of those who were present. I have heard that it was more shocking than anything seen during the war, and I have read a letter from an independent and trustworthy person, by no means friendly to the Assyrians, who said that such an exhibition of savage fanaticism had probably seldom been seen . . . . It is enough to say that full credit for this was taken by the whole Army. It was shortly after received with acclamation in the streets of Bagdad.[1]

That good Liberal, Sir John Simon, produced the characteristic Liberal comment when he had to explain to the League of Nations Council what Britain had meant by taking moral responsibility for Iraq's admission to the League. He said that the apportionment of blame was, however, a somewhat barren proceeding and that one had to look to the future. In the future lay Britain's premature surrender of responsibility in India. In Iraq the surrender of responsibility had cost in that week three thousand lives ; in India it was to cost in those years 1949-50 a million at least. And as Sir John truly said, one has also to look to the future.

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[1] Quoted by T. F. Johnson in *International Tramps*, p. 377. The number killed by the Iraqis has significantly varied in estimates according to the sympathies of historians; according to Donald Attwater from 500 to 5,000. I have seen it put at ' over three hundred.' This surely is a triumph of understatement.

Why did the British and French behave so badly towards the Nestorian Christians? Briefly, because in the twentieth century the British and French put politics above religion, as the Nestorians had done in the fifth century. It was in the interests of France that there should be trouble for the Christians in Iraq. That would give the French an excuse to maintain their control in Syria, Iraq's nearest neighbour and likewise a Muslim country with a Christian minority. It was an unscrupulous and hypocritical manoeuvre, sending back the Nestorians to almost inevitable conflict with Iraqi troops, while protesting that France was the traditional protector of Christendom in the Levant. No wonder that Levantine Christians have turned against France.

British policy was one of those typical English mixtures of sincerely-held false principles and short-sighted expediency which mislead so many decent Englishmen. The Socialist Government of Ramsay MacDonald (1929-31) was responsible for the assurances which induced the League of Nations to admit Iraq to membership. The Socialists had been proclaiming for many years their belief that the British Empire was all wrong, that prophecies of civil commotion and massacre if the British withdrew were a bogey of imperialists, designed to deprive subject-peoples of their natural right to self-government, for which good government, according to the Liberal slogan, is no substitute. That Christians as such should have any special claims on a British Socialist Government could not be admitted. Besides, as one distinguished diplomat rather plaintively remarked some years after the event, if Iraq's application for membership had been rejected by the League because of possible danger to its Christian minority, 'H.M. Government would infallibly have been held responsible by the Iraqis'.[1] So the Christians in Iraq had to take their chance, in order that Liberal and Socialist principles might prevail and that H.M. Government might not be held responsible by Iraqis. No wonder that the word of an Englishman is no longer used as a synonym for sincerity, as once it was, throughout the East.

In spite of everything the Nestorian Christians survive. There are perhaps 40,000 Assyrians in the Middle East. The Uniate movement seems strong: there is almost the same number of Chaldeans, perhaps 35,000 It surely would be well if all could find their way back, and the Nestorian heresy no longer could cast the shadow of its name over a brave people, who have endured much for what they sincerely hold of our common Christian faith.

(*To be continued*)

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[1] *Britain and the Middle East*, p. 111., by Sir Reader Bullard, Ambassador to Persia, 1939-46.

A Real Seanad

by RALPH G. SUTTON

THE Seanad as at present constituted will be twenty-one years in existence next year. There is a growing feeling, manifesting itself even in recent pronouncements in the Dáil, that it is time that it was released from parental control. Nobody, whether they understand it or not, is satisfied with the present system of electing the panel members.

Article 18 of the Constitution lays down how the Seanad is to be formed, that is to say eleven members to be nominated by the Taoiseach, six members to be elected by the universities and forty-three members to be elected from five specified panels. Article 19 of the Constitution gives liberty to make certain variations in the form of election from the panels and Articles 20 to 24 regulate the powers of the Seanad. This article is concerned with a real and not an ideal Seanad ; it will for the most part be concerned with reforms that can take place within the limits of the Constitution.

There is something attractive in the apparent efficiency of a chamber of representatives elected by universal suffrage but from time to time both the electorate and their representatives can, in the heat of the moment, go quite wrong. A Second Chamber is intended to tell the people and their representatives when they are wrong even though it is not in a position to put them right. It is intended as a safeguard for human rights against the encroachments of the executive and the majority in the House of Representatives ; it is intended to save the people from their own passions. On the positive side, it has as its object the improvement and the proposal of legislation and the discussion of matters of public interest. In addition, a Second Chamber should provide an opportunity for persons of special ability and distinction to participate to a limited extent in the government of the country without having to seek popular election.

There are many people in the country who are anxious to participate in its government and who could make a most valuable contribution of experience and intelligence to any assembly but who for one reason or another would never be able to sit in the Dáil. First of all there are those who could not spare from their employment, business or profession sufficient time to be satisfactory and useful members of a representative assembly and serve their constituents adequately ; secondly, there are

those whose ability will only be appreciated in a limited circle and who could never have sufficient appeal to be elected by popular vote. While there are many people of first-rate ability in the Dáil elected time and again by popular vote, the Dáil of its nature cannot comprise all of the best. In addition to the deputy of ability and intelligence there are bound to be deputies who are elected for their representative qualities, who are unable to make any contribution to a debate but who will go to the ends of the earth to do a turn for a constituent or to right a wrong however small. These people are bound to be elected to the Dáil and it is right that they should be elected to a chamber of deputies. In addition to them there is always the person who from time to time is elected for his popularity in some sphere quite apart from public affairs—the sportsman has come to stay in Irish politics ; but however desirable the people's choice, such people are chosen to the Dáil to the exclusion of others of less spectacular quality, others whose attainments are less widely recognized, others who by their unobtrusive distinction in their own vocations have earned for themselves the right to take part in the government of their country. The Seanad should comprise such persons who are not sent there as the representatives either of groups of persons or of vocational bodies, but who are there for their own sakes.

How is such a chamber as I have envisaged to be achieved now ? There have been from time to time almost as many ways suggested of electing a Seanad as there are seats in the Seanad : for the ingenious it provides an endless field for speculation. The best Seanad would be hand picked by one person who is absolutely uncommitted and of unquestioned integrity, but who is there in the country of any worth who is uncommitted and who will we agree upon as being a person of absolute integrity? A Seanad formed wholly or in part by popular election is only another Dáil and much the same result is produced if the Seanad is the indirect product of popular election. The system we have provided in Article 18 of the Constitution is perhaps the best that can be devised in a young Republic ; if it had ever been given a chance to operate, it might have reflected great credit on those who devised it. While the vocational system of election is laid down in the Constitution, its coming into operation, however, has now been delayed for over twenty years and the Seanad has been kept by the Panel Members' Act of 1937, 1947 and 1954 under the strictest guardianship of its parent body—the Dáil.

The system of vocational election (which is not to be confused with vocational representation) is intended by the Constitution to provide that the Seanad will be composed of persons drawn from each of the major elements that make up our community. To that end it is provided that the members will be elected from five specified panels and that the members will be persons with knowledge or practical experience of the

particular community interest with which the panel is concerned. It is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution that the Seanad should be composed of persons drawn from one sphere of activity but beyond those provisions the Constitution does not go : the rest is left to legislation.

It is provided by legislation that a number of bodies, societies and organized groups shall be entitled to nominate to each panel but the whole system is undermined by the further provision that the members of the incoming Dáil and the outgoing Seanad are also entitled to nominate to the panels. In case that was not enough, the electorate is composed of the members of the incoming Dáil and the outgoing Seanad (who have already made most of the nominations) and the members of all the County Councils and Borough Councils in the country. The electorate now numbers nearly one thousand and at no stage after the making of the nomination has the nominating body any further say. Only one other grace is accorded to the nominating bodies : each panel is divided into two sub-panels, one comprising the candidates nominated by the nominating bodies, the other comprising the candidates nominated by the members of the Oireachtas and provision is made that a minimum number shall be elected from each sub-panel.

It is not surprising then that the election of the panel members to the Seanad is entirely dominated by party political considerations, or at any rate by the party considerations of the local authorities. The interests of the vocational bodies, which may from time to time transcend party political considerations, are entirely smothered.

The electors never elect more than the minimum from the nominating bodies' sub-panel and even though the nominating bodies are free in their nomination they cannot ignore party political considerations if their nominee is to have any hope of election. An instance of this can be seen in the Cultural Panel and the Industrial and Commercial Panel in the present Seanad. Fourteen candidates were nominated by the nominating bodies to the Cultural Panel of whom two were elected, while six candidates were nominated by the Oireachtas sub-panel of whom three were elected. The two elected from the nominating bodies' sub-panel were a former Fianna Fail Senator and a former Fine Gael T.D. Similarly, in the Industrial and Commercial Panel the nominating bodies nominated thirteen of whom the minimum three were elected, and all three were members of political parties. At the same time nine candidates were nominated to the Oireachtas sub-panel of whom six were elected. It looks, therefore, as if in the present system the nominating bodies cannot hope to have more than sixteen nominees elected to the Seanad. This is a poor showing in a Seanad that professes to be elected on a vocational basis.

It is difficult to imagine any other result when the vast body of the electorate comprises members of County and Borough Councils whose public duties remove them far from the selection of persons of ability and distinction to the Seanad For the most part they would have no information about the candidates proposed by the nominating bodies except such as they would receive from the political organization with which they are associated.

In spite of the wholly unsatisfactory method of election the Seanad does very useful work, the general atmosphere of the debates is good, and sharp and unnecessary controversy seems to be avoided. The Seanad does not divide often : the Seanad which sat from 1951 to 1954 divided only seven times, the Seanad which sat from 1954 to 1957 divided seventeen times but for the most part these divisions were at the committee stages of bills and were not concerned with matters of major importance. Given the chance the Seanad is very thorough in discussing any measure of importance : it is noteworthy that the Seanad spent approximately forty hours in 1953 and 1954 discussing the Health Bill.

The silent Senator is a man of the past. In the 1951 to 1954 Seanad only six Senators never spoke and only nine spoke fewer than five times, fourteen Senators spoke more than forty times. In the 1954 to 1957 Seanad only two Senators remained unmoved by the spirit, four spoke less than five times and twelve spoke more than forty times. Every Senator took part in at least one division and all but two took part in more than one division. It cannot be said then that those who are elected fail to take an interest in the proceedings : in the present Seanad up to the 30th January, one of the conscript fathers had spoken twenty-five times in the course of sixteen meeting days. It would be unfair to say now as Dr Chub suggested in his article published in *Political Studies* in 1945 that the Senators always divide on strictly party lines. In the 1954/57 Seanad only eleven Senators voted consistently with the Government on every issue and seven others voted against the Government on less than three occasions while otherwise supporting the Government on all issues. Only two Senators voted consistently against the Government on all issues. While, therefore, the Seanad as at present elected is an active intelligent body, it has two major faults which cannot be overcome. First, when there is danger of the Government being defeated, even on a minor issue, a majority will always be mustered to their support. Secondly much of what is said in the Seanad, although well said, has already been said in the Dáil.

In the present Seanad, when divisions are closer and more frequent than in the past, twenty-four Senators have consistently voted with the

Government on every issue and it is significant to observe that nine of these are from among the Taoiseach's nominees and the rest are panel members. A remarkable instance of this kind occurred on the motion proposed by the Government in November last to disapprove the Solicitors' Costs Order.

What is wanted in the Seanad is a different sort of opinion and that cannot be obtained as long as the Seanad is elected by public representatives who are themselves chosen by popular vote.

It is natural and necessary that the Dáil should form on party lines. It is also natural that when the Seanad is elected there will be members who will consistently support the Government and members who will consistently oppose it, as people who have any views at all that are worth while must have political views on political matters. I do not want to see the good political party member excluded from the Seanad but I want to see him getting there on his own merits as the elect of his own profession or calling. If he is a good member, he will be good too in his own business or occupation and will have earned the respect of his colleagues. If he belongs to a good political party, he will not be grudged the free expression of his own views in the Seanad ; if he is elected on his own merits he can express his views without any sense of party obligation.

With a view to reforming the Seanad, I make the following proposals which I shall set out in what I consider to be the order of urgency. If even the first two or three of my suggestions were adopted, the Seanad would be the better for it.

1. I consider that the members of County and Borough Councils should be taken off the roll of electors.

2. I consider that the Oireachtas sub-panel should be abolished, nomination being left to the nominating bodies.

3. One or two major nominating bodies in each panel should be given the right of direct election to the Seanad as provided for in Article 19 of the Constitution, such election to be by the council or general committee of such a body.

4. The remaining Senators to be elected to the panel should be elected by a panel committee constituted for each panel and comprising at least three representatives from each nominating body, formed on the lines of the former nominating committees as provided for in Part III and Part V of the 1947 Act.

If this is adopted, the abolition of the Oireachtas sub-panel might be postponed for one election.

5. If No. 4 be adopted, the present fixed allowance to Senators should be abolished.

I have already stated my reasons for the first and second of the foregoing proposals. Certainly as long as the Oireachtas have any say in the election of the panel members they should not also have the power of nomination.

The third of the foregoing proposals should have been adopted long before now. I consider that such bodies as the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and the Association of Chambers of Commerce, should have power to elect directly, being organizations which represent the subject of the panel as a whole, not a particular branch or group of the vocation to which the panel relates. I would stress, however, that such organizations should elect through their councils : anything approaching an election by all the members of the organization would be unsatisfactory. In my view the smaller the selecting body the better the choice. If certain organizations are to elect directly to the Seanad, difficulty may arise by reason of Article 18 (5) which provides that panel members must be elected by proportional representation, which would be inoperative unless the organization were to elect more than one Senator; however in the larger panels there is no reason why one organization should not elect more than one member to the Seanad.

The fourth proposal is the most far reaching and might well, if adopted, alter the entire character of the Seanad ; I think that unless it be adopted a really useful Seanad will never be achieved. I believe that a good panel committee left with a free choice without regard for the preferences of the public representatives and given the opportunity of taking nominations and discussing the merits of the nominees in private could make a satisfactory choice. It is inevitable that political influence and pressure will be brought to bear on the panel committees but a committee comprising say three members from each nominating body, selected by that nominating body by proportional representation, would be sufficiently large and mixed to resist threats or blandishments. In some of the panels the number of nominating bodies appears to be very small ; this is particularly true of the administrative panel but if the system of election were changed so as to give the nominating bodies some real function I have no doubt that many other organizations would apply to be registered as nominating bodies. The urgency of doing away with the Oireachtas sub-panel is not so great if the election is to be made by the panel com-

mittees as I suggest. I conceive that it might be desirable to guide the choice of the nominating bodies in the first election either by allowing the members of the Oireachtas to nominate candidates for the consideration of the panel committee or by allowing the outgoing Senators to stand for election on their own nomination by the committee of any one panel. In this way some continuity might be preserved and too violent a change avoided. However, if the panel committees are to be free in their choice and if the Seanad is to be an independent cross section of the community, nomination by the Oireachtas in any form must ultimately go.

In my belief the fifth proposal would solve many of the problems concerning the Seanad. Over the past twenty years it has been recognized that people are elected and appointed to the Seanad to provide them with a livelihood. That is an undesirable element in the formation of any assembly ; it keeps a seat from somebody who would be better fitted for it ; it embarrasses the provider and it undermines the independence of the person provided for. This situation would never arise if Senators were remunerated on the basis of their expenses and loss of earnings rather than by a fixed allowance. A fixed allowance is not necessary in the Seanad which sits only about twenty-five times a year. Much of the best public work in this country is done without any remuneration other than expenses. The boards selected for public appointments, the Board of Censors and the various advisory committees on industry and agriculture are examples of this. Provision should, however, be made for the expenses of Senators and, in the case of persons with less than say £1,000 per year, provision might be made to compensate them for the loss of their wages or other earnings on the days when they attend the Seanad. A person with no earnings would therefore give his services freely as would the person of substance, while the man of limited earnings would be compensated for any loss he suffered but nobody would be put into the Seanad to provide him with an income.

In time it may be necessary to alter the Constitution of the Seanad too. As far as its powers are concerned, I consider they are adequate to give it some influence and not so extensive as to cause embarrassment to the Dáil. It is, however, undesirable that the Seanad should dissolve every time the Dáil dissolves and this should be altered to give each Seanad a fixed life of five or seven years. The Taoiseach's nomination too might be modified but it is too soon to put any part of the Constitution and particularly the part relating to the Seanad into the melting pot of a referendum. Let it first prove itself within the limits of its present Constitution and then more extensive changes could be contemplated.

The Seanad elected on the lines I suggest would in the beginning contain a number of persons irksome to the ordinary public representative but at least the crank who is now firing his darts in the correspondence columns of *The Irish Times* would be put in the front line himself and would have to take the responsibility for the vast and thankless daily drudgery of government.

I do not believe, however, that in the long run the Seanad would turn into a house of cranks. The large sober bodies of farmers, scholars, teachers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, trade unionists and members of voluntary public services are not going to choose cranks as Senators when the full responsibility is placed on them. They will choose men who are honoured in their own vocations and whose judgment has been matured on the road to success. The Book of Ecclesiasticus says ' Give me the man diligent in his business and I will set him over kings '. Give us then a freely elected Seanad of men diligent in their own vocations and we shall set it up to judge and guide the elected representatives of the people.

Epstein's Religious Art

by GEORGE A. CEVASCO

ANY visitor to Cavendish Square, London, is bound to be struck by the formidable piece of modern sculpture that decorates a bridge joining two sections of the Convent of the Holy Child Jesus. Not only is this work striking in its very appearance, but it is the first time since the Reformation that a monument representing Our Lady and the Christ Child has ever appeared in London in so public a place. Unveiled on 14 May 1954, the work was blessed and dedicated to the service of God by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, who, indirectly, paid a special kind of tribute to the artist who created the piece—Sir Jacob Epstein.

There is little controversy now over the fact that Epstein has made extensive and worthy contributions to modern art, but there is still a great deal of controversy over his religious art. 'I don't make controversies,' Sir Jacob laments. 'I make sculptures.'

The nuns who commissioned this Madonna and Child took a gamble. They knew full well that all that is new does not always, or at once, seem beautiful, and that Jacob Epstein was bound to produce something new and different. Their confidence in him was rewarded some six months later when they were shown the end product privately in his studio. Epstein proudly relates, 'They showed the warmest interest in the work and asked to be allowed to contemplate it quietly and alone for some time.'

In cast lead, some thirteen and a half feet high, the Christ Child stands with arms outstretched, prefiguring the Crucifixion, before the upright figure of the Blessed Mother. The details of the faces, the bodies, the hands and feet are unforgettable. Especially memorable are the eyes : those of the Madonna gazing down upon her Son and all who place themselves within her sight, and those of the Child large and majestic. Everything about the work is reverent and commanding.

Passers-by can hardly ignore this Madonna and Child. It may grate ; it may stun ; but invariably it pleases. No other work of the artist has brought so many tributes from so many diverse quarters. They range all the way from T. S. Eliot, who was 'profoundly impressed,' to a bus driver who casually remarked to Epstein, 'You've made a good job of it, guv'nor.' Serious critics have been most enthusiastic. 'Its simplicity

and monumentality,' wrote one critic, ' is imbued with a spirit and life which gives this work universal interest.' Another went even further with his declaration that this was ' one of the greatest monuments that has appeared in England since medieval times.'

In no better way can the excellence of this figure be acknowledged, perhaps, than by contrasting it with Epstein's first study of the subject. His *Madonna and Child* of 1926, theologically considered, is a dismal failure. A perfectly valid complaint is that it falls short of the Christian concept of the Blessed Mother and Child. Modelled from an Indian mother and son of the Moslem faith, this work depicts an unusual Orientalness but little else. It is unlikely that anyone would immediately perceive that this work represented the Madonna and Christ Child, were it not so named. Even an acquaintance of the sculptor protested, ' If you had in mind to do a Madonna and Child, why did you not choose a beautiful model ? ' In Epstein's defence, he did look upon the Indian woman as beautiful, and he felt that his acquaintance had little appreciation of what constitutes true womanly beauty.

Whether or not the model was a beautiful woman may be beside the point ; for the fact remains that this first *Madonna and Child* is not acceptable iconographically. Epstein could just as well have labelled the piece ' Motherhood,' or some such title. In fact, a Soviet Ambassador was once so taken up with the statue's ' social realism ' that he tried to arrange for its purchase. Though the given title did not accord with Marxist ideology, he still thought the Soviet Union would be interested. Only the title need be changed. But there was no purchase until a New York sculptor bought the work, and then gave it on loan to the Tate Gallery.

Epstein is now reaping the fruits of longevity, but his religious art is still held suspect. There are those who argue that most modern art is antipathetic to religion. Proponents of modern religious art counter that it is less sensuous and more spiritual than the lush paintings of the Renaissance, that advanced forms of religious art can and do penetrate the core of sacred subjects. Whether the Church should turn to artists who have progressed beyond classical tradition is a debatable question. Admittedly, much of modern art does appear to be too extreme and even eccentric ; and the nuns who commissioned Epstein had to weigh this point very carefully.

More important by far was the problem of a non-believer being relied upon to create a work of Christian art. ' To paint the things of Christ,' Fra Angelico's dictum has it, ' one must live with Christ.' All other things being equal, an artist with religious convictions would seem to have a better chance of creating religious art, although the experiments

at Assy, and Matisse's work in the chapel at Vence have been, in the main, highly successful. Why, then, did the nuns commission Epstein? Foremost, because they realized that faith is not a substitute for talent; and secondly, because they knew that for some thirty-five years or more Epstein had been experimenting with religious themes.

Jacob Epstein has come a long way since he first captured the attention of the British public with his religious art. Chesterton once castigated an Epstein figure of Our Lord as 'the greatest insult to organized religion I have ever seen.' The vehemence of such attacks has abated over the years, but most of Epstein's religious works have been subjects of heated discussions. His representations of Our Lord, the Blessed Mother, and figures from the Old and New Testaments have occasioned many theological, artistic and political disputes.

His *Adam* proved a shock. To discuss the reception this work received still causes Epstein pain. This figure, devoid of loin cloth, somewhat resembles an Assyrian-faced gorilla beating its chest. The head thrown back, Epstein claims, suggests that Adam of all the creatures had received the spirit of God. *Adam,* moreover, with the weight of the body on the left foot symbolizes that the first man was made from the slime of the earth; and although bound to earth he is aware that such is not his final destiny.

This three ton massive figure became more than an object of prudish scorn when a shrewd Australian placed it upon exhibition at a British seaside amusement park. Over a million persons paid a shilling each to see *Adam.* In 1940 it was exhibited in the United States to raise money for bombers for Britain. One New York tabloid, which had photographed 'the monster' with a skirt around its loins 'for decency's sake,' quipped: 'Why not just bomb Berlin with *Adam*?'

Epstein laboured with his first Christian work, *The Risen Christ,* from 1917 to 1920. The inspiration for this work came while he was working on a mask of a gravely ill friend. Struck by the dying man's 'pitying, accusing eyes,' Epstein relates that he suddenly recalled something he had read in Turgeniev: '. . . how, standing in the crowd somewhere, he instantly felt some man beside him, the presence of Christ himself and the awe overcame him.' The artist experienced the suffering of Our Lord reflected in the pain of his friend. Meditation inspired Epstein to develop the mask into a head. Then he worked the head into a bronze bust; and finally he extended it again into a full figure. The result: Our Lord was moulded as a gaunt, beardless man wrapped in cerements, one huge hand pointing to the wound in the other.

' In this work,' Epstein said at the time, ' I realize the dignity of man, his feebleness, his strength . . . and the pity of the Son of Man.' To his amazement, the work was bitterly attacked by the press, the clergy, and several artists. John Galsworthy viewed it with ' clenched fists and an angry, furious face.' Father Bernard Vaughan called it ' positively wicked and insulting . . . . ' Epstein had offered *The Risen Christ* to the public as a work of love and devotion, but the public refused to accept his offering. Eventually it was bought and removed from exhibition.

Fifteen years later, when *The Risen Christ* was almost forgotten, he unveiled a new conception of Our Lord which he called *Ecce Homo.* This figure, carved in a stone so tough that Epstein broke his tools on it, stands twice as high as its creator, and is extremely simplified. The head is crowned with thorns, the face is chiselled out square, pugnacious, with a flat, squat nose and thick lips. The wrists, crossed on the knees, are bound by thick ropes which hang to the feet like hawsers. ' Rather than suggest Christ,' one critic complained, ' a first impression might be that this statue resembles an Easter Island effigy.' The work even set off a heated debate in Parliament. ' Ugly and vile,' ' an outrage,' ' an Asiatic monstrosity ' it was called. Epstein meant the figure to give an impression of great strength, to be different from the weak, somewhat more sentimental and more familiar representations of Our Lord. Epstein is still hoping that *Ecce Homo* will someday find its way into a famous cathedral.

In 1937 he finished his third sculpture of Our Lord, a pink alabaster figure he called *Consummatum Est.* This work took its inspiration from Bach's *B Minor Mass.* ' In the section " Crucifixus," ' Epstein recalls, ' I had a feeling of tremendous quiet, of awe.' In this mood he conceived the work, seeing the whole figure complete ' with upturned hands, with wounds in the feet, stark, crude, with the stigmata.' He even imagined the setting for the finished figure : ' a dim crypt, with a subdued light on the semi-transparent alabaster.' *Consummatum Est* represents Our Lord after the crucifixion recumbent in the tomb, with closed eyes, mouth turned downward at the corners, and huge palms turned upward to show the sacred wounds. To many it appeared an almost repulsive figure.

Obviously it is unfair to dismiss *The Risen Christ, Ecce Homo,* and *Consummatum Est* as blasphemous and a travesty of Christianity, though some serious minded individuals have done so. In his *Autobiography* (1955) can be found an apologia for these religious works. ' To attack an artist's Christ in the name of realism is not only the height of folly, but irreverent as well,' he asserts. ' To the deeply religious, Christ is not like other men.' He defends his studies of Our Lord with such impassioned pleas as :

> My works are not portraits, and must not be criticized as such. They

> embody my own conception of Christ. . . . What the public now expects whenever Christ is depicted is not an artist's sincere conception of Christ, but a purely third-hand rendering, a realistic study in fact of a model who must look as much like a late Renaissance model as possible ; and that image has become so firmly set that there is a very definite formula now for all artists who would depict Christ without giving offence.

Epstein has given offence, of course. It would be idle to attempt to defend him against the charge that he offends some sensitive viewers with his religious art ; but then some sensitive viewers may also be offended by much of the sentimental plaster-cast statuary found in countless churches. To allege that Epstein offends of set purpose, however, is no more justified that to assume that he is incompetent or insincere simply because the majority of his religious works has not found wide acceptance.

Over and over again, Epstein has maintained that he has always been deeply interested in the personality of Our Lord. His Jewish background may be a kind of inverse stimulus. Significantly, his East Side boyhood in New York City left him almost indifferent to Judaism. Nowadays he is usually more annoyed than flattered to be called ' the foremost Jewish sculptor.' His lack of interest in world Jewry and Zionism has even made him anathema to many Jews. ' Artists are of all races and climes,' he proclaims, shunning art exhibitions that are exclusively Jewish, ' and to band together in racial groups is ridiculous.'

His religious works bridge both the Old and the New Testaments, but his greater interest seems to be Christianity, not Judaism. Why this should be so is difficult to answer. Possibly his keen interest in things Christian was first stimulated by his boyhood reading. A voracious reader in his youth, off he would go, day after day, to New York City's Central Park with a book tucked firmly under his arm. Certain works that appealed to him he read again and again. Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, and Turgeniev were his early favourites, along with the New Testament. Almost without being aware of it, he became imbued with Christianity.

If Epstein's motto—' I rest silent in my work '—could be taken at face value, then it would follow that he has made manifest his belief in Our Lord's working of miracles, His death, His resurrection, His divinity. Sympathetic viewers of Epstein's figures of Christ would like to know what he actually holds in his heart about Our Lord. Alas, he answers in nebulous fashion : ' Surely the best communication of the sculptor or painter is through his work and in no other manner.'

The sad fact is that few individuals understand or admire most of his religious works. To the vast majority, Epstein's religious art seems preposterously crude ; and yet popular taste has been slowly catching up with his art. Epstein's *Lazarus,* for example, unveiled in 1948, appears to offend few. Purchased without fanfare and controversy, it now stands in the fourteenth century Gothic chapel of New College, Oxford. Perhaps in its own way it atones for some of his monumental shockers. One and a half tons of white stone, seven and a half feet tall, Lazarus, swathed in a cocoon of burial wrappings, is shown at the moment of Our Lord's command : ' Lazarus, come forth.' The loosely bound body does seem to breathe. ' I have tried,' Epstein explains, ' to express the idea of a man coming from death to life.'

His *Jacob and the Angel,* unveiled in 1941, is also generally conceded to be unobjectionable. This work was inspired by Genesis XXXII, 25–27 : ' Someone wrestled with him until he touched the socket of Jacob's thigh so that it was dislocated while Jacob wrestled with him. Then he said, " Let me go ; it is dawn." But Jacob answered, " I will not let you go till you bless me." ' Cut from a four ton block of pink alabaster, *Jacob and the Angel* has been over-praised by some critics and disparaged by others. One adverse critic called the piece ' a monolithic wrestling match ' and decried Epstein's artistic ability.

Epstein has almost grown used to such attacks. Somehow he seldom gets discouraged. ' When I do get discouraged,' he contends, ' I look at Picasso's stuff and then I feel better about what I'm doing.' Curiously enough, much of modern art is distasteful to Epstein. ' Abstract art,' he holds, ' . . . is bunk ! You can't take it seriously.' Surrealists and futurists he dismisses as dilettantes. The work of Salvador Dali and Paul Klee he has labelled ' ugly and incompetent.'

' Modern sculptors without religion, without direction, tradition, and stability,' he once noted ,' are at a terrible disadvantage . . . . ' Of course he detests the tin benders, wire cutters, and junk welders. ' They are jackanapes and charlatans.' Nor does Henry Moore's work, with its pinheads and pierced bodies, impress Epstein. 'A good cheese is not interesting because it's got holes in it,' he says. ' It's because of the quality of the cheese.'

When aware of the fact that he is bestowing upon artists he dislikes the venom he has experienced himself, he will almost apologize with such remarks as : ' They are really to be pitied. They are careerists, not

creative artists.' Quite obviously, the works of those he attacks make him look somewhat old-fashioned ; but he prefers to work with ' human rather than abstract implications.' If he has to bear a label, he prefers that of ' traditionalist,' holding that every artist needs a profound respect for tradition, as well as academic training in drawing, form, and colour. ' My work,' he proclaims, ' stems from the great traditional sculptors—the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Greeks. I revere the antique.'

Christ in Majesty, Epstein's latest religious study unveiled last year, is somewhat traditional. Simplified and elongated, the body is covered with a box-like drape, as in the custom of Byzantine religious art. Awesome in its grandeur, the figure stands sixteen feet high. Cast in aluminium it now crowns a concrete cylinder atop an arch twenty-five feet above the floor of the Llandaff Cathedral in Wales. The Dean who commissioned *Christ in Majesty* regards it as one of the finest statues in any Anglican church anywhere. ' It is a great work of art,' he said at its dedication. ' This is Christ who reigns serene and calm with power and authority and at the same time with love and mercy.'

Not even the most captious critic can find fault with the reverence of *Christ in Majesty.* The head is surrounded by a large halo. The arms are held out from the body in promise. No sceptre serves as a symbol of authority, yet there is no doubt that this is Christ reigning majestically. The hands and feet are without the stigmata ; and only the feet, represented as slightly dragging as if in pain, are a reminder of the Way of the Cross. Epstein regards this work as his ' greatest act of faith and his greatest work.' Art critics and the general public are inclined to agree.

The progress Epstein has made in the rendering of religious subjects is indeed remarkable. His *Risen Christ, Ecce Homo,* and *Consummatum Est* can now be regarded as experimental studies, crude forerunners for his beautiful and reverent *Christ in Majesty.* His *Madonna and Child* of 1926 can be dismissed as an unsuccessful attempt to depict one of the tenderest of all subjects while his *Madonna and Child* of 1954 has to be accepted as one of the most striking Madonnas of all times. Epstein's latest religious works mean something. They communicate : they carry a spiritual message from the artist to the beholder.

His early religious works, on the contrary, mean little to sensitive viewers. In his periods of experimentation Epstein lacked an understanding of the spirituality he tried to depict and he failed because of somewhat faulty techniques. Despite the protestations of some thoroughly secular critics that Epstein in his religious art has handled poor subjects

excellently, a more objective evaluation would have it that only in his earlier works did he handle some excellent subjects poorly. The most recent of his religious works are certain to withstand the strain of future criticism.

Lazarus and *Jacob and the Angel,* for example, have already been universally acclaimed. And even the most conservative of estimates cannot minimize the position *Christ in Majesty* and the *Madonna and Child* (1954) occupy in the world of contemporary art. These two works in particular are aesthetically satisfying and highly acceptable progressions within the realm of traditional sacred art : both are capable of fostering piety and faith in receptive viewers.

T. C. Murray and Some Critics

by MICHEÁL Ó h-AODHA

AFTER the first production of *Maurice Harte,* at the Court Theatre, London in 1912, W. B. Yeats wrote : ' If Mr Murray can give us more plays equal in intensity to " Maurice Harte," then we shall deserve, perhaps, as much attention from history as any contemporary theatre '. *Maurice Harte*—originally entitled *The Levite*—was T. C. Murray's third play. His first *Wheel of Fortune*—later re-written as *Sovereign Love*—was produced, in 1909, at the little theatre, An Dún, in Queen Street, Cork, which was founded by Terence McSwiney, Daniel Corkery and a local business man, Tom O'Gorman. His second, *Birthright,* was produced at the Abbey, in 1910, and it was the major offering on the opening bill when the Abbey Company made their first American appearance, at the New Plymouth Theatre, Boston, on 6 September 1911. The American ' Playboy ' riots came later, in October, and the praise for and opposition to the Murray play were almost drowned in the tumult. However, the American critic, Professor Cornelius Weygandt, in his *Irish Plays and Playwrights* singled out *Birthright* as the play of the year : ' Many who saw *Birthright* in America were moved by it more than any other play in the repertoire of the company, and I have heard more than one whose supreme interest is the theatre say that it was the best play new to America presented there during the winter of 1911–1912 '.

Murray, who was born in Macroom, was thirty-seven when *Birthright* was produced but he had been writing verse—some of which can be found in those quaintly rich and rare anthologies *Modern Irish Poets* by W. J. Paul (1894–97)—since he had qualified as a teacher in 1893. He had been also a contributor, on educational topics, to *The New Ireland Review.* After his brilliant but rather late start as a dramatist, twelve other plays succeeded *Maurice Harte* : *The Briery Gap* (1917), *Spring* (1918), *Aftermath* (1922), *Autumn Fire* (1924), *The Pipe in the Fields* (1927), *The Blind Wolf* (1928), *A Flutter of Wings* (1929), *Michaelmas Eve* (1932), *A Stag at Bay* (1934), *A Spot in the Sun* (1938), *Illumination* (1939), *The Green Branch* (1943). This is a significant corpus of drama but, even to-day, Yeats's tribute, quoted at the commencement, prompts a double question : ' Has Murray given us plays equal in intensity to *Maurice Harte* and, if so, has he been denied the attention which he deserves ? '

First of all, it should be noted that non-Irish critics, such as Professor Weygandt and Una Ellis-Fermor (*The Irish Dramatic Movement, The*

Oxford Companion to the Theatre) have been more generous in their estimates of Murray than most of his compatriots. Ernest Boyd, who remains the most comprehensive critic of Anglo-Irish literature and drama, has little to say for Murray in *The Contemporary Drama of Ireland* (1918) and even less in *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* (1923). Stephen Gwynn disposes of him in two short sentences in *Irish Literature and Drama* (1930) mentioning only *Maurice Harte* and *Spring*. In the official history *Ireland's Abbey Theatre* (1951) Lennox Robinson somewhat spoils a short eulogy with the rather coy comment ' As realistic dramatists R. J. Ray and T. C. Murray overtopped me.' ! As far as R. J. Ray is concerned, Dr Robinson's word must be taken more or less on trust, for the plays have never been published and there has been no stage performance of his works since 1922. But, if one can judge from a radio production of *The Casting-Out of Martin Whelan,* this bracketing of Ray and Murray—even above Dr Robinson—is, to say the least, confusing. Daniel Corkery in *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature* (1931) is very guarded in his praise ; but there is so much special pleading in this book that one senses that Murray, for one, was at least good enough to spoil Corkery's case—that the Anglo-Irish writers have failed as interpreters of Irish life. However, in a radio tribute, on the occasion of Murray's eightieth birthday, Corkery who, as long ago as 1909, had produced Murray's first play, found in his best work a ' sense of literature ' and an unequalled power to move an Irish audience : '—they sit in an appalled silence—still, almost rigid, they are looking not at themselves but into themselves.'

Andrew E. Malone in *The Irish Drama* (1929) gives Murray's work a fuller treatment than will be found in more recent books such as Peter Kavanagh's *The Story of the Abbey Theatre* (1950). But the most searching and perceptive study—although marred by minor inaccuracies—is that of Thomas Hogan in the November, 1950, issue of *Envoy*. Hogan sees *Autumn Fire* (1924) as Murray's masterpiece—' his last and final achievement '—and the later plays as an anti-climax to a work which, in tragic impact, is ' greater and more profound than " Juno and the Paycock".' This critic is right in regarding 1924 as a turning point in Murray's career but the statement that ' the talent has gone sour, the limited gift has expended itself ' seems inadequate as an explanation.

Coming as it did, between the first production of O'Casey's two popular masterpieces *Juno and the Paycock* and *The Plough and the Stars* it was, perhaps, understandable that the tragic power of *Autumn Fire* might be overlooked. O'Casey's success not only changed the Abbey audiences but the Abbey policy. As Brinsley Macnamara pointed out in the *Dublin Magazine* (January–March, 1933), the mid-twenties saw the renewal of ill-informed attacks on the peasant play. But even before

this, there were ominous signs that Murray's predominance as a writer of tragedy would not receive the recognition it deserved. His one-acter *The Briery Gap* (1917), because of its theme, was denied a production when it would have meant most to him ; it was produced by the Abbey Experimental Theatre in 1948. In the Aonach Tailteann Competition for Drama, in 1924, *Autumn Fire* was placed second, by two well-known dramatists,—one of them closely associated with the Abbey—to a fifteen-minute playlet of slum life in Dublin, which was then hailed by one of the judges as ' a little masterpiece ' but which is now as dead as *The Racing Lug* or *The Laying of the Foundations.* All this would be of little importance now—except, perhaps, to emphasize the futility of most literary competitions—were it not one of the earliest indications of the trend noticed by Brinsley Macnamara : ' —that the peasant play was to be considered a thing of the past and that nothing further worth while could come from that source.'

Andrew E. Malone, also, had noticed ' the casting-out of *Autumn Fire* ' : ' when the Abbey Theatre allowed the rights of this play to pass out of its control, it did one of the silliest things in its entire career. Yet this, one of the masterpieces of Irish drama, was for so long ignored by the Irish theatre that its control lies now in London.' Again, there is an interesting entry for 24 May, 1926, in Lady Gregory's Journals : ' On one of his last days, Yeats seeing me writing asked what I was working at, I said, " A Play, but I mustn't mention it to you, because it is a peasant play. It is on the Index." For he (Yeats) had been saying " Dublin won't stand any more peasant work." ' What Dublin would or would not stand for, was, of course, of little real concern to Yeats. He never wanted a realist theatre ; his dream was of a poetic drama—remote, spiritual and ideal—a theatre ' with a base of realism and an apex of beauty'. But as early as 1914, George Moore had pronounced the verdict : ' Yeats founded a realistic theatre '—a statement which is as true to-day as when Moore made it.

The Irish dramatic movement had its origin in the opposing ideals of Yeats and Edward Martyn, neither of whom, in their preoccupation with the poetic and the social-intellectual drama, respectively, envisaged the emergence of the one distinctive strain, which Ireland has contributed to world drama—the peasant play. The Irish Literary Theatre and its audiences saw nothing, in this genre, until 1901 and 1902, when Hyde's *Casadh an tSúgáin* and—ironically enough—Yeats's *Cathleen Ní Houlihan* and *The Pot of Broth* gave Dublin its first sight of the open-hearth, the dresser and the other paraphernalia of the country kitchen. But it was not in its realistic setting, of course, that the peasant play was to make its distinctive contribution but in the quality of the writing, which

gave dialect and ' English as she is spoken in Ireland ' a new status in world drama. From 1910 onwards, after the death of Synge, Murray easily outdistanced all others in this field as a writer of tragedy. He was the first dramatist to write of rural life, from the inside ; here was no ' chink-in-the-wall ' observer, no mere exploiter of local colour, but a craftsman who, discovering his themes for tragedy in his early surroundings, made truth and pity his guiding stars.

In the mid-twenties, when Murray was at the height of his powers, an erroneous idea gained currency which seems to have deflected him from his singleness of purpose. As Brinsley Macnamara has said, the notion was abroad that there was no place in the theatre for plays without a measure of international significance and that the dramatist should write about certain supposedly cosmopolitan aspects of city or urban life, or, in short, about any kind of life rather than that which the playwright knew best. Foolishly, it would seem, giving heed to his critics and some rivals, Murray, who in the past had given us five or six eminently satisfactory plays without moving far from the banks of the Sullane, took a hand in this ' new ' drama, substituting Merrion for Macroom and vague experiment for inner conviction, and gave us *A Flutter of Wings, The Blind Wolf* and two other short plays, to the detriment of his high reputation.

None other of the Abbey dramatists, either, succeeded very well in this type of play : O'Casey's later plays, in which he discards the realistic treatment of Dublin slum life and aims at a partly symbolic or stylized treatment of life, as it exists in his theories and in his imagination, have met with little real success anywhere. It is worth noting that the best Abbey plays of the past twenty-five years—Macnamara's *Margaret Gillan,* Carroll's *Shadow and Substance,* Teresa Deevy's *Katie Roche,* M. J. Molloy's *The King of Friday's Men,* Seamus Byrne's *Design for a Headstone,*—although not all set in the kitchen—are every bit as much peasant plays as *The Fiddler's House* or *In the Shadow of the Glen.* This is understandable in an agricultural country where most town and city dwellers, Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor, are only one or two removes from the land. These either accept the fact or tend to react acidulously to their background, like the Canon in Carroll's play, who spends a good deal of time bemoaning the vulgarity of his niece who ' links him by law to a cattle jobber ' and reprimanding his curates for their behaviour as frocked farmers. Byrne gives us the peasant in jail as Molloy shows him in the shadow of the big-house and the demesne wall. Even Lennox Robinson, who seemed better equipped than most to give us a suburban or bourgeois drama, achieved less than his best in *The Round Table, Portrait* and *The White Blackbird.* In his better middle-class comedies, he often gives us the countryman ' townified ' or ' citified ' but beneath the urban

veneer and the superficial gloss we can see his characters unmistakably for what they are—peasants in aspic.

Murray, like Antaeus, was unsurpassable as long as he remained in contact with ' the acre of good earth '. The germs of some of his plays may be found in his semi-autobiographical novel *Spring Horizon* (1937) as well as his observations on the speech and character of the country folk whom he mirrored in drama. Restraint is the keynote of his characterization ; the peasants in his plays are neither flamboyantly romantic nor luridly brutal ; and the more sensitive among them live, in Thoreau's phrase, ' lives of quiet desperation '. They have, like most countrymen most of the time, little interest in causes, lost or otherwise, ' having troubles enough of their own ' and caring little for what goes on beyond the stone walls of their little mountainy farms. The themes are the elemental ones : exile, the loveless marriage, the bleak years of the old, the slavery of the hired man, the endless vigil of mothers. A deep religious spirit and a brooding sense of ' the tears of things ' pierce like sunlight through the rain-drenched gloom. There are no villains, only sufferers : ' God's hand is heavy on us ; the bruise of His fingers is deep in our souls ' or again, ' To live is to suffer and I'm satisfied.'

He wrote in dialect but his dialogue is pared of every excrescence, giving us a speech which is fresh, clean-cut and restrained ; it is, at the same time, poetic and authentic. His ear for the undertones of West Cork speech seldom misleads him. His craftsmanship was sure from the very start of his long writing career. There seems to have been far less re-writing at the production stage and afterwards than has been the case with more celebrated dramatists. The Abbey Theatre's part in the shaping and polishing of masterpieces is now well-known ; there were several drafts of ' The Playboy ' under consideration during rehearsals, including one with a scene in a field, where Christy Mahon tries to kill his father ; *Juno and the Paycock,* in the original version, had a scene by the roadside showing the shooting of Johnny Boyle. Joseph Holloway has pointed out that there was a schoolmaster in the first version of *Birthright* who was later omitted. Unfortunately, he turned up again in *Aftermath* and proved to be one of Murray's least successful characterizations. But, in the main, he showed a sureness of construction which is quite remarkable in a man who must have had little opportunity for regular theatre-going until he came to teach in Dublin, at the age of forty-two.

Andrew E. Malone and some other critics have found fault with the excess of coincidence in Murray's plots and his use of accidental happenings to motivate the action. Nevertheless, as Malone admits, *Spring* and *Birthright* which have been most criticized in this regard stand up remarkably well to the real test ; they convince us of their inevitability

in the theatre. The catastrophe is seen to grow from character and the play advances to its climax with a sure and significant movement—small and seemingly irrelevant causes combining with the inevitable consequences of frailty and passion—to a terrible half-foreseen end. To argue otherwise is to forget the shape of the peasant's world, where little things are all important : a band plays and a horse takes fright ; a stone rolls down to crush a little lamb ; a cartwheel comes loose on a stony hill ; these small prosaic facts are not the omens but the very instruments of tragedy.

A more serious fault in Murray's writing is, perhaps, a defect of his virtue as an unexcelled delineator of rural life. Writing from within his people, being himself so much of his people, he seems limited by some of the inhibitions of the environment he depicted. Occasionally one feels that he is *engagé* to a fault. When, for instance, he tells us in *Autumn Fire* that Ellen, a farmer's daughter, has become soured and embittered because of an affair with a fly-by-night, Tadhg Óg, who took all her money and then deserted her, one suspects that the dramatist has told us considerably less than the whole truth. In such circumstances, farmers' daughters are more likely to lose their virtue than their money. But it says much for the writing of Ellen's part that we still believe in her bitterness, despite this unconvincing reason. Again one feels that he might have made a more compelling play of *The Blind Wolf* had he set it in West Cork—even in the West Cork of a hundred years ago—rather than in his vague Hungarian setting, which seems more suited to grand opera than to a realistic tragedy. The plot is that of *Cross Purposes* by Albert Camus and George Lillo's *Fatal Curiosity,* but he might have achieved more than either had he seen fit to fashion this melodramatic story into an Irish locale.

In the past, Murray has come well out of similar comparisons. *Autumn Fire* with the same theme as *Desire Under the Elms* (1924) and *Fulfilment* (1943) scores in its quiet restraint over the more lurid treatments by O'Neill and Moberg. O'Neill's characters are ' strong ' in their primitive brutality ; Murray's are the more human and tragic, acting from the best possible motives, doing ' everything for the best '. Likewise, Una Ellis-Fermor finds Jones's *Michael and his lost Angel* unconvincing and hollow in its treatment of a religious theme, when compared with the forthright sincerity of *Maurice Harte.* But one finds the same hollowness in Murray's own *Illumination* (1939) on a theme complementary to *Maurice Harte* and intended to be all ' sweetness and light ' ; for he has substituted the chit-chat of the tennis court and the jaded moralizing of the tired business man for the vigorous bargaining at the fair and Ellen Harte's matriarchal strivings to make her son a priest. Similarly, *A Stag at Bay,* which deals with labour troubles and strike action, *A Flutter*

of Wings which attempts to contrast the freedom of the city with the narrowness of a country town, and *A Spot in the Sun,* which has for its theme the frustration of an uncreative talent—all these fail more from a lack of insight than from any lack of craftsmanship.

But a strong case can be made for one of his later plays *Michaelmas Eve* (1932) as worthy of inclusion with *Maurice Harte, Birthright* and *Autumn Fire* as the fourth of the major tragedies. In spite of the rather contrived poisoning scene which closes the play, it has much of Murray's old mastery ; there is a wild poetic surge in the dialogue, with its suggestion of another more full-blooded life outside the bounds-ditch of the farm—the life of Moll Garvey's people who are always wanting the stars. But Hugh, the serving-man who loved Moll, the half-tinker girl, is tied, like his masters, to the ' acre of good earth ' and shuts out the call of the road. It is another study in frustration but, again, the predominant note of pity saves it from gloom and despair.

In at least six of his fifteen plays, Murray has given us not only the most authentic expression of country ways but a profound criticism of life in rural Ireland. It is unlikely that he will ever be surpassed in the distinctive genre of the peasant play. New tensions in Irish life call for new treatments in dramatic form but Murray's position in the future seems assured, for, like the classical dramatists, he eschewed the popular, ephemeral causes and the hurly-burly of revolution, choosing instead the elemental and universal themes and working them out in terms of the life he knew best. His best plays do not tend to date ; *Spring* (1917) although it revolves around the introduction of the Old Age Pensions Act should concern us as deeply to-day when local authorities deplore the use of mental hospitals as homes for the old. Strangely enough, his last play *The Green Branch* (1943) has dated somewhat as the scourge of tuberculosis, which is the theme of the play, has happily been arrested. But, in general, his work remains, as Thomas Hogan has written, ' the only really significant corpus of play-writing of the Irish countryside that this century has yet seen '. Hogan concludes : ' Yet, if the Abbey ever justified itself as an Irish theatre, it did so by T. C. Murray.' That his plays should be so seldom revived in the National Theatre and that, when revived, they do not always receive the sensitive acting which they demand, may be as much a cause as an effect of the present decline of drama in Ireland.

Edward Martyn's Last Play

by STEPHEN P. RYAN

APRIL, 1919. Edward Martyn's Irish Theatre in Hardwicke Street, Dublin, the victim of public apathy and indifference, of the unreasonable strictures of hostile critics and the openly avowed disapproval of the Abbey directorate, was engaged in a back-to-the-wall struggle for its existence ; but death had already marked it for its own, The triumphant success of the newly-formed Dublin Drama League, possessing advantages never enjoyed by its predecessor : the active support of the powerful Abbey bloc, the assurance of sympathetic treatment in the columns of the local journals, and the use of an established playhouse located in the most accessible district of the city, had seemingly sounded the death-knell for Hardwicke Street. The first dramatic venture of the League—its February production of *The Liberators* by the Serb playwright Srgjan Tunic—had been an unqualified vindication of its founders' hopes.

Few among those who read the Drama League's statement of aims and objectives but hailed them as indicating a new departure in the history of the Dublin stage. They read that the League would concern itself with : ' the production of plays which, in the ordinary course of events, would not be produced in Dublin ; the production of plays which do not ensure popular commercial success in the theatre '.[1] An occasional voice here and there, however, was so unkind as to point out that this had all been said before—in 1914—in the manifesto written by Edward Martyn to announce the opening of the Irish Theatre's work in Dublin. At a League meeting in the Abbey Theatre another voice was heard from the audience insisting that the new theatrical project intended to attempt nothing more than what had already been attempted (and with some success) in Hardwicke Street.[2] But these were truly voices crying in the wilderness ; the Irish Theatre was dead or as good as dead, and a new prophet of a new dramatic dispensation was heard in the land.

But the Irish Theatre died a hard death. Its founder-director was a man of spirit—one noted for his stubbornness and his persistence in holding fast to a position once he had established himself in it. The last of the Martyns of Tullyra had been through the wars ; he knew

[1] From the circular announcing the organization of the Drama League, October 1918.

[2] The voice was that of the actor Paul Farrell. He insisted that the programme of the Drama League owed the very existence of an audience to the pioneering work of the Irish Theatre.

his way about the battlefields of Irish political and literary life and had already won one notable victory over no less formidable an opponent than that last stronghold of entrenched Ascendancy, the Kildare Street Club.

Edward Martyn was never a man to shirk responsibility ; if his ship was to go down, he, as captain, would go beneath the waves with her. An announcement by the Drama League that it would present its second programme on Sunday, 27 April, a programme made up of Leonid Andreyev's *The Pretty Sabine Woman* and Lord Dunsany's *A Night at an Inn,* was met with a counter-announcement from Hardwicke Street to the effect that the Irish Theatre would offer a new play to the Dublin theatre-going public during the week beginning Monday, 28 April. The new play was Edward Martyn's *Regina Eyre.*

The strange paradox which was Edward Martyn is best illustrated by his almost sublime opinion of his own merits as a playwright. The subtly acute critic of Ibsen ; the standard-bearer of what was essentially right in the music, architecture and art of the Church ; the man who saw through so much of the sham and hypocrisy of his century—this same man was certainly his own worst critic. As a playwright he had already progressed (if we may use the verb), or retrogressed, from the mountains of *Maeve* and *The Heather Field,* down through the plains of *The Tale of a Town* and *An Enchanted Sea,* to the below-sea-level swamps of *The Dream Physician* and finally to the subterranean obscurities of *The Privilege of Place* and *Romulus and Remus.* Yet his faith in himself and his dramatic theories had never wavered ; it is, therefore, characteristic of the man that in the death agonies of his Theatre he should throw in one of his own plays to stem the tide, to ward off the seemingly inevitable death which threatened his life's work—the theatre which was the culmination of his dreams and hopes.

Regina Eyre proved to be Martyn's last contribution to the stage. With the exception of the contemporary reviews there are no critical notices of it ; and the standard works on the theatre in Ireland, such as those of Malone and Miss Ellis-Fermor, indicate no knowledge of its existence. The silence, however, is explained by the fact that the play was never published ; and the account which follows is based on an examination of the acting script as used during the rehearsals for the April, 1919 production in Hardwicke Street.[1]

Martyn's interest in the drama of polite society and his choice of the " big house " as background, both so much in evidence in the earlier

[1] I am indebted to Miss Katherine McCormick of Dublin, formerly a member of the Irish Theatre Company, for her kind permission to copy the acting script in her possession. All further references to the play are based upon that script, and the page numbers are those found in the script.

plays of the canon, are pursued to the bitter end. As the curtain rises on the first act of *Regina Eyre*, we see before us a room in Glenduv Castle in County Kerry, the home of the ex-professor, turned recluse, Magnus Eyre ; and we know that we are in Martyn country again. We have been here before—to the great house of Carden Tyrrell in *The Heather Field* ; to O'Heyne Castle in *Maeve* ; to Fonthill in *An Enchanted Sea.* And Magnus Eyre is no stranger to us although we once knew him as Carden Tyrrell, as Lord Mask, as Michael Colman in *Grangecolman.* Yet, as we shall see, *Regina Eyre* is Martyn with a difference—a difference only possible in a playwright of such heroic conceit (I can think of no better word) ; for this final desperate effort to secure recognition for himself and his playhouse is a *Hamlet* in reverse ! Let us briefly summarize the plot and observe how it all works out.

Professor Eyre is discovered to be married to a second wife, Dympna, the sister of wife number one. The first wife has been poisoned by the present incumbent. Eyre's daughter by wife number one, Regina, has been driven from the house and has continued her education in Germany—at the University of Jena.

Regina returns to Glenduv ; her suspicions of her aunt-stepmother are aroused, and then confirmed by a young, innocent neighbourhood lout of below-average intelligence who has been secretly in love with her for years. Dympna becomes aware of Regina's suspicions and determines to murder the girl. A young woman, a physician and long-time friend to Regina, comes to visit, is puzzled by Miss Eyre's obvious ill-health and discovers that she is being slowly poisoned. When Regina learns of what is happening to her, she confides her suspicions of Dympna to Dr Donnellan who insists she leave Glenduv at once.

The action then shifts to a hunter's hut on the upper slopes of the Kerry mountain Carrantuohill. Here Regina has taken refuge, and here she is joined by her father who now realizes the evil nature of his wife. Mrs Eyre, however, follows them to the hut, attempts to shoot Regina, and the act ends in the best tradition of Queen's Theatre melodrama as the hunter, Colm Joyce, rushes in and knocks the revolver from Mrs Eyre's hand.

In the final act, Professor Eyre agrees to accompany his daughter to the summit of Carrantuohill, where some vague rite of expiation will be performed and where they will be made whole again. Again they are pursued by the maddened wife. After a prolonged argument, Regina begins the final ascent of the peak. Challenged to follow, Dympna accepts the dare, begins the climb, loses her footing, and plunges, screaming, to a well-deserved death. Father and daughter descend the mountain together as she assures him that they can now

begin to make a new life for themselves—purged as they are of sin and guilt.

If this all sounds quite dreadful, one can only agree that it is. Let us get on with our *Hamlet* parallels, however, and see what we can discover. The most obvious debt is to be found, of course, in the characters, where Martyn by a sex transfer has repeated all the Shakespearean originals. Regina Eyre is our Hamlet, the victim of a parent's guilty marriage to a near kinsman after the first spouse has been murdered. Dympna is our Kerry Claudius, evil, persistent, grasping. Gertrude is represented by Magnus Eyre, a somewhat pallid male equivalent of the far from innocent female original. Dr Donnellan represents the faithful Horatio ; and Colm Joyce rounds out the picture as Ophelia.

The parallels extend beyond characterization into incident and episode of the Martyn plot. Dympna-Claudius poisons a sister in order to marry Eyre-Gertrude. Regina-Hamlet suspects the crime and is in turn suspected. A faithful friend, Dr Donnellan-Horatio, gives advice and counsel ; and a pathetic loved one, Colm-Ophelia, is rejected and advised to enter a " monastery ". Regina-Hamlet has been a student in a German university, Wittenberg-Jena. In the final scenes, however, Martyn breaks from his original ; his Regina-Hamlet is saved and lives to embark upon a new and better way of life with Eyre-Gertrude. Only evil incarnate in the person of Dympna-Claudius is destroyed.

Edward Martyn's right to the plot and characters of *Hamlet* cannot be disputed. We may, for example, point to Shakespeare's use of the 1594 *Hamlet* and the possible Kyd version of the well-known story of the Prince of Denmark. Thus, we may deplore the Irish playwright's shoddy handling of character and plot, but we should not condemn.

When we embark upon a study of the language, the dialogue, of *Regina Eyre,* however, we can no longer remain mute ; for here indeed literary blasphemy has been committed. Dialogue, always the weakest element in a Martyn drama, has in this last play all the stilted, mannered, artificial notes which we have come to associate with his writing ; and to this is added the serious sin of marring by attempted paraphrase some of the noblest passages in our literature. Not content with borrowing plot and characters, Edward Martyn had the audacity and the arrogance to attempt to re-write Shakespeare. The result is appalling, to say the least ; the unhappy efforts of the Restoration revisers and rewriters, Otway's *Romeo and Juliet* and Lord Lansdowne's disastrous *Merchant of Venice,* come immediately to mind.

We may well begin our brief examination of the dialogue parallels with a glance at one of the better known passages in *Hamlet.* The young

prince, conscious of the fact that he is being spied upon and associating Ophelia with the plot, turns in a fury and addresses her :

> HAML. : Get thee to a nunnery. Why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners ? I am myself indifferent honest, but yet I could accuse me of such things that it were better my mother had not borne me. I am very proud, revengeful, ambitious, with more offenses at my beck than I have thoughts to put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to act them in. What should such fellows as I do crawling between heaven and earth ? We are arrant knaves all. Believe none of us. Go thy ways to a nunnery. Where's your father ?
>
> OPH. : At home, my lord.
>
> HAML. : Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool nowhere but in's own house, Farewell.[1]

Here now is the Martyn version. We must remember that Regina is Hamlet, that Colm Joyce is Ophelia.

> REG. : Marry one in your own way of life, Colm, if you expect to be happy. See what has happened in this house.
>
> COLM : I shall never marry now.
>
> REG. : Perhaps it is better so, or even better still go into a monastery. For the race of women is unworthy of such men and such unselfishness as yours. Now go.
>
> COLM : What has come over you, Regina ? Where are you going ?
>
> REG. : To prepare for the hard and dismal duty that has been given me to perform. (She goes out.)[2]

While we may make an effort to explain all this in the light of the playwright's pathological dislike for women, and so condone the sentiments expressed, what are we to say of the emasculated prose itself (emasculated in a double sense) ? Surely this is unforgivable.

Here is another famous passage from *Hamlet* :

> QUEEN : Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off.
> And let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark.
> Do not forever with thy vailed lids
> Seek for thy noble father in the dust.
> Thou knows't 'tis common—all that lives must die,
> Passing through nature to eternity.
>
> HAML. : Aye, madam, it is common.
>
> QUEEN : If it be,

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[1] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III, i, 121–137. All references to *Hamlet* are from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, edited by G. B. Harrison, New York : Harcourt-Brace, 1952.

[2] Edward Martyn, *Regina Eyre* (acting script), I, p. 16.

Why seems it so particular with thee?
HAML.: Seems, madam? Nay, it is. I know not
" seems ".
'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good Mother,
Nor customary suits of solemn black,
Nor windy suspiration of forced breath . . .[1]

There are many more instances of the gross mishandling of the Shakespearean original, but few are quite so bad as the Martyn version of the above which reads :

DYMPNA : Come, Regina, you must not nurse your grief in this way. You have mourned long enough. It is time at last to put off this black dress of a daughter's grief for your good and deeply lamented mother. We have all grieved for her. We have done all that was fitting in its good time. But such continued grief as yours is incongruous with the philosophical peace you have set before you as a standard of life.
REG. : My mother is only a short time dead ; and my mourning is only incongruous with the indecent want of mourning here around me.[2]

There seems no reason to continue with the parallels ; surely the point has been made.

From the very beginnings of his career as a playwright Edward Martyn was a disciple of Ibsen, and few Martyn plays are without distinct traces of the Norwegian's influence. This last drama is no exception ; the final scene of *Regina Eyre,* with its ascent of the mountain, its invocation of the powers of light, its implications of the necessity for individual freedom and liberty, owes a very real debt to the master's *When We Dead Awaken.*[3] But Martyn is hardly more successful in his following of Ibsen than he had been in his adaptation of Shakespeare. One set of parallel passages will suffice to indicate this. It will be remembered that in the climactic final scene of *When We Dead Awaken,* the woman from Rubek's past, Irene, has come again into his life, and that they go together up the mountain peak, only to be buried by an avalanche.

IRENE : No, no—up into the light and in all the glittering glory. Up to the peak of promise !
RUBEK : There we will hold our marriage feast, Irene—oh, my beloved !
IRENE : The sun may freely look on us, Arnold.
RUBEK : All the powers of light may freely look on us—and all the powers of darkness too. Will you follow me then, my grace-given bride ?

[1] *Hamlet,* I, ii, 68–79.
[2] *Regina Eyre,* I, p. 12.
[3] Cf. Henrik Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken,* trans. by William Archer, London : Heineman, 1900.

IRENE : I follow you gladly, my lord and master !
RUBEK : We must first pass through the mists, Irene, and then—
IRENE : Yes, through all the mists, and then up to the summit of the tower that shines in the sunrise.[1]

Set against this the comparable passage in *Regina Eyre,* and again the mediocrity of Martyn is only too painfully apparent.

REG. : No help can avail if the soul is found wanting in strength. (She walks slowly over the ridge of the precipice while they watch her in fear. She reaches the curran and climbing its sides holds on to the peak).
DR DONN. : See. She grasps the loftiest jewel in the crown of our land. Wonderful.
REG. : Here is the kingdom of quiet, with the music of all silences around us. Here is the guerdon of the contemplative soaring high like a soul beyond the body's enmity. Listen—strange welcomings reach me across the spheres, announcing fulfilment and peace . . .[2]

Truly, " the lady doth protest too much ". Your meaning, Mr Martyn ?

As might be anticipated, the critics pounced upon this " drama of elective moods ", as the author sub-titled his work, with almost fiendish glee. One reviewer said of it, " The impression is one of want of preparation, and of desultory dialogue. The language is colourless ".[3] Another, making note of the tenuous thread which bound Martyn's play to *Hamlet,* headed his notice, " Words, Words, Words ", and then continued in prophetic vein :

There are five people in the cast, and certainly no five people have ever talked so much and said so little in the same space of time . . . I am not surprised that the prompter was the busiest person on the stage, for it must have been a terrible task to learn off the speeches by heart. Mr Martyn has only got to produce a few more elective plays to kill the Irish Theatre.[4]

A third critic concluded his review with these lines :

They all journey forth on a ' pilgrimage of expiation '. Expiation for what is never made clear, for they all make themselves most tiresomely miserable and monotonously lonesome without apparent reason.[5]

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[1] *When We Dead Awaken,* III, pp. 158–159
[2] *Regina Eyre,* IV, p. 72
[3] *The Freeman's Journal,* Dublin, 29 April 1919
[4] *The Telegraph,* Dublin, 29 April 1919
[5] *The Independent,* Dublin, 29 April 1919

An audience of less than a dozen was in attendance on the opening night of *Regina Eyre* ; and, after the reviews, few came to Hardwicke Street on succeeding nights. That indefatigable collector of small theatrical trifles, Joseph Holloway, was among those present. He noted Brinsley Macnamara, F. Hugh O'Donnell, and C. P. Curran among the others in the theatre, and recorded his impression of the play which he found to be, ' a lot of speaking about people cleansing their souls on a mountain top '.[1] He also set down in the record a remark by C. P. Curran to the effect that ' Ever since Ibsen spoke of the mountain top, Martyn always gets his characters up there, why it is difficult to say '.[2]

The ignominious failure of *Regina Eyre* did much to hasten the Irish Theatre's death. In a very real sense it was Edward himself, rather than the rise of the Drama League, who dealt the *coup de grâce* ; few theatres could have survived a *Regina Eyre*—certainly not a theatre already in the final stages of decline.

There is genuine pathos here : the father had delivered the blow which killed his child. The Irish Theatre would survive another nine months,[3] but the damage had been done. The critic of *The Telegraph* had been but partially correct ; it did not need ' a few more elective plays to kill the Irish Theatre '—one had been sufficient. The disaster of *Regina Eyre* was followed in swift succession by the defection of the two principal players, Maire Nic Shiubhlaigh and Paul Farrell ; and by the resignation of the man who had been Edward Martyn's right hand—the Theatre's producer and director—John MacDonagh.

A bitter ending was this for the man who had done so much for the cultural life of his people. Co-founder of the modern Irish dramatic revival, founder of the Palestrina Choir of Dublin, lover of beautiful things, patron of the arts, a man generous of both time and money, Edward Martyn through his Irish Theatre made the Dublin Drama League possible, and paved the way for the foundation, later in the decade, of the Dublin Gate Theatre. It is a sad thought that he who came into the world of the theatre to the sound of the triumphant bangs of *The Heather Field* and *Maeve* should leave it with the whimper of *Regina Eyre*.

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[1] Joseph Holloway, *Impressions of a Dublin Playgoer*, National Library of Ireland MS. 1845 (Entry for 28 April 1919), p. 638.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 653.

[3] The Irish Theatre closed its doors forever on Saturday, 31 January 1920 after the conclusion of a week's run of *The Cherry Orchard*. The refusal of the Countess Plunkett to renew the Theatre's lease on the Hardwicke Street building which she owned was the final straw, possibly ; but the organization could not have long survived had the lease been renewed.

Africa and the Sword of the Spirit

by LIAM BROWNE

THE Sword of the Spirit* is an English Catholic lay organization whose aim is to create an informed and active public opinion on current world affairs. Under the presidency of the Archbishop of Westminster and the chairmanship of Mr Christopher Hollis, the Sword carries out its work by publishing *Catholic International Outlook,* its journal, by issuing pamphlets and leaflets, by answering requests for information and documentation, and by organizing public meetings, conferences and talks on international affairs.

At a meeting of the Sword's Council in October 1956 it was decided to form a Standing Committee for Africa. The Committee, comprising seven laymen and one priest, held its first formal meeting in January 1957. The Committee's terms of reference were then defined : ' to create an informed and active public opinion on international questions by means of publications, lectures and correspondence ' with reference solely to Africa.

What has the Committee done? Within the first year of its existence it was responsible for the rapid translation and publication of the Holy Father's encyclical *Fidei Donum* under the title ' The Future of Africa '. It has also published two pamphlets, *Bantu Background* and *Race Relations* and has distributed leaflets on ' The Independence of Ghana ' and ' Apartheid in the Churches '. *Bantu Background* is a series of extracts from the Tomlinson Report (1954) on the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa.

In addition to these publications, the Africa Committee arranged lunch-time talks and conferences on such subjects as ' Racial Tensions ', ' The Central African Federation ' and ' Islam in Africa '. Contacts were made with Africans in Britain and Africa, and more ' Catholic Africa experts ' were brought on to the Committee. But perhaps the most important single achievement during the first year was the decision in December, 1957 to hold a conference on *Fidei Donum.* Early in December the Committee circularized Irish and English Superiors of men's and women's missionary orders working in Africa, proposing a conference of missionaries and laymen to discuss ways and means of implementing the Holy Father's appeal for Africa in *Fidei Donum,* and of establishing closer collaboration to this end.

The idea of the conference was welcomed enthusiastically by the missionaries and on 26th March last the Africa Conference met at Holy Rood House, London. Archbishop David Mathew, former Apostolic Delegate to East and W. Africa, gave the opening address to an audience consisting of one hundred and fifty delegates of forty-six religious institutes and thirty Catholic lay organizations as well as about twenty-four others, mostly government

*Publications and information are obtainable from The Secretary, Sword of the Spirit, 128, Sloane St., London, S.W. 1.

officials, colonial officers and pressmen. The delegates represented both Irish and English organizations.

The delegates broke up into five discussion groups whose conclusions were summarized by the Chairman, Major P. Wall, M.P., on 28th March, the last day of the Conference. In his summary of the delegates' proposals, the Chairman of the Conference declared that the most important and urgent requirement shown by the proposals was the establishment of a permanent Africa Centre. The Centre would act as a source of general information and documentation on African affairs, a centre for promoting interest in African affairs with special emphasis on extension work in schools and universities, a study centre for African social, educational, cultural and religious problems, a clearing house for the recruitment and preparation of lay Catholics taking up medical, social and educational positions in Africa and finally, a liaison office between missionaries and laymen to encourage voluntary lay helpers to the African missions. The proposed Centre would require hierarchical approval and the services of a chaplain. Located in London, it would need a staff of at least three people, offices, library, conference room and club rooms.

So much for the general outcome of the Conference. What about the particular conclusions of the individual discussion groups? The group dealing with Moral and Material Aid to African Nationals in Ireland and the United Kingdom, of whom there are about 1,600 in Ireland, decided that the main problem under this head was that of African students. Despite the good work being done by the National Chaplaincy for Overseas Students and such organizations as the Legion of Mary, there was need of much more hostel accommodation and private hospitality from Catholic families for African students. The Sword offered to publish and distribute a leaflet on this subject soon. Several delegates held that Catholics should know more about Africa especially since Catholics in the United Kingdom were among the most colour-prejudiced in the country! It was strongly urged that friendly relations should be established with non-Catholic students. African Catholics could be invited to help in parish social work and in teaching catechism. The chief aim should be integration of the Catholic African into the normal Irish or English parish, in so far as this is possible.

Mr R. P. Walsh, leader of the discussion on Information Services and Editor of ' Catholic Life ', proposed that as soon as possible a press and information centre should be set up, employing a full-time experienced journalist. Missionary orders should be asked to provide news from the missions, to contribute information about Catholic journalists, publications and booksellers in Africa, to co-operate with press and radio, and to train young missioners in these fields for service in Africa. Catholic lay organizations, including the Catholic Film Institute, should be invited to make their members and, through them, the public more ' Africa-minded '. Returning missionaries were encouraged to contact the Africa Committee in order that talks, press interviews and informal meetings for interested Catholics could be arranged. The efforts of some religious orders to make mission films ' on location ' was commended.

The National and International Aid group under Dr. A. N. Allott stressed the need for more teachers in secondary schools and in higher technical and teacher training colleges, especially those qualified in technical and scientific

subjects. Though immense help was given in the educational, social and medical fields by Catholics, Protestants and UNESCO, there was still plenty of scope for Catholics interested in teaching on the missions, and need of supplies of surplus textbooks from schools and samples and equipment from hospitals. The missionary orders expressed a willingness to provide brief courses on the religious and cultural backgrounds for those intent on teaching or hospital work in Africa.

The Holy Father's warning that in the face of dangers from Communism, Racialism and Nationalism ' it does not suffice to preach the Gospel. In the social and political crisis which Africa is undergoing it is necessary quickly to form a select group of Christians in the midst of a still neophyte people ' was the inspiration of the group dealing with ideologies in Africa, directed by Dr. Michael Fogarty. The decline of paganism presented a vacuum into which Islam, Christianity and Communism were moving. It was suggested that the Newman Demographic Survey and the Catholic Social Guild should devote special study and effort to the development of religious sociology in Africa. On the missions lay Catholic action was of special importance and the formation of a Catholic élite in such organizations as the Young Christian Workers and the Young Christian Students was essential. The infiltration of Communists into African trades unions and the proportionate need to train Catholic trades unionists in Ireland and England was emphasized.

Fr J. de Reeper presented the resolutions of his group on Lay Helpers in the Missions. He pointed out that although there were twelve lay missionary movements in existence, all co-ordinated by the Catholic Union for International Co-Operation with headquarters at Amsterdam, there was no similar movement in these islands. Representatives of the Continental movements at the Conference stressed the need for co-operation in teams among their organizations. One of the biggest problems was that of putting potential lay helpers in touch with the missions and of fitting suitable candidates into the available openings, for which a central liaison office was essential. It was decided that the time was not yet ripe for a lay missionary organization in England but volunteers could be trained by courses at the liaison office or by the Continental organizations.

The achievements of the Sword's Africa Committee within the brief period of its existence are remarkable. The latest contribution to foreign mission work is the publication of a half-crown pamphlet, ' The Popes on the Missions ', which contains the four great missionary encyclicals *Maximum Illud* (1919) of Pope Benedict XV, *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926) of Pius XI, and the present Holy Father's *Evangelii Praecones* (1951) and *Fidei Donum* (1957). Here are the main principles of the missionary apostolate as outlined by the Popes during the last forty years. Every African missioner will be grateful to the Sword for this interest in Africa, and in particular for the Conference. The Conference is at once an indication of the Sword's zeal and foresight and of the confidence of the missionary orders in the Sword's competence. The conclusions of the Conference were highly practical and were the outcome of serious discussion by experienced missionaries from England and Ireland. As such, therefore, the proposed Africa Centre which aims at providing an indispensable service for African students and for

Irish and English missionaries, deserves the support of Catholics in both countries. The Irish people provide Africa with about one sixth of its total of missionary priests and nuns, and help Africa very generously indeed with their prayers and money, as African missionaries realize only too well. But the challenge is still there and the Holy Father has asked in *Fidei Donum* that ' the greatness of the accomplished task should not make one forget the obligation to help the missionaries of the Gospel more effectively to announce the saving truth to 85,000,000 Africans who are still attached to pagan beliefs before it is too late '. ' Before it is too late . . . ' that is the keynote of the whole encyclical — the need for immediate help, ' the urgency of the present circumstances ', the need to ' develop without delay '. God bless the Sword of the Spirit for answering the call so readily and so effectively.

Reviews

SANCTI COLUMBANI OPERA. Edited and translated by G. S. M. Walker. Pp. xciv + 247. (*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, II*) The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1957. 42s.

This handsomely produced book is sure of a warm welcome from all who are interested in the history of the Irish Church. We should have been grateful to Dr Walker had he merely produced the Latin text of the various works attributed to St Columbanus, with notes on the manuscript evidence. But he has done much more than that. The Introduction is in many ways the most complete treatment of the background of Columbanus's work and writings, taken as a whole, that has yet appeared. When we realize the problems involved, not least the dating of Columbanus's arrival on the continent, and the questions which arise concerning the Rules and the Penitential, we begin to appreciate the magnitude of Dr Walker's task. We may note that he has not shirked any of the problems which arise, and if specialists may quarrel with his conclusions on certain points, they must admit that Dr Walker has dealt as fairly as possible with the evidence, in view of the limitations naturally imposed by an introduction. There is an excellent general index, as well as three specialized indices compiled by Dr Ludwig Bieler, who also contributes a section in the introduction on Text Tradition and Latinity.

The only aspect of the book with which one feels disposed to quarrel is the English translation which is given side by side with the Latin text. It seems a pity that at times the English version follows the Latin text so closely, and the result must be, for a reader who is not familiar with Latin, that the often powerfully rhetorical quality of Columbanus's Latin is somewhat obscured. There are smaller points of detail also : for instance ' remorse ' does not seem to convey the meaning of the ' *compunctio* ' recommended by Columbanus to

his monks. But, let me be quite clear : this is not true of the translation as a whole. It is a real help, and will make the writings of Columbanus available for the general reader. For those who would like to go further in their study of St Columbanus or of any special problem suggested by his works, the full bibliography provided (pp. lxxxiii-xcii) will be invaluable.

Saint Columbanus was born about the middle of the sixth century and died in 615. Thus his life fits into a period which has not yet been fully explored, though it is being more clearly seen nowadays as laying the foundations for the Carolingian revival. And, the more one studies this period, the more apparent does it become that St Columbanus played no small part in preparing the way for that revival. He is a dominant figure wherever he appears, a curious mixture of reformer and withdrawn ascetic. It is the figure of Columbanus which emerges most clearly from his writings and which is the main interest of Dr Walker's book. I think we may take the poem in praise of Bangor, preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor, and the hymn in honour of St Comgall of Bangor, which is also found in the Antiphonary, as pointers to the outlook of St Columbanus. Like other Irish missioners of the period he was very conscious that he was in exile '*propter amorem Christi*', but there was more than that. Corresponding to

> '*Munther Benchuir beata* : *fide fundata certa* :
> *Spe salutis ornata* : *caritate perfecta*'

we have Columbanus's statement to Pope Boniface IV : 'For I, coming from the world's end, where I have seen spiritual leaders fighting the Lord's battles'. But we also have his declaration to Gregory's successor : '*Constat enim nos in nostra esse patria, dum nullas istorum suscipimus regulas Gallorum*'. There is his plea to the Burgundian Bishops 'that I may be allowed with your peace and charity to enjoy the silence of these woods, and to live beside the bones of our seventeen dead brethren, even as up till now we have been allowed to live twelve years among you, so that, as up till now we have done, we may pray for you as we ought. Let Gaul, I beg, contain us side by side, whom the kingdom of heaven shall contain'.

The three letters written to Rome make an interesting study, and one has the feeling that Columbanus is, to a degree, trying to impress by his display of learning and rhetorical and often tortuous style. I think Dr Walker departs from his own high standards when he states, commenting on Columbanus's letter to Boniface IV : 'This ultimate subordination of Pope to Council, and of both to Scripture, is combined with a deep and sincere reverence for the dignity of the Roman See, in which Columban recognizes the executive authority of a commander in chief' (Introduction, p. lxxii). We may note first that Columbanus looks to Rome for the 'bread of doctrine', which it is the Pope's function to provide as successor of Peter. This is stated in so many words in his letter to Gregory the Great and to Boniface. There is no question of 'subordination . . . to Scripture', unless one can read this meaning into

Columbanus's insistence that what is taught must be in accord with Scripture : certainly, it would seem to be foolish to see in a statement of this kind a doctrine of ' Scripture alone '. Nor, if the text of Epistle V be examined closely, is there question of subordination of Pope to Council. There is a clear statement that the Pope is ' Senior ' as dealing with the ' Juniores ', the other bishops and teachers of the Church. (No mention is made of the East.) There is the heart-broken solution, vaguely presented, with no theory behind it—Columbanus was no theoretician, but a practical man trying to solve an immediate problem —of withdrawal from communion, unless the Pope can publicly defend his faith. The context is vague, but there is no question of a trial, or a new Pope being elected : if we examine the text closely we will see that really no solution at all is presented clearly. Columbanus is baffled by what he hears, and states that personally he does not believe the rumours, but thinks that for the sake of the Church the Pope should speak openly on the matter. There is much more one might say, but this is not the place to do so. The conclusion given by Columbanus should speak for itself : ' *Rex (i.e. Agilulf) Regem, tu Petrum, te tota sequatur Ecclesia* '.

But in fairness to Dr Walker it must be said that it is not perhaps equitable to expect the long and closely reasoned treatment that Epistle V would demand in the course of an Introduction, however long, which has to deal with so many other problems. Nor may we ever fully clarify Columbanus's views on this as on so many other topics. For he wrote not as a cloistered scholar, with a fully coherent theory to connect his thoughts, but in the face of an immediately actual difficulty.

Our thanks and congratulations to Dr Walker, who, in this book, has made a notable contribution to the records of the Irish Church.

PATRICK O'CONNELL

SAINT PATRICK. Consulting Editor : Rev John Ryan, S.J. Radio Eireann Thomas Davis Lectures. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1958. 2s. 6d.

IT is now five years since the Council of Radio Eireann planned the first series of Thomas Davis lectures. The theme chosen was Early Irish Society, and a year later these talks were published by the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland. These lectures were a joy to listen to, and, in the printed form, a pleasure to read. The editor of this first series, Professor Myles Dillon, wrote : ' For radio listeners it was desirable to make the lectures popular as well as learned '. It must be said that the lecture by Dr Dillon which inaugurated the series was a model. Fortunately for him, those who followed him in the series on Early Irish Society spoke for the most part in a way which could be said to be ' popular and learned '. They eschewed the abstruse and the controversial and gave instead a broad, understandable outline of their chosen theme. Amongst other things in his talk on the Irish language, Dr Dillon spoke of the position of Irish in the Indo-European family. Here he could so easily have talked above the heads of his hearers ; he could so easily have used the half-hour to propound or defend some speculation in the higher reaches of Celtic or Indo-European philology. He had the good sense and the good taste not to do so.

The broadcast series on Saint Patrick began well with the consulting editor's summary of the case for the traditional Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland. Listeners must have looked forward with eagerness to what was to come, for Father Ryan's lecture was in its style and composition an excellent radio-talk, popular and learned. It was clear and forceful ; and—whether the view expressed in it be right or wrong—it had the blessed merit of being comprehensible. Those who listened to it would have known what the speaker was talking about. It is a matter for regret that the same cannot be said of any of the remaining lecturers, with the exception of one who chose not to speak about Saint Patrick but about churches which are called after him. The subjects chosen by the other speakers were little suited to the occasion, and their treatment of them did not improve matters. And it may be observed that the existence of another Patrick, or of several other Patricks is not necessarily relevant to the man who was the subject of this series.

There are radio games which have attained some degree of popularity. For some people to-day, writing about Saint Patrick has become a sport, the game of seeing how many improbable hypotheses you can get to balance on a doubtful supposition. A variant of it is the Patrick jig-saw game. It is not a difficult game, for the pieces are not rigid ; with a little pressure they can be contracted and made to fit, or they can be extended to fill quite large gaps. It can be played over and over again with the same pieces. One can always spill out the lot and start again. The game has a peculiar fascination, and virtually anyone can play it. It is not suitable for broadcasting.

FRANCIS SHAW

DUBLIN BEFORE THE VIKINGS. By Dr George A. Little. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1957. Pp. 184. 21s.

How should this book be classified ? Best, perhaps, as a piece of civic hagiography. Dr Little, the distinguished author, has beatified his native city. He approaches its snow-white figure with admiration and a sense of awe. Were he exiled to some distant townlet, some corral by the Lagan or the Lee, his harp would hang upon the willow-boughs and those new waters of Babylon would flow salt with his tears. Dublin may well be proud of such a devoted son.

It is a truism that the capital city of Ireland has many claims to eminence. Another question is whether the particular claim made in this lengthy volume may be accepted as true. Did Dublin as a city exist for hundreds of years before A.D. 837, the date of foundation hitherto favoured by historians ? Dr Little is certain that it did. ' Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, was the first foreigner to mention Dublin by name . . . Eblana he spelled it '. This very definite statement is made stronger by the suggestion that Ptolemy's source belongs to the 4th century B.C. A novelist of that day might have entitled his book ' *Eblanikoi* ' instead of ' *Dubliners* '. By the third century, A.D., the Eblanikoi had vanished and the Dercmaisig had become the city's ruling sept. Come the fifth century, and these, in their turn, had gone the way of all flesh. They were dispossessed, we are told, by the Uí Dúnchada, *anno* 291. How this could happen requires explanation, for the Dúnchad, who gave his name

to the sept, was slain in A.D. 728. Moreover, when St Patrick visited the city of Dublin he found it peopled, not by Uí Dúnchada, but by Gaill, ' foreigners '. If these were Gaill in the literal sense of the word, that is to say, Galli, ' Gauls ', they were a poor lot indeed, either pagans who had persisted in their evil ways when the rest of their countrymen had embraced the Christian faith, or laggard Christians, uninterested in the eternal destiny of their Irish neighbours.

We must assume that St Patrick added to his countless converts these mysterious Gaill. Dublin would then become a Christian city and be prominent as such in the 7th century, when the Church in Ireland was in a most flourishing state ; and, again, in the eight century, when the brilliance of the Golden Age had become but slightly dimmed. As in Tours, Milan, Rome, so in Dublin, ecclesiastical activities would have a conspicuous place in the city's life.

Are traces of this populous and energetic city of Dublin to be found ? Dr Little is convinced that they are. ' Perhaps the most convincing evidence that can be advanced to prove the characteristics of the pre-Scandinavian city of Dublin is that city's earliest ecclesiastical history. This will be noted under two heads : *a*) churchmen, *b*) churches and their founders '. This is refreshingly precise : a list of founders of Dublin churches and of their successors in these churches through the centuries before A.D. 800 would sweep into the Irish Sea the stoutest critic's horniest doubts. Let the list, then, be produced.

When this is duly done, it is found, alas, to be set in a wide frame of question-marks. The ' pre-Norse bishops and abbots ' named are six. Five of these, in an all-too-modern way, have taken to the emigrant ship, Livinus to Brabant, Wiro to Dutch Limburg, Desibod to the neighbourhood of Bingen on the Rhine, Rumold to Malines, Gualafar apparently to some dot in space, for a person bearing such a name in eighth century Dublin is inconceivable and no other place on our planet has been assigned to him. We are left with Siadal, styled simply *Epscop* ' bishop ' in the Martyrology of Tallaght ; more fully, as ' a bishop, son of Luath, from Ath Cliath ' in a gloss on the text in the twelfth century Martyrology of Gorman. Siadal died in A.D. 790. The gloss is an isolated reference and its date is late. We have to ask ourselves two questions, whether the gloss is reliable and whether the church which it mentions is not the old church of Kilbarrack beside the Liffey estuary. If satisfied on these points we may take the gloss as evidence for the existence of a church at Ath Cliath before the coming of the Northmen. But we must remember that this would no more prove the existence, at the same time, of a city at Ath Cliath than would the existence of churches at Kilbarrack and Glasnevin prove the existence of a city at one or other of these places.

As to the ' churches and their founders ' of the second part, in the passage quoted from Dr Little, it transpires that there are no founders and therefore no churches to list. The identification of Cell Céle Críst in Uí Dúnchada in Leinster with the eleventh century church of the Holy Trinity (popularly called Christ Church) in Dublin, is fantastic. Yet more amazing is the view that ' the territory of Uí Dúnchada was an important satrapy in Dublin '. This is like saying that the present south Co. Dublin is an important satrapy in Castleknock. Uí Dúnchada was one of the three sections into which

the kingdom of North Leinster was divided. Eleven of its rulers were Kings of Leinster. They and their princely descendants lie buried in the royal cemetery at Glenndaloch. The southern bank of the Liffey, at its mouth, and the northern bank, with its extension round the bay to Howth, formed part of their local or domestic possessions. To picture them as a satrapy in Dublin is to picture a very wee tail wagging a very large dog.

Lest there should be any dispute about terms, Dr Little defines for us the constituent elements of a city. A city is ' not so much a material object as a philosophical concept. It owes its nature to its power to procreate law. Ordered life, answering the challenge of complexity, is the result of a town's power to make regulations. This principle of municipal autonomy is not affected by the kind of legal administrators employed, be they Kings, Elders, or members of Senates, Guilds or Corporations '. All this is very true. Apply the test to pre-Viking Dublin and we find it perhaps the most ' philosophical ' city since the creation of the world. It seems to exist entirely *in ordine ideali ;* there is nothing so crude about it as a *fundamentum in re.* On the material side, its coyness is literally beyond expression. Dead Sea scrolls may one day come to light ; until they do we are compelled to confess that pre-Viking Dublin had no kings, no elders, no senate, no guilds, no corporation, no laws of its own making, no regulations. It was as innocent of all these, when the Norse pirates landed on the Liffey shore, as was Annagassan on the Glyde near Castlebellingham, a Scandinavian settlement established at the same time as Dublin and long its rival in influence. The opposition offered to the landing of the Vikings at Dublin was no more municipal, as far as records go, than that offered to their landing at Annagassan. One was as much a ' city ' as the other. There is much of interest in this book but its main thesis, the existence of a city of Dublin before the coming of the Northmen, must be regarded as unproved.

JOHN RYAN

THE STORY OF MELLIFONT. By Fr Colmcille, O.C.S.O. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1958. Pp. lviii, 332. 30s.

' THE STORY OF MELLIFONT ', Fr Colmcille writes, ' mirrors in itself the story of the Irish Cistercians '. He might almost have added that the story of the Irish Cistercians mirrors the history of medieval Ireland. The Abbey of Our Lady of Mellifont was founded as a direct result of the great reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which changed the organization and character of the Irish church. Ireland's singularity and isolation in ecclesiastical affairs were ended when the first Burgundian monks came to the banks of the Mattock, just as the political singularity and isolation of the country were ended a quarter of a century later when the vanguard of the Anglo-Normans landed at Bannow Bay. Indeed the reform of the Church was also the pretext for the military invasion.

The remarkable early successes of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, however, are explicable not because of the great changes with which they were associated but because, more than the Benedictines or the Canons Regular who were also introduced in the twelfth century, the Cistercians conformed to

the spirit of Irish monasticism and appealed to that spirit in the Irish. The first quarter century of Cistercian history in Ireland is of special interest because it was in this period that the white monks established themselves firmly as the successors of the followers of Colmcille and Ciaran and Comgall. This period too, and the early years of the Norman invasion, were the times when the Cistercians showed themselves most worthy of this succession and of the really great men who had reformed the church in twelfth-century Ireland. In the rapid falling away thereafter from the spiritual standards of St Bernard and St Malachy, the disorder in Cistercian administration and rule, the extraordinary rebellion against Clairvaux known as the *conspiratio Mellifontis,* the struggle between the Irish and the Normans in the cloister as in the field; in these, Cistercian history and the history of Mellifont are still no more than a mirror of the history of the medieval Irish church, confused and unedifying as it often was.

Fr Colmcille is fully aware of these wider implications and that in undertaking to write the story of Mellifont he has engaged on no mere exercise in local history. Where necessary he digresses to discuss Cistercian architecture or the organization of the Church in Ireland after the invasion but he is chiefly concerned in this work to set forth, concisely and accurately, such facts as are available about the history of Mellifont from its foundation until the Dissolution. This task he has performed admirably, basing his readable narrative firmly on the evidence of contemporary documents, and he has shown true piety to the spirit of his Order by shirking from portraying none of the facts, however unedifying, in his account of the sad decline of the Irish Cistercians from their early glory. He has already published some of the documents relating to the abbey in the *County Louth Archaeological Journal ;* these are here printed or summarized again and several are reproduced in the half-tone plates. Fr Colmcille has carried the story beyond the Dissolution by supplying a chapter on the succession of titular abbots ; he has been at pains to trace the possessions of the abbey at the Dissolution and to identify the place-names mentioned in the properties confirmed in the earliest charters, and he supplies a long and well-argued appendix on the remains of the abbey buildings and on the other antiquities associated with Mellifont. The whole book is well set out, is illustrated with excellent and informative photographs and is as easy to use as it is to read.

Inevitably, the state of Irish medieval records being what it is, there are many obscurities in the story. The question of the monastery of Drogheda and its relation to Mellifont still remains difficult, although both Fr Colmcille and Fr Gwynn have discussed it in published papers. The Irish annals refer to Mellifont as the great monastery of Drogheda, and this usage is a little difficult to explain. The absence of reference in any document now available to the great fire which destroyed the original abbey buildings in the thirteenth century and to the complete rebuilding which followed it is also puzzling. The evidence for the fire was provided by the recent excavations by the Office of Public Works which revealed the twelfth-century plan.

Fr Colmcille has also completed a general work on the history of the Cistercians in Ireland. This, together with his *Story of Mellifont,* will form a

major contribution to our knowledge of medieval Ireland—which is just now being amplified by a fortunate concurrence of work in many fields. The groundwork is being done, the facts are being produced, and books such as this add both to our knowledge and to our understanding of a difficult period. And Fr Colmcille has, I think, set a useful example by his sympathetic appreciation of those documents which do not always come within the ken of the historian—the stones which men built and which have their own story to tell.

LIAM DE PAOR

MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS HOUSES : SCOTLAND. By D. E. Easson. With a Foreword by David Knowles, and Maps by R. Neville Hadcock. London : Longmans. 1957. 45s.

MR EASSON'S volume on the medieval religious houses of Scotland (with an appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man) is a companion volume to the larger *Medieval Religious Houses : England and Wales,* which was published by Father David Knowles and Mr. Hadcock in 1953. It is no light task to compile lists of each house, great or small, of all the different religious orders at a time when religious life was most widely spread throughout western Europe. Father Knowles, whose three volumes on the history of English monasticism have established his reputation as the foremost scholar in this field, has contributed a short Foreword to each of these volumes, in which he gives an admirably lucid survey of the development of religious life in England, Scotland and Wales. In this volume Mr Easson gives a separate prefatory note entitled *Res Monasticae,* in which he summarizes the results of his own largely pioneer work in this much neglected field of Scottish history. This is followed by the usual detailed lists of the houses of every order of monks and friars ; and Mr Hadcock has drawn two admirable maps to illustrate the story as a whole. It is a pleasure to be able to report that, thanks to Mr Hadcock's unwearying industry as a student of medieval religious life, there is every prospect of a final volume in this series, which will deal with the exceptionally large number of Irish religious houses, and which may be expected within the next two years.

AUBREY GWYNN

CLEOPATRA. A study in Politics and Propaganda. By Hans Volkmann. Translated by T. J. Cadoux. London : Elek Books. 1958. 25s.

OF all the tragic heroines of the ancient world, Cleopatra is most widely known and most completely misunderstood. The reasons are not far to seek. She impinges on that most vital period of Roman history from Julius Caesar's victory at Pharsalus to the defeat of Mark Antony at Actium, which left Octâvian—or Augustus, as he was soon to be—as Julius' undisputed successor. Thus in the text-books she appears merely as a peripheral character in the Roman civil turmoil which preceded the establishment of the principate. Secondly, her successive liaisons with Julius and with Antony established her

as a *femme fatale* in Roman power-politics, and thus afforded an irresistible attraction to scandal-mongers and dramatists alike, whose fiction has a more lasting impact than the sober historian can hope to achieve.

The most satisfying feature of Professor Volkmann's study is the avoidance of the narrow Roman view, and the presentation of the queen within her Hellenistic context. As a descendant of the Ptolemies, whose dynasty had established Alexandria as the centre of a considerable empire and the primary repository of Greek culture, Cleopatra was a sophisticated, highly intelligent, ambitious and morally degenerate figure. She was no beauty ; Shakespeare's portrait

> *O'erpicturing that Venus where we see*
> *The fancy out-work nature*

is hardly the historical Cleopatra of the coins (splendidly illustrated in this book) with her ungainly hooked nose and prognathous chin. ' Her beauty,' writes Plutarch, ' was not in itself altogether incomparable, nor such as to strike those who saw her '. It was her Greek sophistication and personal magnetism which so intrigued Julius and beguiled Antony. So Shaw, too, was badly unhistorical in his portrait of a precocious, twittering juvenile, captivating Julius by her artlessness.

The key-concept which, psychologically speaking, is the sole satisfying explanation of her conduct is her queenly ambition to re-establish a Ptolemaic empire in the Eastern Mediterranean. For this aim she was willing to flatter Julius, call his putative son Caesarion (Volkmann believes he *was* Julius' son), and to chase the dictator to Rome, where she stayed for the last eighteen months of his life. For this aim, too, she enslaved Antony, and succeeded in obtaining from him most of the territory once governed by the Ptolemies. Volkmann well stresses, however, that this was a realistic, sensible decision by Antony, and by no means contrary to the traditional Roman techniques of frontier-defence in the East.

The most considerable problem faced by the biographer of Cleopatra is the evaluation of the literary evidence. Through the influence of the princeps, a chauvinistic version of Rome's dealings with her was established in the Augustan age. As a result, little is known of Julius' affair with the queen, whilst every possible ramification of her dominance of Antony was publicized. In particular the accounts of Plutarch and Dio Cassius are full of extravagant and improbable detail. Volkmann is perhaps too Timaeus-like in his re-production of such picturesque content, as in his account of how Cleopatra entertained Antony at Tarsus and expended one talent per guest on roses, with which she had the floor covered to the depth of a cubit.

One might have wished for some citation of sources in passages where the author's interpretation is speculative. The maps are somewhat illegible ; there is no index. Such defects are infuriating in a work of a specialist ; especially as the translator, Dr Cadoux of Edinburgh, has obviously spent much time and care on the revision of the German version. The English reads admirably.

P. G. Walsh

THE DESPOTATE OF EPIROS. By Donald M. Nicol. Oxford : Basil Blackwell. 1957. Pp. xii + 251. 32s.

DR NICOL'S book makes available in English to students of Byzantine history and to the general public the achievements of more than two generations of research on the history of the little-known thirteenth century kingdom (Despotate) of Epiros. A natural result of that historical fiasco known as the Fourth Crusade, whose capture of Constantinople in 1204 was a major factor in breaking the power of the Byzantine Empire to resist the infidel, was the emergence of a violent Greek resistance, both national and religious, against the Latin invaders. Moreover, the disunity and greed of the Crusaders, evident from the beginning, allowed the consolidation of this resistance in many areas of the Empire of which two were to be of crucial importance in leading the Greek efforts to dislodge the invaders and restore the Empire by the recapture of its capital. The first of these, the area of North-West Turkey, was organized and defended against the Latins by Theodore Lascaris, a son-in-law of the ex-Emperor Alexios III. The story of his kingdom of Nicaea which was fated finally to restore the ancient empire in the year 1261 has been well told by Alice Gardner in her book, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (1912). The other kingdom was founded in his ancestral province of North-West Greece, traditionally called Epiros, by Michael, son of John Angelos, who was a grandson of the Emperor Alexios I. It is the story of this principality or 'despotate' which Dr Nicol has chosen to relate, a story to which he himself has made not insignificant contributions, thus giving us a companion volume worthy to stand beside that of Miss Gardner.

The contemporary historians Nicetas Acominatos and George Acropolites were both friends and supporters of the Lascarids of Nicàea and they either ignore or depreciate the successes of Michael against his Latin and Venetian enemies, not admitting that the efforts towards autonomy of the Western Greeks were just as genuine and no more burdened with self-seeking than their own. Thus Michael's major advance from Epiros into Thessaly before his death, which was probably in 1215, and his capture of Durazzo and Corfu are practically ignored. Michael's policy of appointing bishops independently of Nicaea to the sees in these newly-liberated areas had clearly not only ecclesiastical but also strong political repercussions. Michael was succeeded by his half-brother Theodore who considerably enlarged the bounds of the Despotate in Thessaly and to the north and crowned his successes by taking Thessalonice in 1224. He was crowned Emperor at Thessalonice in the following year by the Archbishop of Ochrida, thus making the breach with Nicaea formal and absolute. In 1230 Theodore marched on Constantinople with every prospect of success but inexplicably turned aside to deal with the Bulgarians only to suffer a disastrous defeat and be taken prisoner. The fallen fortunes of the Despotate were however later restored by Michael II, son of Michael I. Michael II struggled with varying degrees of success in a veritable see-saw of fortune and misfortune against the successive Emperors of Nicaea, John Vatatzes, Theodore II Lascaris and Michael Palaeologos. The struggle raged over and about the many towns and fortresses in the large area north and east of Epiros, from Durazzo to Thessalonice. The battle of Pelagonia in 1259 brought an end to the Epirot hopes of final success. Two years later, as though

by chance, Constantinople was taken by a general of Nicaea and the long-enfeebled Latin Empire of ' Roumania ' reached its close.

For a round half-century the twin Greek sister-kingdoms of Epiros and Nicaea, although one in faith, one in culture, and one in their common political aim, had struggled nearly as much against each other as they had against their common western foe. And yet the circumstances of their first emergence as national movements of resistance make their independent development and consolidation only too intelligible while their later estrangement and hostility can be paralleled in most of the national resistance movements during and after the last world war. The political claims to the succession of the dismembered Empire were nearly equal on both sides. The advantage here lay, if anywhere, on the side of the Despotate, while the ecclesiastical primacy lay, but again irregularly, rather on the side of Nicaea.

Dr Nicol displays a rare historical sensitivity in deducing unevidenced political clashes and actual historical events from attested ecclesiastical friction. Besides the regular historians he uses skilfully the correspondence of the bishops of Ochrida, Corfu, Naupactos and Athens together with that of the various patriarchs of Nicaea. He draws freely upon the recently published archaeological material from Epiros, mainly that derived from churches, coins, and seals. It is chiefly as a result of using this new material and the work of many modern scholars thereon that he advances on a much more assured chronological front than does Miss Gardner in her history of the Lascarids. Often enough still, particular events may drift about within a period of years but for the most part one feels that even the discovery of new information would leave little to change. It is safe to assert that Dr Nicol has at last redressed the balance between the two succession kingdoms of Nicaea and Epiros and righted the injustice done to Epiros by the historians of the East whether by omission or by misrepresentation. He demonstrates that the claims of Epiros to primacy were neither unjustified nor incapable of realization and that the culture and learning of men such as John Apokaukos, Chomatenos or Bardanes had no cause to blush before that of Blemmydes, Acropolites, or the patriarch Germanos.

In a wider historical, or rather geographical field, much light is thrown on the peripheral Asiatic and European powers who impinge sometimes superficially, sometimes more deeply on the Greek scene, on the Turks and Tartars in Asia Minor, on Albanian chieftains, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Russian kings and princes, and in the west, on the Popes and Emperors and the feudal kings and nobles of Europe. There are fascinating studies in the modalities of patriarchal and papal discipline, in the differing relationships of Church and State in the east and the west, and on the contemporary methods of persuasion, ranging from theological subtleties and marriage alliances on the one hand, to blinding and plain murder on the other. The work contains many useful appendices, a map of Greece, a full bibliography, genealogical tables, a topography of the Despotate, and an excellent index.

J. J. Tierney

THE TICHBORNE CLAIMANT: A VICTORIAN MYSTERY. By Douglas Woodruff. London: Hollis and Carter. Pp. xx+479. 30s.

THE celebrity of the Tichborne lawsuits, civil and criminal, and the extensive interest aroused by Mr Woodruff's book have ensured that the basic issues of this case are well-known. The story unfolds like a Comedy of Manners. Act I—a love-affair thwarted by the girl's parents, whereupon the hero, Roger Tichborne, sails away and is reported drowned off S. America in 1854; Act II finds the Claimant, eleven years later, labouring at a servile occupation (butchering) in a foreign land (Wagga Wagga, Australia), which he leaves to reclaim his ancestral estates; but Act III, which should have contained the Recognition by ring or other token, dragged on until 1874, when Castro was adjudged to be a Wapping butcher called Arthur Orton and sentenced to fourteen years for perjury. The merit of this fresh review of the mystery is that Mr Woodruff eschews a predetermined attitude in his presentation of the evidence (unlike Lord Maugham's *The Tichborne Case*, where the initial supposition is that the Claimant was 'guilty as Hell'). There is also much new documentation from family and legal sources, which makes this now the definitive monograph on the case.

The conclusion which Mr Woodruff would have us draw is that the common identification of the Claimant with Arthur Orton rests on very tenuous evidence, and that the Claimant's own story (in a Mr Lustgarten's words) 'incredible if it was true, was yet more incredible if it was false'. It is certainly beyond dispute that he had an extensive knowledge of the country and personalities near Tichborne Park. He conversed knowledgeably on Hampshire hunting-lore, convinced former servants of Tichborne Hall of his claim, and amongst other successful 'converts' he numbered the family doctor, the family solicitor and a local vendor of fishing-tackle from whom he bought the same out-dated flies as Roger had bought. The tenant at Tichborne Hall, Colonel Lushington, was also persuaded by the Claimant's detailed knowledge of the house and its contents.

On the other hand, one must weigh the Claimant's abysmal ignorance of the events of Roger's life outside of Hampshire. Roger had been brought up in France up to the age of sixteen, and could speak and write English only with difficulty; even at the age of twenty, according to the testimony of fellow-officers in the Carabineers, he perpetrated such sentences as 'Will you profit by the fine time to make a promenade?'. Yet the Claimant in 1866 could not hold the simplest conversation in French! Again, when questioned on his life at Stonyhurst, where Roger spent three years as a Philosopher, learning Latin, Greek and Hebrew, the Claimant evinced no accurate knowledge of buildings and contemporaries, had no idea what mathematics was, looked at a text of Virgil and pronounced it to be Greek, could not recite any of the Greek alphabet or explain how Hebrew is read, and thought *Laus Deo Semper* meant 'The Laws of God for ever'. When questioned about his army service, he stated that he had been a private for a few days, whereas Roger was commissioned for a period of three years.

These large areas of ignorance are surely the vital feature of the case; how could a genuine claimant have remembered the minutest details of one

facet of his life and remain completely unaware of the rest? The inference must be (if Mr Woodruff will forgive such a *sus Minervam* observation) that the Claimant could not possibly be Roger, but someone conversant only with Roger's life at Tichborne Hall. (Hence the speculations, unsupportable by concrete evidence, that he was an illegitimate Tichborne—a view to which Coleridge, who contested the claim on the family's behalf in the civil action, was attracted.) Beside this evidence, all the investigations made in Chile and Australia are quite insignificant, their sole value lying in the demonstration that a high proportion of mankind, when exposed to skilful suggestion, will swear to the truth of the haziest impressions and inferences.

Whoever the Claimant was, and in spite of his lies and indiscretions, he is shown in Mr Woodruff's pages to be an attractive, talented and utterly unfathomable character. In Wagga Wagga we first encounter him with all his upper front teeth missing, ' dirty enough both in person and dress even for a colonial butcher '. He had married an Irish servant-girl, inevitably called Mary Ann, who had an illegitimate child. He was quite illiterate ; curiously enough, his letters contain misspellings identical with Arthur Orton's idiosyncratic versions—' have wrote ', ' anythink ', ' has ' for ' as ', ' fue ' for ' few ', ' ware ' for ' where ', ' receved ', ' over a hundred pound ', and so on. Yet by the time of his imprisonment he was writing virtually error-free letters, and there was a dignity about his deportment which suggests, as Mr Woodruff claims, a return to civilized manners rather than the fumbling adoption of them.

This book has, of course, a wider significance than the miscarriage of justice in an isolated case. It affords fascinating glimpses of the social life of Victorian England—the background of religious controversy whipped up by Kenealy, the Claimant's counsel, a fanatical anti-Jesuit pantheist from (guess where?) Cork ; the procedure in the law-courts, revealing how biased English justice could be ; the horrifying conditions of prison-life ; the speculative banking-houses, which went bankrupt in their scores through over-lending ; the press in its support of the Establishment, and the extraordinary success of Kenealy's new weekly, *The Englishman,* which defended the Claimant and attacked the Queen, Judiciary, Government, Catholic Church and Jesuits. Readers of *The Tablet* will need no assurance of the liveliness and lucidity of style in this fascinating and important book.

P. G. Walsh

PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

SPECULATION IN PRE-CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Richard Kroner. London : Longmans Green & Co. 1957. Pp. xiv + 276. 16s.

This volume is the first of a trilogy designed to cover the history of philosophy, ancient, medieval and modern. It is not like ordinary history of philosophy for it is written quite frankly to a thesis. In a sense all history of philosophy—and all history—is written to a thesis because it is seen inevitably in a perspective

chosen by, or forced upon, the author. A Thomist and a Hegelian will make different sense of the development of thought but may possibly agree that complete objectivity is a chimera. Dr Korner's ' perspective ' is more specific. He sees philosophy develop out of the interaction of two factors which he terms ' speculation ' and ' revelation '. ' Speculation ' has generally managed to monopolize the name of philosophy, the intellectual adventure of mankind ; but ' revelation ', the ' quasi-inspirational element ' in this adventure, must not be neglected. Thought is advanced by the ' prophets ' no less than by the ' metaphysicians '. Broadly the advance is in three stages. There is the Greek period when thought developed in ignorance of Biblical revelation, before the first words of *Genesis* shattered the unity of the Greek cosmos ; this was followed by a medieval period in which thought developed in dependence upon revelation ; and this, in turn, gave way to a period in which philosophy rejects Biblical revelation or at least sets it aside as irrelevant, as do contemporary positivism and analytical philosophy. In a word, one could call the periods in the history of philosophy the aesthetic, the religious and the scientific or even the Greek, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. Within each of these periods Dr Kroner proposes to study in detail the interaction of ' speculation ' and ' revelation '.

Greek philosophy—the subject of the present volume—in its progress from polytheism through pantheism towards monotheism is seen as an extended *preparatio evangelica*. The uneasy balance between inspiration and cogitation is seen in such figures as Heraclitus and Parmenides. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the pre-Socratics should take up so much of the story, for their thought must be pieced together from fragments of their writing ' as riddlesome as the problem of time which . . . has provided so many penetrating theories and has withstood them all in its abysmal profundity ' (p. 83). Still, Dr Kroner can be very illuminating. One commends to our own times remarks like this : ' Empedocles and Anaxagoras had considerably narrowed down the horizon of philosophy ; the Atomists curtailed it even more, hardly answering any metaphysical question, a costly price to pay for the accuracy and mathematical exactitude now made the measure and norm of truth and knowledge ' (p. 132).

The chapter on Socrates gives an engaging picture of that almost evangelical personality. Yet, although one may instructively compare the ethical teaching of Socrates with that of Jesus, the parallel should not be strained—as it seems to be when it is suggested that ' as the disciples obeyed the last will of their Lord to go into the whole world and to teach all peoples, so Plato obeyed the last will of Socrates, as he understood it, i.e. by thinking out the ideal constitution and by going to Sicily and trying to establish the ideal state there ' (pp. 163-4).

The chapters on Plato and Aristotle are selective and make demands upon the reader. Plato's transformation of the ethical ideas of Socrates into an ontological doctrine or the summary of the main themes of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* presuppose—legitimately—a wider knowledge of these thinkers than Dr Kroner can supply in this book. He reminds us usefully that Aristotle is more typically Greek than Plato. Aristotle has been so long ' canonized ' that

one tends to regard him as practically a scholastic and to banish Plato with the other pagans. As well as being unhistorical, this would show lack of appreciation of Greek philosophy. For Aristotle is the philosopher and Plato is the seer, the mystic ; and it is speculation rather than inspiration that finally characterizes Greek thought. In Aristotle speculation reaches its consummation ; but it is precisely at the highest pitch of thought, in his theology, that the deficiencies of Aristotle are most apparent. His *Metaphysics* leads us to the threshold of a mystery that only revelation can unveil—but revelation is more congenial to the Platonic cast of mind. Between them Plato and Aristotle epitomize the approaches to philosophy. Raphael has represented them in his painting of the School of Athens. And everyone, as Coleridge said, is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian. But even the formidable combination of Plato and Aristotle is not enough ; Dante's Virgil, when he describes the inadequacy of the human mind to attain to the great truths of God, is explicit—'*io dico d'Aristotele e di Plato*' (*Purg.* III, 43). So, once again, philosophy prepares for the Bible.

After this account of Plato and Aristotle Dr Kroner's final chapter on Stoicism, with a couple of pages on Philo the Jew, comes as something of an anticlimax. The neo-Platonists will, doubtless, find their place in the second volume ; but one wonders why, if Stoicism is included, Epicureanism and Scepticism are omitted in this. One looks forward to the remaining volumes as the real test of Dr Kroner's thesis. Will his discovery of speculation and revelation in medieval and modern philosophy prove to be like the conflict of Eros and Agape that Nygren professed to find running through all Church history ?

M. B. Crowe

LE PROBLÈME DE DIEU EN PHILOSOPHIE DE LA RELIGION. By Henry Duméry. In collect. 'Textes et études philosophiques'. Paris : Desclée de Brouwer. 1957. Pp. 144.

This book is one of a series in which M. Duméry has undertaken a study of the problems raised by the philosophy of religion. It is concerned with the existence of God and the nature of our knowledge of God. Although the theme is perennial, the treatment here derives freshness both from the background of philosophy of religion against which it is viewed and from the principles which direct the discussion. The result is an original synthesis—the depth of the author's penetration carries him beyond any mere eclecticism—of Husserlian critique and Neo-Platonic metaphysics. This synthesis should provoke valuable discussion : although it opens up a way that many will hesitate to follow, it has the innate value of serious constructive philosophy.

The central argument of the book rejects a solution of the problem of God through *a posteriori* demonstration in favour of a solution through phenomenological reduction. The *a posteriori* demonstration, which depends upon conceptualization with its attendant system-building, can yield only an abstract God, deprived of transcendence and divorced from life. Phenomenological reduction, on the other hand, discovers the true God actively present in the

life of the spirit. Hence the importance of training the light of reflection on concrete religious experience. The four chapters mark the stages in the argument. The first chapter criticizes the God of the philosophers and the methods by which this abstraction is invented. The second chapter shows how the reduction may be accomplished and offers a refutation of objections. The third chapter opts for a neo-Platonic metaphysics of the One and the many, called ' hénologie ', as more appropriate to the study of the living God than a metaphysics of being, or ontology. The last chapter deals with the attributes of God, and defends the general position against a charge of agnosticism.

The argument, then, presents two aspects : one negative, or critical, the other positive, or constructive. The critique of *a posteriori* demonstration suffers from an ambiguity that can be traced back to a more fundamental ambiguity implicit in the author's interpretation of conceptual thinking. The projection of a univocally structured mathematical order of concepts into reality is the abuse of Rationalism, which merits the author's censure : the formation of an analogically structured order of concepts in immediate dependence upon the real is a possibility that he leaves undiscussed. He will not have faced up to the alternative to his own view which *a posteriori* demonstration presents until he has recognized that analogy is not simply a ' *notion rapportée* ' (p. 86) or ' *redressement opportun* ' (p. 98), but the essential structure of this approach, and that it may perhaps explain the possibility of a limited mind's fidelity to the complexity of the real.

In the work of positive construction, the author proposes a reduction in four stages that justifies the affirmation of God. The first two stages repeat the eidetic and transcendental reductions of Husserl. The third stage, which has a basis in Husserl also, passes from the level of the transcendental self in its intentional relation to the world to the deeper level of the creative intuition, where man is discovered as the creator of a system of essences, or determinations. A system of essences, however, constitutes a plurality that implies a plurality of subjects, and calls for the final reduction—not found in Husserl—which justifies the affirmation of the ultimate unity which is God, the One.

The section in which the reduction is described provides the most difficult reading in the book. I am not at all clear about the meaning of the reduction, especially in its final stage. Is this fourth reduction essentially a reflection upon the plurality that discovers in the plurality the ground for the affirmation of a higher unity? In this case I feel that we must ultimately interpret it in the sense of *a posteriori* demonstration. In fact there is something more involved. For the recognition of the plurality seems simply to serve the reflection on the creative intuition, in which the presence of God is somehow detected.

' *En tout cela, rien de formel ni d'abstrait : la réduction n'est autre que l'exigence spirituelle. Quand on lui présente des produits de pensée, elle y détecte aussitôt la pensée comme productive ; et quand on lui présente celle-ci, elle y détecte une impureté, une multiplicité, d'où la nécessité de reconnaître, au sein de cette production, un acte plus radical, rigoureusement un, rigoureusement pur. . . . Ainsi comprise, la réduction révèle dans la conscience une énergie capable de franchir toute détermination en tant que telle* '. (p. 62, note 1 contd. from p. 61). We have here an act, or energy, present in the creative intuition. This act is God. Now, either this act is not apprehended

in itself, in which case its presence can only be known *a posteriori ;* or else it is apprehended in itself, in which case I do not see how Ontologism can be avoided. Admittedly the author rejects both these interpretations. There is a tension in his thought : but is that tension really the sign of a deeper contradiction? My own feeling is that the interpretation of the spontaneity of thought in terms of a creative intuition of essences has already conferred something divine upon the mind. This activity alone is directly apprehended in the reductive reflection. Insofar, then, as it has been divinized, it reveals the presence of God ; but insofar as it remains the activity of a creature, which terminates in the production of the imperfect objects of a human thought, nothing beyond the creature is directly apprehended. '. . . . *connaître Dieu, c'est se savoir esprit, et esprit dépendant* '. (p. 115). If this is so, not only the author's proof, but also his view of religion, will require modification (cf. p. 112).

A somewhat similar difficulty arises if we consider the reduction from the point of view of its critical intention. ' *Il* (*le mouvement de réduction*) *a pris le départ dans un bout tout cartésien : trouver un indubitable, qui ne peut être également que nécessaire et absolu. Réduire consistera donc à dépister le douteux, à déceler le dépendant, le relatif, le contingent* '. (p. 52). But if the movement of reduction terminates in the affirmation of God, this affirmation would seem to be the first principle of knowledge *quoad nos*. Thus we are led back again in the direction of Ontologism.

Turning now to the later sections of the book, we find that the rejection of analogy in the critique of the method of demonstration has its metaphysical counterpart in the rejection of the transcendental range of being. As we have just seen, the reduction remains in the Cartesian line, which attributes primacy over being to the *Cogito*. Being is thus confined to the level of the *Cogito* because its measure is an intelligibility that is relative to the *Cogito*. It is not strange that a philosopher, so acutely conscious of the Divine transcendence as the author, should wish to break through the order of clear and distinct ideas ; but within the framework of his philosophy this is not possible unless he effects a separation between God and being. Being is thus equivocal, for although we must continue to say that God exists, we may no longer say that He is being (not that He is less, but that He is more). Whereas, then, the tendency earlier seemed to be towards Ontologism, it now seems to be towards agnosticism—further evidence, perhaps, of that tension to which I referred above. The discussion of agnosticism is weak, though I should add that the author explicitly declares that he has no intention of giving any more than an outline of his position.

Apart from his extremely gross interpretation of creation as conceived in a philosophy of being, which defenders of such a philosophy would reject for its contradictions, the author seems to have overlooked the metaphysical distinction between *esse* and *agere* in the creature. The relation between the Divine energy and the creative intuition, which served earlier as the pivot of the reduction, may contain more than one ambiguity. (cf. pp. 97-98).

I began by pointing out that this book is one in a series, and I should conclude by acknowledging that my criticisms have been based upon my reading of this book only. No doubt they would require some modification in the light

of the author's work as a whole. Nor do they detract from my admiration for M. Duméry as a penetrating and constructive philosopher.

DESMOND CONNELL

MARITAIN ON THE NATURE OF MAN IN A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY. By Norah Willis Michener, Ph.D. Hull, Canada : Editions l'Eclair. 1955. 4.25 doll.

MARITAIN has long been the dominant figure in neo-scholastic philosophy. Others may compare with him—or even surpass him—in this or that particular field ; but no one has made the same impact on the public mind. For better or worse the popular mind identifies him with modern Thomistic philosophy. And this is a good reason for welcoming the present careful study of his social and political thought.

The first chapter studies the early formative influences in the life of Maritain and presents much interesting biographical detail. It deals with his friendship with Psichari, the grandson of Renan ; with his studies under Lévy-Bruhl and Durkheim at the Sorbonne ; with his marriage to Raïssa Oumansoff ; with their mutual—and unlikely—interest in Spinoza and Nietzsche; their acquaintance with Charles Péguy ; their going together to the lectures of Bergson at the Collège de France ; their conversion and Baptism, with Léon Bloy as godfather ; their sojourns at the Heidelberg of Hans Driesch and Windelband. Maritain went to Heidelberg '*déjà thomiste*'. He returned, in 1908, with his mind fully made up. Thomism was hardly a popular choice in that decade of anticlericalism, nor one that could be expected to further a teaching career. But Maritain's conviction of his intellectual vocation was absolute—*vae mihi*, he wrote, *si non thomistizavero !* His career bears witness to his following of that vocation. An event in whose appropriateness he rejoiced was his reception of his *bonnet doctoral* not from any State University but from the Church.

The second chapter considers the immense influence of Bergson on Maritain. While giving Bergson full credit for routing scientism and saving the day for metaphysics and theology, Maritain found himself unable to accept many of Bergson's views. Above all he rejected Bergson's practical reduction of being to becoming. Bergson, in Maritain's opinion, had raised expectations of a metaphysic that he could not fulfil, and his philosophy was incapable of sustaining a morality. Maritain found the metaphysic he required in St Thomas ; not, he remarked, that he chose this system as one might choose a pair of shoes that fitted, but because Thomism provides the only foundation for the dignity and the rights of man.

The following chapters take up the challenge of this last statement in considering Maritain's teaching on the person as rational (ch. 3) as free (ch. 4) and as social (ch. 5). The views for which he has campaigned so long and so successfully are here—the distinction between the individual and the person (with all that he makes depend upon it), the relationship between philosophy and theology, the concept of ' being ' and the ' existentialism ' of Thomism, philosophy as science and philosophy as wisdom, community and society,

sovereignty and authority, Church and State—views which he makes converge in a conception of Christian democracy that is personal, communal, pluralist and theocentric.

It should be clear that Dr Michener has cast her net very wide in the works of Maritain of which she has an extensive and accurate knowledge. Nevertheless her book is less useful than it might have been. One makes allowances for the adulatory style ; Maritain appears as the great prophet whose being has been touched by the burning wing (the phrase is his own and is cited twice with evident relish by Dr Michener). One finds the subdivision of the chapters into sections, often no more than a paragraph or two in extent, slightly distracting. A more serious defect is Dr Michener's unsure handling of St Thomas ; he is never quoted directly and one important passage, on the natural law (p. 72), is inaccurately paraphrased. The radical defect of the work is that it is too much a mosaic of snippets from Maritain's writings and too little a discussion of what they mean.

Maritain is a very subtle thinker who has found it necessary to develop a rather personal terminology to express his insights. Some of his well-known distinctions, that between individual and person for example, have been refined to a degree under pressure of criticism and misunderstanding. Many find this process stimulating ; but some find it infuriating. There is a certain piquancy in a passage, quoted by Dr Michener (p. 54) in this connection, in which Bergson speaks like a rather pedantic Humpty-Dumpty : ' One may give words whatever connotation one likes, provided one begins by defining that meaning '. But whatever one's reaction to Maritain's subtlety and elusiveness a more penetrating study is required than this book provides. The main difficulties of Maritain's position are stated (in his own words and frequently in French) rather than examined. And the exposition raises at least one serious difficulty of which Dr Michener seems not to be aware, namely that of deciding whether the common good of society includes supra-terrestrial values (p. 93) or is confined to the temporal (p. 98).

To make these criticisms is only to judge Dr Michener by her own high standards—she writes ' for serious students of philosophy ' (p. 3). The real value of her work lies in its well-documented approach to Maritain ; and if it sends us to Maritain's own works it has done the essential task of an Introduction.

M. B. Crowe

EXISTE-T-IL UNE PHILOSOPHIE CHRÉTIENNE ? By M. Nedoncelle.
LE DIEU DES PHILOSOPHES ET DES SAVANTS. By Régis Jolivet.
POUSSIÈRE VIVANTE. By René Biot.
SPIRITUELS ET MYSTIQUES DES PREMIERS TEMPS. By F. Cayré.
L'ÉGLISE ET L'ÉTAT. UN PROBLÈME PERMANENT. By E. Beau de Loménie.
BRÈVE HISTOIRE DES HÉRÉSIES. By Canon Cristiani.
Parts 10, 15, 32, 39, 88 and 136 respectively of JE SAIS—JE CROIS. Encyclopédie du Catholique au XXème Siècle. Directed by Daniel-Rops. Librairie Arthème Fayard : Paris. Each volume 300 francs.

M. DANIEL-ROPS, that Academician of enormous zeal, has fathered another magnificent Catholic literary effort. This Encyclopaedia for the twentieth-century Catholic, of which the first volume came from M. Daniel-Rops' own pen in April 1956, is to appear in one hundred and fifty volumes over the course of seven years, and is to cover every approach to the Christian faith. If one can judge by the rhythm and quality of the volumes which have appeared to date, that promise is not extravagant.

Canon Nedoncelle treats the problem which agitated continental Catholics in the twenties and thirties : how can a Catholic philosopher pretend to search for a truth which he believes he already possesses ? Is a Christian philosophy possible—and if not, have we not raised the only draw-bridge by which non-believers may cross to a rational acceptance, first of the existence of God, then of the possibility of revelation ? The problem is nodal to any Christian apologetic. Canon Nedoncelle has summarized Christian tradition in one chapter, the contemporary debate in a second, and in the third gives his own conclusions : a remarkably complete and able presentation of the problem, of value even to those who find that the author understates the competence of philosophy to reach firm and absolute conclusions.

M. Jolivet deals with another of the preliminaries of faith ; he proves the possibility of a natural theology and suggests its outlines. He is a child of this century in his insistence on the transcendence of God, who is not an object terminating a course of reasoning, but a necessary hypothesis, without which everything would become absurd. Like St Thomas, M. Jolivet prefers to call the traditional arguments ' ways ' than ' proofs '. But there is no existential fluffiness about his exposition of these ' ways ', or his critique of Kant, Brunschwicg, Le Roy and Sartre. Potted philosophy, but of a high order.

Dr René Biot, who has a special knowledge of the limits and interrelationships of the organic and the inorganic and of matter and spirit, offers a guide to these frontier regions in *Poussière Vivante*. He examines the human body from its chemical basis through the growing perfections of its vegetative and sensitive functions to the point at which the rational soul is ready to share in the supernatural life of God. He ends with a plea for a human medicine, which will recognize the existence of even higher values than life and health. His arguments have a terrible topicality. Those who read the book or saw the film *Not as a Stranger,* will remember that intense assertion of life itself as the supreme value for medicine. That way lies the jungle.

Père Cayré, the eminent patrologist, deals with the Fathers of the Church, not so much as witnesses to Catholic doctrine, but as masters of the spiritual life, men possessed by the Holy Ghost, and intent on spreading the life of the Spirit, whether as pastors, preachers, teachers, ascetics, or mystics in the strict sense.

L'Église et l'État is a history of the relations between Church and State, starting with the Gospel and ending with a reference to Adenauer's Germany. M. de Loménie has potted his history with less success than M. Jolivet his philosophy, and for a work of reference, his work bears too clearly the stamp of his own nationality.

Canon Cristiani, the great historian of the Protestant Reformation, has had to sacrifice almost everything to brevity in his summary history of heresies.

By a masterly arrangement of material, he has produced a handy work of reference, but one which, most of all the volumes noticed here, feels the need of an index.

Of its nature this encyclopaedia will be uneven in quality. Some authors, such as Père Cayré, will command our fullest confidence, however much they may simplify and generalize regarding their own material. One may hope that the translators (for the volumes are being translated as they appear) will look to three imperfections in the first French edition. One is the seemingly unwitting chauvinism of some authors. When Dr Biot refers to ' le Maître lui-même de la physiologie moderne ' without explaining that he means Claude Bernard ; when M. Jolivet, in a list of the world's greatest philosophers, caps Plato, Aristotle, Augustine and Aquinas, with Descartes, Malebranche, Bergson and Lavelle ; and when M. de Loménie views the struggle of the Empire and the Papacy from a position too obviously west of the Rhine ; one feels that their work will sit awkwardly in another language and culture.

Secondly, one must wait seven years and expend about £42 before acquiring an index to any part of the encyclopædia—the index will constitute volume 150. And thirdly, by that time the attractive but flimsily glued covers of the French volumes will have fallen off and made one look for a more durable binding.

PAUL ANDREWS

GOVERNMENT BY COMMITTEE. An essay on the British Constitution. By K. C. Wheare, F.B.A. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1955. Pp. 264. 25s.

ONE of the indexes of this book catalogues the names of the committees which are described or alluded to in its nine chapters. The list fills three and a half double-column pages of small print and does not claim to be an exhaustive inventory of those groups of citizens who participate by advice, inquiry, negotiation, etc., in the work of British government, central and local. There are certainly hundreds, perhaps thousands, of such bodies, called by various names, e.g., panels, councils, working parties, as well as committees. Indeed, committee-work, whether associated with government or with business, sport, or culture, seems to be an inveterate British habit. Bodies for group action (or inaction) have so proliferated that our British neighbours have become self-conscious about them. A symptom of this was the adoption of the term ' working-party ' as a synonym (or, should we say euphemism ?) for certain kinds of committees set up at the end of the war.

It is no wonder, then, that the committee-habit has come to play such an important part in the functioning of British democracy. The sub-title of the present work will at first cause Irish readers some perplexity. The reason is that, whereas our twenty-years-old Constitution is a brief, legal document, laconically outlining the chief organs of government and making little or no allusion to committees, the ' unwritten ' Constitution of Great Britain is an extraordinary combination of statutes, case-law, tradition, customs, institutions and tacit understandings which has grown up haphazardly, as it were, over the centuries, and elements of which occur in such unexpected ways and places

as those described in the present book. A considerable part of that vast and diversified governmental usage consists in group action by citizens most of whom have no official status in parliament or bureaucracy. So considerable, indeed, is the part played by committee work that, in Mr Wheare's opinion, the epithet ' government by committee ' deserves to rank side by side with ' cabinet government ', or ' party government ' or ' constitutional monarchy ' as a short, apt description of the British form of political rule.

In his account of this hitherto undescribed sphere of British Government, Mr Wheare claims to have done no more than provide an aerial sketch-map, leaving the details to be filled in by future investigators. That, I think, is an unduly modest estimate of his achievement. The author's detailed knowledge of his subject is impressive and his method of organizing and presenting his somewhat intractable material is novel and effective. Having classified the committees under six headings (committees to inquire, to advise, to negotiate, to legislate, to administer, and to scrutinize and control), he is confronted with the task of comparing and appraising groups which vary enormously in function and composition. This he does by singling out the types or roles or ' characters ', as he calls them, which commonly figure on committees. These are the official, the expert, the layman, the party man, the interested party, the secretary and the chairman. The delineation of each of these characters is the subject-matter of Chapter Two, surely the most fascinating in the book. The six chapters which follow deal with the six types of committee named above, and describe the function in each of them of the various characters of Chapter Two. All this is preceded by an introductory chapter, defining terms and setting out the criteria by which the success or failure of committees may be measured. And a final chapter gives certain ' observations ' which the author is too modest to call conclusions. In general, the manner of the book is analytical and descriptive rather than normative. But in several places, besides the concluding chapter, valuable counsel, firmly based on experience, is proferred.

' Government by Committee ' is of interest mainly for students of political science and administration, though, as a well-wrought essay in political sociology, it merits a wider public. It should be of particular value to those who select the members of government commissions as well as to the members themselves. Naturally, the book will make demands upon the perseverance of the non-specialist reader though the going is eased considerably by its orderly plan and lucid pleasing style, uncluttered by technical jargon.

In 1922 and 1937 we borrowed from the British so many institutions of democratic government that, for a long time to come, it will be profitable for Irishmen to study the operation of those institutions in their native habitat. Three reflections (*inter alia*) occurred to the present reviewer. We are wrong to give way to utter disappointment and even cynicism when valuable reports of governmental commissions appear to be perversely ' shelved ' and ignored. The genuine and legitimate purpose of such commissions is not always or necessarily to get something done immediately. In sober earnest and without a trace of irony, Mr Wheare expounds (Chapter IV, section 8) five other possible aims which government inquiries may have : to educate public opinion, to pacify, to delay, to nullify and to camouflage.

Again, I was interested in the author's observations on the desire, which is widely felt in modern democracies, for some sort of functional or occupational representation, side by side with the existing parliamentary representation on the basis of territory and political party. Our Commission on Vocational Organisation (1943) investigated this need in its Irish setting. In Britain, the author believes, it is catered for by committees to inquire, to advise and to negotiate such as he describes in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

Finally, would that our university men or civil servants (active or retired) or other competent persons would keep us supplied with comparable analyses of the realities, as distinct from the forms, of our own governmental administration.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

RELIGION

THE SOURCES OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. Volume 2, St Luke and St Matthew. By the late Wilfred L. Knox. Edited by H. Chadwick. Cambridge : University Press, 1957. Pp. ix and 170. 21s.

THIS volume, put together from the posthumous papers of Canon Knox by Dr H. Chadwick, completes the analysis of the possible written sources behind the synoptic gospels. The first volume, St Mark, was reviewed in *Studies,* Winter 1953, pp.452–4. Basically, the process used by Knox was the grouping of episodes and discourses into thematic unities, and the demarcation of original units, by applying stylistic and other criteria to the editorial work of the evangelists. Since this method reached behind St Mark and the Collection of Sayings, on which, according to the Two-Sources theory, the gospels of SS Matthew and Luke were based, Knox believed he could indicate, if not reconstruct, a stage of written gospel tradition, which, he held, must have been fixed as early as 40 A.D. It would have taken the form of ' short tracts telling of the ministry of Jesus, such as would be required by individual missionaries sent out by the primitive Christian centres, Jerusalem and Antioch '.

The establishment of such early crystallization of literary sources would of course enhance the reliability of the apostolic testimony. Dr Knox was not intent on apologetics in the ordinary sense, though he felt that his findings called for a revision of the thorough-going scepticism now prevalent in the schools of criticism of which Dr Bultmann is the protagonist. In the epilogue, ' The Problem of Authenticity ' he challenges explicitly the negative views of Bultmann with regard to such fundamental points as the messianic consciousness of Jesus. Here his arguments coincide substantially with the traditional apologetic, which is almost a surprise in view of the original and almost painfully subtle analysis which forms the body of the book. On the whole, however, Knox used the same principles and methods as the critics whom he challenged, and his attitude towards the historicity of the gospels was much the same as theirs, namely, that reliable tradition has survived by accident rather than by

design. The net result is that the substance of the gospels remains rather subjectively defined.

As a close study of the synoptic gospels, the two volumes will be a worthy monument to the learning and acumen of a fine scholar, and every serious student will be grateful to Dr Chadwick for the arduous work of editing which he has accomplished so well.

KEVIN SMYTH

THE EXILIC AGE. By Charles Francis Whitley. London : Longmans Green and Co. 1957. Pp. 160. 16s.

THE age of the exile discussed in this book is the sixth century B.C. In 587 the King of Babylon, Nabuchodonosor, destroyed the city and temple of Jerusalem and deported great numbers of the Jews. To prophet, priest and people it seemed the direst of calamities, when the daily sacrifices ceased, and the sacred chant of Israel was silenced. Shortly before the catastrophe, Jeremias had been uttering his warnings of doom. Ezechias addressed his denunciations, his message of hope and his promise of a new temple, to the exiles. The oracles of the second part of Isaias heralded the return of the people to the holy land, and the revival of the sacred institutions of Israel. The exile was accepted by the prophets as a purgation, but only a temporary break in the march of Israel along its God-given path.

To Dr Whitley, however, the exile appears in a different light, and he interprets the prophets accordingly. In his view, it was precisely at the time when temple, ritual and priesthood could function no more, that the voice of the true spokesmen of God could at last speak out clearly. The seeming catastrophe was a blessing, because it did away with the great obstacles to true spiritual religion, all the material and external forms which seem to him to suppress and distort the free expression of the spirit in its relations to God. When the prophets blamed priests and people for their formalism, they were not merely denouncing a lip-service from which the heart remained estranged. They were breaking through the whole system of law, priesthood and authority to reach the religion of the spirit and truth.

This view of the exilic age and the prophetic message is not shared, as Dr Whitely admits, by many modern scholars. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* a well-informed and well-balanced work, sums up the modern attitude as follows : ' Many of the Liberal assumptions regarding ' lower ' and ' higher ' elements in religion have been discarded before a fresh assessment of the ritual and sacramental (' priestly ') elements of the Bible, which it is no longer considered necessary to depreciate in contrast to the ethical (' prophetic ') strain '. Hence it may safely be said that Dr Whitley's book represents not so much Biblical theology as the true radical Protestant development of it. In the course of his study, he dips into general history with too wide-meshed a net to give a fair sample of its contents, but he offers much careful discussion of debated points in the exegesis of the prophets.

K. SMYTH

PATTERNS IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION. By Mircea Eliade. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. Sheed and Ward : London. 1958. Pp. xv + 484. 25s.

Ever since the author of *Genesis* I, in conscious reaction against his sun-worshipping neighbours, reduced the heavenly bodies to the level of glorified chronometers (' a larger light to rule the day . . .'), Judaeo-Christian tradition has been suspicious of what Professor Eliade calls ' hierophanies '. The term is a central one in his book, and denotes every manifestation of the sacred, the numinous, the awful, the real, the powerful, or the absolute. Almost everything with which man has come in contact, almost every activity of man himself, has been regarded at some time, somewhere, with the awe and reverence due to a hierophany. We have often been too quick to condemn such reverence as superstitious idolatry ; and the author of this book may seem at first to be painfully piecing together the idols which the early Christian missionaries shattered. But until we shed our suspicions, and share Professor Eliade's readiness to read a true, if primitive, religious experience in the most improbable actions and cults, we shall be shut out from the enormous riches of this book.

Not the least achievement of the book is that it escapes completely from the evolutionary preconceptions which have so long dogged the science of comparative religion. Professor Eliade points out that the hypothesis of an evolution in the religious phenomenon, from the simple to the complex, cannot be proved, and in any case distracts attention from his main question : just what things in nature are religious, or have been seen by men as such. He follows a pattern suggested by his vast collection of material. First he studies certain inanimate cosmic hierophanies—sky, water, earth, stones ; then biological hierophanies (the rhythm of the moon, the sun, vegetation and agriculture, sexuality) ; then local hierophanies (consecrated places, temples, etc.) ; and finally myths and symbols.

At every level he asks what these sacred things meant to the men who chose them ; and at every level he sees men's religious experience as an effort to lay hold of the sacred, the real, the absolute, and to escape from the insecurity of time, change, and history.

The word ' revelation ' does not occur in the subject-index, but one is constantly tempted to ask what relation exists, according to the author, between the abundant revelation of the numinous in the visible world, and the unique and explicit revelation which the one true God made of himself in Jesus Christ. The answer, which one can gather from the treatment of the symbolism of Baptism, is satisfying. Christianity, in taking up the great figures and symbols of the nature religions and using them in her sacraments and ritual, has not nullified their power to affect the depths of men's consciousness, but has subordinated that effect to a higher meaning : the symbols are no longer mere hierophanies, but are real channels by which we share in a supernatural life.

Miss Sheed and the publishers deserve our gratitude for the good translation and (despite imperfect proof-reading) handsome presentation of this notable book.

Paul Andrews

GOSPEL MEDITATIONS. By Alfred O'Rahilly. With a foreword by M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. Dublin : Browne and Nolan Limited. 1958. Pp. xv and 286. 18s.

THIS is an unusual book. The library cataloguer will not hesitate about its classification. It belongs to that well-known class of devout literature, the meditation manual. But it is different : it succeeds in avoiding the hazards of dullness, dryness and formality, hazards which claim such a high proportion of victims in this field of writing. This book contains a set number of chapters, a round hundred to be precise : these are approximately of the same length ; and they are entitled ' gospel meditations '. The stage is set for the dead hand to strike, but it never does. You will have to read the book to know why.

One thing is evident. The Christ of this book comes to life in its pages because He has first lived in the mind and heart and prayer of the author. On every page of this volume there is the stamp of sincerity, and throughout it the glow of enthusiasm. Dr O'Rahilly does not write to edify ; he edifies because he wants to write. He has found something, something good, which he wishes to share. He sees constantly from a new angle the treasure of great price, and the flash of that stone is the sparkle which makes this book so fresh, so new.

These gospel meditations are not, thank God, another collection of other folk's pious thoughts. This writer is truly master of his subject. He knows the gospels and the vast literature of gospel study with a comprehensive knowledge, the fruit of years of scholarly and prayerful application. But these are meditations, and the erudition is hidden behind a veil of simplicity and informality, though the writer occasionally lapses into the language of the lecture-room, as for example, when he writes : ' Mary and Joseph did not hear the strains of the first *Gloria.* Their faith did not require physical audition ' (p. 19) ; but these are minor and merely verbal blemishes. What is important is that all through this book massive scholarship is quietly and unobtrusively made to serve a high, but simple purpose—to help us to meditate upon the words and actions of God-made-man.

This is a book full of good things, and it was a singularly happy thought which inspired it. It is, as the Preface informs us, a *praelibatio.* It probably owes much of its attractive simplicity and informality to that fact. It is, one may say without irreverence, and in the strictest sense of the word, spiritual *hors-d'œuvre*, satisfying and exciting, yet stimulating our appetite the more for the foods which Dr O'Rahilly is preparing for us in his great Life of Our Lord.

FRANCIS SHAW

DIRECTING BOYS AND STUDENTS. By Ernest Mackey, S.J. Paterson, New Jersey : St. Anthony Guild Press. 1957. Pp. 201. 21s.

ALONE WITH GOD. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. New York : Joseph F. Wagner. 1956. Pp. 310.

HOLINESS OF THE PRIESTHOOD. By Josef Staudinger, S.J. Translated by John J. Coyne, S.J. Dublin : Clonmore & Reynolds. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1958. Pp. 546. 30s.

IDEALS TO LIVE BY. By Robert Nash, S.J. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. 1958. Pp. 175. 8s. 6d. (Cloth 12s. 6d.)

THE CATHOLIC PRIESTHOOD. By Rt Rev Monsignor Pierre Veuillot. Translated by Rev John A. O'Flynn, L.S.S., in collaboration with Rev P. Birch, D.Ph., and Very Rev G. Canon Mitchell, D.D. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. 1957. 35s.

The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius must be classed high among those seminal writings which never cease to inspire the production of other works based upon or bearing upon them. Here we have four recent publications, each following closely the great lines of the Exercises, but differing greatly in treatment.

Fr Mackey is particularly well qualified to write on the subject of youth guidance. He had nine years of experience in Australian and Irish schools, followed by twenty-five years during which he gave, with outstanding success, numerous retreats to boys in schools in Ireland, England, Scotland and South Africa, as well as to students, lay and clerical, in various universities and seminaries. He has now garnered the fruits of his experience into a compact work which will be of the greatest use to directors of youth. The kernel of the book is a series of twelve key meditations of the Spiritual Exercises, peculiarly suited for boys or students. They are not intended to be given as they stand, but are rather directive and suggestive. They could form the framework for retreats of three or four days, and would also provide matter for longer courses of conferences. But this series of meditations does not come until half way through the book. Whilst Fr Mackey is a firm believer in the efficacy of closed retreats, he emphasizes the fact that the retreat must not be an isolated incident, but must be integrated into the entire school or college life. He provides, therefore, three introductory chapters, one on the aim of youth guidance in producing the Christian mind, another on the place of the retreat in the whole school or college year and a third on the psychology of boyhood. The last chapter and the Conclusion deal with the measures that must be taken to ensure that the fruits of retreats made in adolescent days may be preserved when school life is ended.

Fr Mackey's method of exposition is simple and informal. His aim is to hand on to others what he has learned by experience, and such a heritage is worth more than pages of theorizing about the correct approach to youth problems. The greatest charm of his book lies in the spirit of enthusiasm which prevails in it. Those engaged in youth guidance will be grateful to Fr Mackey for putting before them so constantly and inspiringly two main ideas, the untold value of work for young people and the high ideals to which they can aspire.

Fr Stephen J. Brown's *Alone With God* is a complete series of retreat conferences, which follow exactly the course of the Spiritual Exercises from the *Foundation* to the *Contemplation for obtaining Divine Love*. The conferences are obviously addressed to religious, but others also will find ample and consoling matter in them for meditation or spiritual reading. They are unpretentious

and familiar in style, but they bring home many old truths in fresh ways, and give homely and often shrewdly humorous advice on how to reduce spiritual theory to practice. The author has a gift for illustrative quotation and makes a wide selection from writers old and modern, learned and popular.

Holiness of the Priesthood is a collection of meditations and readings intended specifically for the use of priests. Whilst the order of exposition follows closely that of the Spiritual Exercises, the central theme is the priesthood, with special reference to its sacramental character and to the inner life of the priest. This work is a translation of *Heiliges Priestertum* by Fr Josef Staudinger, who died early this year. He was professor in the episcopal seminary of Klagenfurt, and was a noted writer on religious and ascetical subjects. This is the first of his works to be translated into English, and the translator has done valuable work in introducing to a fresh audience a book which, in its original form, enjoyed a very wide circulation. The doctrine it propounds is solid and profound, and calculated to help priests to relate everything in their lives to the fundamental fact of their priesthood. Though there is nothing startlingly novel in the treatment, the author has the gift of throwing new light on familiar doctrines and relating them to modern problems. The format is attractive. By the use of lightweight paper, over five hundred pages are contained in a handy, pocket-size volume, ideal for the busy priest to have at hand for meditation or spiritual reading.

Fr Nash's latest book is intended, in the main, for laymen and laywomen. ' Indeed ', he says ' the idea of putting these chapters together at all is the result of a letter received from a Catholic lay student extolling the power and genius of the Ignatian Exercises '. The author's aim is to show what a wealth of thought is contained in the meditations which, to the ordinary lay reader, may seem somewhat dry and uninteresting. He does this in a series of informal essays which succeed, to a remarkable degree, in translating the message of the Exercises into the language of everyday life. As in many of his previous books, Fr Nash shows that he has the gift of speaking directly to his readers without speaking down to them, of dealing with spiritual topics in an easy, familiar way which does not take from their sublimity.

It would be almost an impertinence to attempt a formal review of *The Catholic Priesthood,* the able translation by a group of Maynooth professors of the great work *Notre Sacerdoce* by Monsignor Pierre Veuillot, Official of the Papal Secretariate of State, which collects in two volumes (in the translation bound as one) the Papal Documents from St Pius X to Pius XII on the subject of the priesthood. It is obvious that no richer treasury could be made available to priests of the teaching of the Church on this sublime topic. They will find in it inexhaustible material for their own meditation and for the instruction of the faithful on the dignity and functions of the priesthood. The value of the work is enhanced by the provision of complete chronological, canonical, scriptural and analytical indexes.

FERGAL MCGRATH

PRINCIPLES AND PERSUASIONS. By Anthony West. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd. 1958. 21s. Pp. 214.

This is a pleasant and engaging book of considerable value as entertainment but it is unfair to the author (who surely knew what he was doing) to treat it as major criticism. Still, Mr West, I must admit, pontificates ; especially when he writes of books in which human beings, who are unpleasant, do unpleasant things to one another. He is a convinced optimistic humanist who very much dislikes Zola (another battered cockshot), who has his doubts about François Mauriac and who would dislike Graham Greene were it not for one of the novels.

I believe Mr West is wrong in making *The End of the Affair* Greene's masterpiece. His main reason is that the ' negative aspect ' (the superficial pessimism, I presume) that characterizes the other ' Catholic ' novels is absent. Mr Greene's best novels (if I may pontificate in my turn) are *The Power and the Glory* and *Brighton Rock*. In these novels what is communicated is very positive and the positive values are communicated through the ' negative aspect '. Not to see that is to miss the whole point of Greene. The wretched little priest in *The Power and the Glory* is weak on temperance and has to substitute Dutch courage for fortitude when he is shot. This is negative. But his faith is splendidly positive and the whole idea of the novel is to imagine how such faith can survive everything but heresy. The idea around which *Brighton Rock* is built is similar. The contrast between the two pairs, Ida-Phil and Rose-Pinkie, is at the background of the whole story. Ida, who thrives, is a good sort : knowing all about Right and Wrong but nothing about Good and Evil. Miserable and unhappy Rose and the frightful Pinkie, who destroys her, move in a world of faith, of grace and of mortal sin. The important, communicated thing is the contrast and it is positive enough. Greene's fault is elsewhere and it is more obvious in *The End of the Affair* than in the earlier novels.

His method, a legitimate one, is to take a theological idea and work it out imaginatively in the lives of his characters. Thus in *The End of the Affair* he begins from the idea that grace is gratuitous : God saves and sanctifies us without any previous merit of ours. It is St Augustine. Very well, says Greene, let us imagine a pair, in no way meritorious, wallowing in the pig-sty of an ignoble adultery and let us imagine God saving and sanctifying the woman and, through the woman, the man. But, it seems to me, imagination was not quite successful. The theological diagram is too obvious. Moreover, it is the diagram of a seminarian : over-simplified, written out in block capitals in coloured inks. That the heroine should receive the power of miracles is theologically possible but not likely. Artistically it is not even possible. M. Mauriac's more delicate art, imaginatively more integrated, manages this kind of thing far better.

Mr West does not like Mauriac. He sees a connection between the violence with which Mauriac referred to the cult of the Virgin, as practised in France in 1947, and ' the loathing of the female principle that inspires almost every page of his writings '. Mr West suggests that the ' obsession with the horror of feminine sexuality ' calls in question the value of Mauriac's ' often beautifully written work '. This serious charge is based on misunderstanding.

What M. Mauriac attacked was, in the words quoted by Mr West, ' certain

excesses of the Marian cult ' (p. 168). Mauriac's vehemence may sound shocking but his direction was quite sound. Catholics believe that one does not serve Our Lady well by honouring her more than is her due. It has sometimes been found necessary, for instance, to stress that she is *not* more tender hearted than her Son and many zealous parish priests, in France and elsewhere, at the time Mauriac was writing, swept away to the sacristy lofts a multiplicity of statues of the Virgin, each with a different pious title, to make way for one image of the Mother of God. That kind of attitude and action, aimed at quasi-superstitious practices, is not popular in certain Catholic milieus, it may indeed be socially disastrous, but it is not unorthodox.

When he discusses the novels Mr West is on ground even less firm. He strives to define M. Mauriac's intention. That is always a task of great delicacy and requires a more subtle examination of the text than Mr West gives us. It is impossible to say what was the author's intention merely by quoting a few passages in which one of the characters acts or speaks as if ' women are dangerous characters, especially if they are mothers ', or expresses himself brutally when speaking of the sexual practices of a libertine. It is a pity to have to be so obvious but, in his remarks on *La Pharisienne,* Mr West misses the very obvious point that the novel is in the form of a memoir (a device used more than once by Mauriac) set down by one of the characters, a *fictitious* character, long after the events and in extreme old age. Nothing that fictitious character says can be attributed easily or with certainty to M. Mauriac. Mr West gives an incredibly harsh opinion on *Le Baiser au Lepreux* : an adult version of the fable of Beauty and the Beast, imagined powerfully, and told with adult consciousness and deep adult pity. Jean Péloueyre does not die because he married Noémi d'Artiailh. He would have died anyhow of his tuberculosis but now his death is a sacrifice to his devotion to her. The story is one of mutual love triumphing over physical incompatibility and impotence. In *Le Noeud de Vipères* Mauriac has imagined, in the most specific and highly intelligent way, as hideous a family as any he has done. That is no reason for thinking that he cherishes a calvinistic hatred of the human race and all human institutions. By imagining them and seeing them clearly he has judged them or, if you prefer it, ' placed ' them. That placing implies that the right and possible kind of family is quite different. By showing the evil Mauriac implies the good and with more power than if he had dealt with good people directly. But, even more obviously, Louis, the miserly narrator gnawed with hatred, finds his stinginess meaningless and his hatred changing into love. What is more, unlike that of Mme Brigitte in *La Pharisienne,* his conversion is completely credible.

Mr West calls Mauriac ' one of the pillars of the Roman Catholic Church in France '. Whatever that means it should not imply that all French Catholics read him with complacency or at all. He could just as well be called the scourge, the very salutary scourge of the Church, not merely in France but anywhere : a scourge that lashes hypocrisy and smugness in the unlikely places and people where they are found. But there are many who read Mauriac to understand him. They see that, although his novels spin a terrifying cocoon of evil, the evil is shot through with a wondering compassion : an unbearable pity, completely adult and intelligent, next door to love.

JOHN C. KELLY

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Government by the People

by THE MOST REVEREND WILLIAM J. PHILBIN, D.D.

MORE perhaps than on any other theme, Catholic social thinkers have in recent times been insisting on the priority of the individual's rights and responsibilities to those of the State. The experience of totalitarian systems has sharpened our perception of this first principle. We must however recognize the danger that protective emphasis of this kind may mean that less than justice will be done to other aspects of a complex relationship.

The primacy of the individual must not make us seem to apotheosize individualism. Man is a social and political, as well as a rational, animal and full account must be taken of his need of the community and of his consequent duty towards it. Communist and near-Communist movements have found their best recruiting ground in deeply-rooted human instincts to serve society and secure justice for its neglected sections. Making too little of this side of our nature will not prevent its exploitation, but will rather invite this. Our defence of private property, our stress on individual virtues and character as well as our religious appreciation of human personality and of the personal salvation to which it is destined might be so exclusively insisted on as to lead to charges of a sanctified kind of selfishness, comparing badly with an outlook that may seem pleasantly social and altruistic.

It would be a supreme paradox if Christianity were to give grounds for being depicted as the sanctuary of individual selfishness. The whole drift of what might be called the social part of our morality—which occupies nearly as large a space in the New Testament as our relations directly with God—is outward-bearing and benevolent. Help of the needy has been the spontaneous reaction of Christianity to distress at all times. Self-centredness does not accord with the corporate images in which the Church has always thought of its members or with its tendency to form groups and organizations within itself. And it is not only in relation to its own members or to its special ends that it is socially minded—although it would never recognize that any secular association can have prior claims on loyalty to those of the Mystical Body of Christ. The State is given more than reluctant acceptance by Catholic theology : it is recognized to be a necessary society, a perfect society, and its just claims, even upon Christians and even in the unpropitious circumstances of the first centuries, have received full acknowledgment.

Our duty to our fellow-men is not limited to what we may and should do for individuals, greatly as this is insisted on : the organized society which men cannot do without and the government which represents this society have claims on those they serve. The rights of the public authority and the obligation of just laws are rooted in natural morality ; and Christians, even more than others, by reason of the assistance of revelation, should be conscious of what the Natural Law prescribes. Our special precept of fraternal charity points in the same direction, since we benefit the whole community which the State assists by cooperating with the State. This consideration applies more than ever in an age when the welfare of peoples is so largely tied up with their rulers' policies—as is shown for example in the official fostering of industry and in international bargaining on trade and tariffs.

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We must not limit our vision in respect of these trends to the menace of the totalitarian state : we must see that modern developments have, even under private enterprise, made the State more necessary than formerly. Hence, when it discharges its functions justly and does not encroach unduly on the rights of its citizens it is more entitled to-day than in the past to our support. Modern governments are aiding their subjects in many new ways. Obedience and loyalty to the public authority and the goodwill and cooperation that mean much more than compliance with law are nowadays more beneficial to all the community than they were formerly and therefore they should be regarded as more virtuous and more incumbent on conscientious persons.

The democratic character of the institutions under which we are happy to live tends to obscure this important truth and the inferences it points to. An important factor here is the large exactions which all governments make nowadays from their subjects and which lead people to feel that they ought to give nothing beyond what is forced from them ; and one must recognize in this connection a line of reasoning to the effect that undue expenses incurred by the State must result in taxation that is unjust. Democracy also produces an attitude of relaxation and security about public affairs. We seem to assume that because it is the best system of government it is also the easiest to run and the most unlikely to be overthrown. In the fact that everyone is concerned with managing it we may find a guarantee that it will be managed well. We may easily be lulled into complacency and apathy by the good name that democracy has nowadays so universally gained—so universally that even the most deeply-frozen totalitarian systems have found it politic to assume its terminology.

Yet up to comparatively recent times government by the people held the opposite kind of reputation. It was thought to be an experiment, a risk, as even Abraham Lincoln called it. The American Constitution, which we are apt to regard as a sort of Palladium of democracy, was designed in a very different spirit : practically all its composers whose speeches have survived expressed their fears of giving unrestricted power to the multitude. St Thomas observed that democracy in his day ended in dictatorship more often than any other form of government.

In modern times it is not for want of examples that we are unaware of its weaknesses. In one country an executive has admitted that it dared not confront the people with the necessity of re-armament lest it be thrown out of office, and in consequence a great power was left with little or no preparation for its supreme peril—which might never have materialized if it had been recognized in advance. In another nation we have seen the virtual breakdown of the very foundation of community living, which consists in the commonsense recognition that even at the sacrifice of sectional opinion and traditional forms the business of government must be consistently carried on. We have seen democratic regimes violently uprooted from within, sometimes because they were too weak to oppose militant aggression, sometimes because they allowed themselves to be controlled by wicked factions so that conscientious forces organized their overthrow.

If to-day more than ever we owe a duty to the state and if, without making democracy a substitute for religion, we regard it as the best political system, our first duty towards it would seem to be to study its nature, probing its weakness and strength so that we may preserve it and make the most of its possibilities. One may presume, I hope, that, in one form or other, it represents the kind of government which most of us, in common with the civilization to which we belong, regard as the best. It is best in idea because it gives the fullest recognition to the possession by human beings of the equipment, and therefore of the right, to manage their own affairs : all men and not merely a ruling class are endowed with intellect and will, a sense of responsibility and of duty. These considerations are powerfully reinforced by Christianity which therefore may be thought to invite and encourage democratic thinking. Indeed leading authorities on modern democracy, like Bryce, insist that it is a product of our religion.

Democracy is best in practice because it offers the satisfying ideal of fair play for the whole population and usually struggles, whether wisely or not, in this direction. Its risks and failures are less than those arising from dependence on the continued reliability of one man or of a few, and it most perfectly provides, through direct approval, that consent of the governed which is of the essence of just government. It is calculated to draw the best from the whole population by giving them the stimulus

loyalty to Wales and the Welsh language on the one hand and fear of doing something that will prejudice one's career and economic prospects on the other. The appeal of the Welsh language has ceased to be limited to culture. Parents have come to regard it as a potential economic asset to their children, and the fear of frustration once associated with being 'Welsh' and without an adequate command of English is now liable to be associated with a lack of Welsh as well as a lack of English.

In the past a state of bilingualism proved of short duration in parts of Wales where it was achieved. In Welsh industrial communities that became bilingual towards the middle of the nineteenth century, one generation only was more fluent in Welsh than in English. The next generation, educated in English-medium schools, was more fluent in English than in Welsh, and by today, those communities have become monoglot English-speaking. It remains to be seen whether the present bilingualism that is prevalent over half the area of the Principality and in a quarter of its population will prove more stable. In the nineteenth century English was the only language associated with education, status and social advancement. At the present time it appears that the bilingual society to be found in Wales is in the process of developing norms, behaviour patterns and goals that may enable a state of linguistic equilibrium to be achieved in a stable bilingualism and so enable the national language of Wales and the culture that is associated with it to survive.

NOTES

1. This social pattern is described in T. P. Ellis—*Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages* (Oxford1926). The full text of the laws in Welsh and Latin, together with an English translation may be seen in *The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales.*

2. 'An Act for Laws and Justice to be Ministered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm' 1536, usually referred to as 'The Act of Union of England and Wales'.

3. This was a block of wood, attached to a piece of string, to be carried during the school day by a child who had been heard talking Welsh. The child was allowed to pass it on to another child whom he heard speaking Welsh, and the child who carried the block at the end of the school day was given that day's punishment for speaking Welsh. (O. M. Edwards, first Chief Inspector of schools appointed to the Welsh Department of The Board of Education when it was established in 1907, describes how he endured this treatment in his own school-days in his book 'Clych Atgof').

4. I recently heard a group of rural Welsh-speakers discussing the merits of a certain applicant for a local government post in a Welsh speaking area and agreeing that the applicant was too 'Welshy' to be considered although the advertisement for the post stated '—knowledge of Welsh desirable'. The connotation of 'Welshy' in this context may be compared with the connotation given to the word 'peasant' in certain circles.

5. Census Returns present the general pattern of linguistic change in Wales, but their value is limited as no attempt is made to define 'able to speak Welsh' and there is no distinction between those who are *able* to speak Welsh and those who *habitually do* speak Welsh.

6. Conducted by The Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) and reported in *The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales,* H.M.S.O. 1953.

7. Statistical evidence in support of this statement may be seen in a survey of the language of children in Flintshire in 1950, undertaken by Mr Leslie Harries, Organizer of Language Teaching in the county. Out of a total of over 2,000 children from linguistically mixed marriages in which the father was bilingual only 45 could speak Welsh. In the case of the mother having a knowledge of Welsh and the father being monoglot English-speaking, 70 children were bilingual out of a total of 1,561.

8. This can be illustrated by the following example from the report of a local council meeting as it appeared in a local Welsh newspaper (The Welsh Gazette) in 1950 :—

> Mae'r *plans* yma yn *conofformo*. Mae'n rhaid i'r *council* i *apprwvo* nhw. Mae'r dŵr yn *drinkable*. Dylid *connecto* gyda'r *main supply* '.
>
> Bydd y *scheme* yma yn *dovetailo* i mewn i *scheme* y *county*.
> Pwy yw'r *surveyor* ?

This may be translated :

> These plans conform. The council must approve them. The water is drinkable. It should be connected to the main supply.
>
> This scheme will dovetail into the county scheme.
> Who is the surveyor ? '

The sentence structure in this passage is Welsh, but English words which come naturally and almost unconsciously to a person who reads more English than Welsh are imposed upon the Welsh sentence pattern. There are Welsh equivalents for all the words *italicized* in the passage and it is probable that most of them were known to the speakers, but the mental effort needed to recall them was not regarded as necessary for speaking in a council chamber. Speaking Welsh correctly in ordinary conversation is liable to be regarded as pedantic, unnatural and snobbish, a practice that should be reserved for the pulpit and the lecture room.

The Welsh ending—*o* has been added to the English verbs, conform, approve, connect, dovetail, to make them appear more at home in the Welsh sentence. The equivalent of this practice is often found in other languages under similar conditions, e.g. the practice of adding *–eka* and *–one* to English words borrowed into the spoken native language in Ceylon during the period of British rule and English-medium education, described by Dr P. R. Pierris in his Ph.D. thesis, *The Sociological Consequences of Imperialism with special reference to Ceylon* (University of London 1950) and referred to in his article on *Bilingualism and Cultural Marginality,* British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1951. p. 333

9. e.g. There is a Welsh word for chair but not for a three piece suite, for boots but not for shoes, for trousers but not for shorts. Lists of Welsh words for agricultural implements and processes have been published by the University of Wales Press but the typical Welsh-speaking farmer says *beiler* (baler) not *byrnwr* (the word that appears in the list), *silage* not *silwair, drug* not *cyffur,* and his wife refers to *gas, electric* and '*fridge* ' not *nwy, trydan* and *rhewgell.* New Welsh words are not given enough circulation to enable them to become established at ordinary conversation level.

10. The prototype of this kind of school was established at Aberystwyth in 1939 as a private school sponsored by a small group of parents who wished to ensure that their children would not become Anglicized as a result of receiving English-medium primary education, and supported by The Welsh League of Youth (Urdd Gobaith Cymru). More than thirty such schools have been established by Welsh local authorities in English-speaking areas since 1947.

11. e.g. *Education in Rural Wales.* The Welsh Department of The Ministry of Education 1949.
Bilingualism in the Secondary School in Wales. The Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education 1949.

The Curriculum and The Community in Wales. The Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education 1952.

The Future of Secondary Education in Wales. Report of The Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) 1949.

The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales. The Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) 1953.

critical and vocal only about particular aspects of policy whose consequences inconvenience us personally and immediately. Our feelings about these are almost our sole guide in exercising the chief function of a self-governing community which we maintain, that is, the power to change our representatives from time to time. Even this we hardly regard as a duty since, if they do not feel personally concerned in some way, it may happen that more than half the electorate will abstain even from voting. We tilt at bureaucracy but we are allowing it to take over from democracy, properly conceived.

The representational device imposes a necessary check on the impulses of the people, against which Greek history offers so many warnings. It also affords opportunity for the development of individual leadership without which government by the people must founder. Yet the more a people delegates, or shirks, responsibility for the conduct of its affairs the farther it gets from true democracy. Our most obvious duty of course is to elect our representatives with due care. People who abstain from voting are not taking self-government seriously at all. And voting requires something more than merely going to the polls. Unless there is maintained in the background of periodical elections an alert and intelligent interest in State affairs, voting in so far as it continues to be carried out, is liable to be motivated by selfish and flippant considerations—there was a famous election in Athens at which Aristides, whom everyone recognized as the best candidate, was turned down because the people were tired of hearing him called ' the Just '. When the suffrage is exercised with discrimination it will, among other advantages, increase the prestige of professional politicians and secure that citizens of high qualifications come forward for election, so that what is undoubtedly the supreme profession will attract the intellect and character it requires. One may fairly conclude that something is wrong with a State in which a fair proportion of the best minds do not enter the public service.

But it cannot be held that voting, no matter how responsibly it is undertaken, discharges the whole function of the people under democratic government. The description ' government by the people ' supposes that the citizens retain more than the mere power to call their rulers to account at certain intervals : its spirit is realized only when the people generally make their voice heard and take some kind of active part in the management of public affairs. If they resign all initiative to their political leaders, they are retreating from the democratic idea. They should at times supply the directive voice and impulse behind policies and they should regularly co-operate with the work of the administration and facilitate its processes.

We should be all part-time politicians : democracy is an industry with a large labour content. Its plant, far from possessing the properties

of automation, needs much control and servicing in order to avoid getting hopelessly out of order. The Greek ideal was that every citizen should care for the State as if it were himself. Pericles said in his speech over the Athenian dead : ' We regard one who takes no interest in public affairs not as a harmless but as a useless person : if few of us are originators we are all sound judges of a policy '. To the same effect we have the familiar and close-up picture of Edmund Burke by his brother : ' Ned is full of real business, intent upon doing good to his country as much as if he were to receive twenty per cent from the Empire.' To-day when we are large shareholders in the State in so many ways we have the incentive of knowing that we do in fact receive valuable dividends from its prosperity and conversely that we are the poorer for its reverses.

Not only does democracy in all circumstances require co-operation from those who utilize it : the developments and enlargements which it is nowadays experiencing carry new implications in the matter of civic responsibility. Military men are accused of always preparing for the last war, or even for the last but one. But it is not only military techniques that are always advancing and therefore always in need of fresh thinking. Society is endlessly fluid. The fixity of terminology should not be allowed to disguise the fact that even in our own time the work of governments and their relations with their citizens have been greatly modified. Our concept of civic duties on the other hand tends to remain fixed by the old moulds until they are so outmoded that we discard them altogether. Any science or art—and politics is both—which allows its text-books to get out-of-date is piling up trouble for itself ; and the case is still worse if the analysis of experience that must precede the incorporation of new inferences into text-books is not being vigorously carried out. The application of ethical principles must be made to keep pace with the arrival of new facts. New dangers too must be confronted.

And we must not limit our thinking about citizenship to what is strictly due. Our relationship with our country offers wide scope to generous patriotic instincts which seek to make a positive contribution to its welfare and greatness by way of works of supererogation and even at the cost of sacrifice. There is no substitute for this kind of generosity and it cannot be synthetically manufactured. If it is not widely diffused it is not likely that a mere cold appreciation of ethical obligation will be sufficient to keep a nation on a favourable course. Opportunities of serving one's country in this way also change as society is modified.

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Let me try to give some precision to these general considerations by mentioning some practical inferences to which they seem to point.

The first of these which occurs to me in speaking to the present audience is the special responsibility that lies upon specially qualified persons to contribute proportionately in political effort. In more aristocratic times it was recognized to be the duty of ruling and wealthy classes to give a certain amount of their time free to the public service. Education and knowledge and the positions that are acquired through them are what chiefly set people apart to-day, and the community has particular claim upon them because they are attained to some extent at its expense. Leadership of public opinion, which has so important a function in any healthy democratic state, belongs naturally more to those who have had the benefit of higher education than to others. Even apart from those who enter politics professionally, such persons should all feel that it is incumbent on them to spare a certain portion of their time and energy for community interests. They should recognize that to concentrate on one's personal business and give no part of one's talents to promoting the public cause, is not, as we have foolishly allowed it to be regarded, the mark of a finer spirit or of robust commonsense and judgement but is rather an indication of selfishness. If they give up the will to direct the State and submit to becoming its pensioners even democratic government will degenerate into a modern form of tyranny. Many thinkers foresee this development.

Governments have the right to the vocal approval and support of their citizens when they are pursuing difficult policies in the public interest. They will be encouraged by the feeling that the best elements in the population are behind them and that heavy burdens are not being left entirely on their shoulders and, being human, they will do their work all the better for this. On the other hand it will be discouraging for them to find persons in responsible positions appearing through weakness or calculation to side with policies which have some popular appeal but which they do not really favour. In every democracy there are many people guided by their estimate of the way the tide is flowing rather than by principle : they are the weaker elements in the population and their presence places all the greater responsibility on men of integrity to offset their influence. St Pius X has said : ' In our times more than ever before the chief strength of the wicked lies in the cowardice and weakness of good men '. ' All that is necessary for the triumph of evil ', Edmund Burke declared, ' is that good men should do nothing '. The press, national and local, has a most important role as the chief voice of general opinion. We have an example of what might be expected from the public-spirited citizen in Thomas Davis's firm denunciation of land outrages and murders, in spite of his opposition to the landlord system and to the government which supported it.

This is not to say that all comment on government activities should be expected to be favourable. Criticism is more than a privilege of

democracy, it is a necessary function, a condition that makes government by selected representatives viable. But just criticism should not be confused with disrespect and belittlement, which may sometimes seem to have no other origin than in the fact that our public men are now of ourselves and do not come to us in the old way as pro-consuls from another country. Again, although we may often have reason to feel that governments are assuming too fully the functions of individuals or families or voluntary groups, criticism of such tendencies should not lead to discrediting or weakening the public authority itself.

We have, it is true, in this development, a kind of strengthening we should deny to governments—that which comes by way of intrusion into the personal and family realm. It is healthy to resist the handing over to elected representatives of the management of more and more of our affairs and properties : this is exposing those in power to too much temptation and surrendering our own liberties, perhaps beyond the point of no return. But a strong government in its own proper spheres is another matter and is greatly to the general advantage. It is in the interest of all that a country should have an executive confident that in the pursuit of just and approved ends it can speak and act in the name of the nation. Democratic liberties must not be pushed to the point of making governments hesitate about doing what is right for fear of a collapse of support. It is weak, not strong, governments that lead to dictatorship, because after a series of failures and postponements people eventually come to feel that only a ruler with absolute power will take difficult courses that are necessary.

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Participation by the people in government is realized better by groupings of citizens than by individual effort. Voluntary organizations within the state fill an important and necessary role. They are the best sign of a healthy democratic spirit, of the will actively to cooperate with the legislature and fill up what is wanting to it. They form a kind of cushioning between government and people. They can attend to many special interests with more spontaneity and therefore with more thoroughness than the public authority and even apart from their particular work they will promote generally a sense of citizenship and responsibility. Sometimes they will lead the way for government action and call attention to its necessity. Experience should help the public in the necessary function of distinguishing worthy and sincere movements from those whose real character is hidden behind aims with propaganda value : a cynic said that there are two reasons for any action, a good reason and the real reason.

Among voluntary groups political parties are the most necessary,

in our kind of democracy at least. The line of thought we have been following confirms that participating in such organizations is a service to the community. People can however exercise fully their democratic duties without being permanent members of any party. One can hardly approve of bringing party politics into every level of administration and of other ways in which too much power is given to the party machine. Too rigid a division of the people into parties will produce an artificial conformity with one point of view and artificial criticism of others, thereby impeding the detached assessment of policies and achievements.

Voluntary associations are indeed necessary. There is everything to be said also for organizations of people who follow the same calling or have the same economic interest. They can improve their methods and overcome their problems better by comparing experience, and they can work best as a body for the elimination of any hardships they may be labouring under. If those engaged in an industry at different levels work in combination, it is to be expected that the public will be better served by higher standards of general efficiency.

In spite of such favourable indications we are well to be warned against the tendency of sections of the community to press exclusively for their own economic advantage. Apart from the internecine struggles between owners, managers and employees in particular industries, we have also to envisage a combination of all groups within an industry agitating to secure better terms from the rest of the community. If this sort of process were stimulated by mutual rivalry and envy between sections, so that each service and each aspect of production kept putting up its prices to the rest of the nation, we should be in the grip of an economic civil war of a most disruptive and disastrous kind. I do not believe that we are more liable to excesses of this kind in Ireland than elsewhere ; but it may be well to keep in mind that it is to the folklore of this country the fable of the Kilkenny cats belongs.

In all such groups we should encourage moderation and the realization that they, just as individuals, have a stake in the well-being of the whole national economy and have the same duty to maintain a patriotic outlook. It takes a great deal of moral courage for a member of such an interest to stress considerations like these. The sectional group, particularly when in council, seems to think even more selfishly than the individual : the temptation is for speakers to look for the applause that comes from the most extreme assertion of the sectional case. Those who make such claims are likely to be appointed to committees and opposition to them is apt to appear like treachery to the class, which unfortunately may sometimes seem discreditable to those who take no account of treachery to the community as a whole. I should like to make it clear that I am not thinking exclusively of any one class in this connection : all sections are prone to selfishness and it is therefore

important that the community generally should emphasize its paramount claims upon all.

Third parties should do their best to soften rivalries between groups that see themselves as opposed to each other and to arbitrate in their differences. The fact that our political parties are not for the most part based on economic rivalries but include representatives of different interests may be useful here. There seems at any rate to be little in favour of any realignment of parties that would make an economic policy having very little general support one of the two main alternatives offered to the electorate : such an arrangement would hardly reflect the mind of the people although it would of course give new prominence to the views of a small minority. It would be unreal to make our party system suggest radical differences between large sections of the community if such differences are not there. To encourage conflicts deliberately is not wise : they can only introduce instability into the public administration.

Unless our society is fully organized on a vocational basis, so that checks and balances would apply all round, it would seem inadvisable to set out to make party divisions coincide with the already sharp boundaries of economic groups. Challenge, clash and rivalry are not the best way to an equitable settlement of differences : they will bring victory to the strongest, not to the most deserving. Our aim should be to promote the just interests of all classes without detriment to the general harmony. In mitigating economic rivalries associations comprising cross-sections of the population whether they are bound by political, cultural, local or sporting interests have an important part to play : even if they take no explicit stand on contentious questions their focussing of interest in other directions and their social function will be tranquillizing influences.

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Along such lines as these we have need of more political thinking in the sense of detached criticism of developments and tendencies as distinct from the planning of particular programmes. A primary object should be to recover the concept of duty to the State which is liable to be obscured in care-free democratic societies and to study how it can best be implemented today. We are losing our appreciation of the civic virtues which were imposed with severe sanctions in more authoritarian times while at the same time we are not evolving a clear perception of the attitude to the civil authority that is appropriate in present circumstances. Old concepts and descriptions of our relations with the State are falling into disuse, perhaps because of their association with monarchical or feudal society, although when adjusted to our circumstances they may hold the same validity as ever. ' Citizenship ' is too vague a name for these : it needs to be broken down into its concrete components. It lets us off too lightly. One might compile a whole

glossary of obsolescent terms that are due for revival and rehabilitation.

Loyalty and allegiance would be foremost among them. The attitude conveyed by those terms does not depend on personal attachment to a monarch or to any individual leader, democratic or dictatorial : it is a reflection of the indebtedness, and therefore of the duty, of a citizen to the State under whose jurisdiction he lives and whose services he enjoys. It will contain devotion and affection as well as a sense of obligation in proportion to the capacity of individuals for such feelings. Yet it must not go the way of unrealistic emotion. It is not sufficiently realized in a vague devotion to abstract nationhood : it must be expressed in respect and support for the nation's institutions. It is part of the honour we owe to those who painstakingly and painfully gained for us our machinery of State that we should prove they did not over-estimate our willingness and our ability to operate it. We must not allow ourselves to be led into thinking that disloyalty to our government is really a higher kind of loyalty. Where the State is concerned we are not free, as we are with voluntary societies, to withdraw our support and transfer it to other claimants : we are morally bound to give our allegiance to the authority which the community has set up. In our concern with liberty we must not forget its limitations and allow the concept of obedience to be devalued, as it has so widely become throughout the modern world. Governments can help greatly here by taking the greatest care to make only such laws as are just and wise.

The body politic is another name that is beginning to look worn. It is the secular equivalent of the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ. It is of service in keeping before the mind the image of a community whose members and sections all serve one another as well as caring for their individual interests : to emphasize national solidarity should not be taken as compromising with totalitarianism. The Latin name for the state, *res publica*, which continued in use long after Roman times was also well-chosen in order to indicate that citizens are all part-owners of a common property.

Above all we need to maintain in use and honour the concept of the common good. This indicates the goal to which all civic effort is directed, the end of all community living. The test of all the social virtues is how far they promote this object and we can group them all according to their relation towards it. Their absence is blameworthy because wherever there exists a common purpose—whether there is question of a team, a crew, an army or any other kind of organization—it is unfair for any individual to leave to others the burden of prosecuting it.

Zeal for this end will show itself in sensitiveness about the nation's credit abroad and in avoiding saying or writing anything nationally injurious. It will keep people from going abroad irresponsibly—it is hard to understand how those who have received large benefits from the community, ranging from children's allowances, often unwanted, to subsidies

for higher education, should feel themselves at liberty, even when they can find employment at home, to leave the country without a thought of making any contribution to its well-being. The concept of the common good should lead to respect for the laws which are its safeguard and to support for those whose duty is to see that they are observed : it should lead to care in the use of public property and help to remedy the increasing tendency to seek, and assist others in seeking, benefits from the public resources under false pretences. A law-abiding citizen is a description every good man should seek to deserve. We should not allow it to acquire a colouring of naivety.[1]

This paper must not turn into a catechism or a catalogue. It is easy to think of particular applications of the general line of thought that has been indicated and I hope what has been said may set your minds running on ways that are suggested by your own experience. What is important is to get the right starting-point, to have a grasp of correct principles. Above all we should be animated by the proper spirit. Goodwill was well described as the correlative of a sense of justice in maintaining the State. Good men have always been stirred to exert themselves by the love of their own people and pride in their history, traditions and way of living. I cannot imagine where such motive-forces would be more responsively felt than among university students. Education also provides the mental training that will indicate means towards what is desired in the form of policies best suited to the circumstances of the period.

Catholic students have the additional advantage of possessing the presupposition of all social thinking in a clear picture of what man is and what he is for. We have been saved in Ireland from the rash and wicked experiments to which society has been submitted so widely throughout the world because we realize that human beings are superior to the State but are themselves subject to a Higher Power. In many countries opposition to communism is handicapped by lack of such a philosophy. Marxism cannot be adequately confronted except by a recognition that its radical error is its repudiation of the Divine government of the world. The new liberal atheism which is calling itself humanism will not sustain mankind in the present crisis : so far as it is accepted it will lead not to the uplifting of men but to their debasement. The notion that mere human self-respect will safeguard men and society better than acceptance of the Divine Law can do is wildly unrealistic. Nor will science protect us : in giving us greatly enlarged power to harm as well as to benefit ourselves it has in effect attached much more grievous penalties to the blundering proceedings which are a constant in history,

[1] Why, as Chesterton has pleaded, should it be thought that orthodoxy is wanting in nobility and romantic appeal ?

thereby making the case for conscience and religion in the management of our affairs more urgent than it has ever been.

Plato did not escape the errors of collectivism but he understood how necessary it was that citizens should cherish something higher than the State. No one, he said, can be a great patriot unless he cares for something more than politics—anticipating in a higher form the sentiment of ' loved I not honour more '. As Catholics we have this higher inspiration in the highest measure. The impetus to do good which Christianity conveys must not be restricted to the supernatural sphere.

One of the remarkable features of post-war Europe is the extent to which in so many countries Catholic ideals and philosophy have provided the foundation on which the newly-constituted States were built and have moulded the minds of their leaders. Fifty years ago the Catholic Encyclopedia concluded an article on Germany by stating : ' Only in isolated instances are the leading positions in the states and communities filled by Catholics '. This is far from true of West Germany today. And there is a corresponding change in many other countries.[1] It would seem that the challenge of Communism has sent the peoples of Europe back again to the verities they were being indifferent about or forgetting, back to ' the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world '. It is to be hoped that our State too and our relations with it will draw guidance from the same source. This is a process in which no group could be more influential than the members of this College which is our chief educational institution and the heir of Newman's University.[2]

[1] Nations may again be coming to realize that they, like individuals, have need of divine direction and grace.

[2] This article is based on a lecture given at the eighth annual Congress of the Irish Association of Catholic University Students at Newman House, Dublin on 3 July 1958.

The National Language in the Social Pattern in Wales

by JAC L. WILLIAMS

THERE may be some who would deny that the people of Wales constitute a nation, but no useful purpose would be served by attempting to consider, as an introduction to this article, the various attempts that have been made to define the term ' nation ' and to examine the claim of Wales to nationhood in the light of these definitions. It is sufficient to state that the Welsh people constitute ' a social group bound together by a consciousness of kind which springs from the traditions evoked by the group's historic past and is directly related to a definite home country.'*

The Welsh people in general are conscious of their belonging to a country called Wales and their nationhood has been officially recognized in the creation of such institutions as the National Museum of Wales, The National Library of Wales and The Welsh Department of The Ministry of Education early in the present century, and in the establishment of The Council for Wales and the office of Minister for Welsh Affairs since the 1939–1945 war. Recently the nationhood of Wales has received further recognition in the granting of capital status to the city of Cardiff and a political manifestation in the development of Plaid Cymru, a Welsh Nationalist Party that aims at Dominion Status for Wales and a Welsh parliament at Cardiff.

It is probable that consciousness of being Welsh has existed in the Principality ever since the inhabitants of Wales were separated from those of Cornwall and Cumberland as a result of Anglo-Saxon penetrations to the west coast of Britain in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. This consciousness of belonging to a group that has come to regard itself as a nation was based upon a common language and the foundations of Welsh nationhood are linguistic rather than political. No alien groups settled in Wales in the Dark Ages, and Danish infiltrations into Welsh life were confined to the activities of very small trading coastal settlements established along the coast. There was no interference with linguistic unity until the Welsh social pattern, known to us through the preservation of Welsh laws codified in the tenth century,[1] was disintegrated by the Anglo-Norman invasions that culminated in the Edwardian Conquest of 1282, and the linguistic impact of that conquest was confined to the establishing of a few isolated Anglo-Norman settlements in the Welsh

* Definition of nation as stated by Herbert S., in *Nationality and Its Problems*. London 1920. p. 37

countryside: small pockets of foreigners' surrounded by monoglot Welsh-speakers and socially isolated from them. Poets continued to write poetry of high standard in Welsh throughout the Middle Ages and vernacular literature was spread effectively over the whole country by wandering story-tellers and bards who used the word 'iaith', which connotes 'language' in modern Welsh, to connote 'nation' or 'race'. The Act of Union, which in 1536 sought to render Wales 'for ever from henceforth incorporated, united and annexed to the realm of England',[2] decreed that English should be the only official language in Wales, and during the four centuries that have passed since that act came into force the upper strata in Welsh society gradually became Anglicized in speech and outlook, with the process gathering momentum as education, using English as a medium and acting as a social ladder, came to play a more important part in Welsh life. The majority of the population however continued to speak Welsh until the end of the nineteenth century and even today there is a tendency in Welsh-speaking areas to regard Welsh people who do not speak Welsh as 'Saeson' (English).

English-speaking Welshmen in general, however, have not renounced their nationality as a result of their being without a knowledge of the national language. If they had come to regard themselves as English, Wales would have ceased to be a national community as the national language came to be the language of a minority, and as English-speaking minorities came to be distributed throughout the country during the present century. English-speaking Welshmen are as ardent as Welsh-speaking Welshmen in their support of Welsh teams in international sporting events, and many of the members of Plaid Cymru have little or no knowledge of the Welsh language.

This fact does not render invalid the contention that the Welsh language is the foundation of nationhood in Wales. Welsh was spoken by a majority of the population as recently as the latter half of the nineteenth century in many industrial areas that are now almost entirely English-speaking. Place-names are still Welsh, and in many Anglicized areas housing estates and streets built since the 1939–45 war have been given Welsh names. Welsh is taught as a second language in local education authority schools, with the exception of Newport, Monmouthshire and Radnorshire, and the Welsh language remains part of the environment even in English-speaking areas. The existence of the national language contributes in this manner towards the consolidation and development of national consciousness even in areas where it is rarely heard and never used by the local population as a medium of social intercourse.

A nation can change its language under the influence of external or internal agencies that foster the decline of one language and the spread of another. A conquering power usually propagates its language among

the conquered in order to facilitate administration, spread its own culture and hasten the decline of national consciousness in conquered communities. In the case of colonial powers, the education developed in conquered or adopted territories has usually been presented through the medium of the language of the superior power, with the result that it tends to produce a native élite that may become divorced from the indigenous culture and favourably inclined towards the dominant power and its language. As a system of education develops there may also develop at the same time, consciously or unconsciously, in members of the conquered communities a desire to acquire a knowledge of the language of the superior power, and this usually leads on the one hand to a progressive increase in the use made of the incoming language as a medium of social intercourse as well as of administration and education, and on the other to a progressive decrease in the use made of the established language of the conquered people.

Both these factors have been operative in Wales. The grammar schools that were established in the Principality in the reign of Elizabeth I ignored the Welsh language, and when schools became general in the Principality during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Welsh language was actively persecuted by the system of education through such devices as ' The Welsh Note '.[3] Many Welshmen who were capable of ascending the new social ladder provided by education strove to establish themselves as equal to Englishmen in every respect, and one way of doing it was by learning the English language, and entering English administrative, academic and commercial circles. Welshness and speaking the Welsh language came to be associated with backwardness, as acquiring a knowledge of the English language came to be associated with education and social advancement. Even at the present time, in spite of the recent development of a national pride in being Welsh, members of the older generation of Welsh-speaking Welshmen in some parts of Wales are liable to use the word ' Welshy ' in a derogatory sense.[4]

The influence of these external and internal forces that have been promoting the spread of English and the decline of the national language has been supplemented by the effect of the migration of large numbers of English-speakers from England and Ireland into Wales as a result of industrial developments in the nineteenth century, the development of the tourist trade, the increase in social mobility in the present century, more marriages between Welsh-speakers and English-speakers as a result of the breaking down of the isolation of Welsh-speaking communities, and the steady decrease in the population of Welsh-speaking rural areas. These developments have caused a drop in the percentage of Welsh-speakers in Wales from about eighty per cent in the early nineteenth century, when the English-speaking population consisted almost entirely of English and

Irish immigrants to industrial areas and a small Anglicized upper class, to about fifty per cent at the beginning of the present century and to less than thirty per cent at the present time. The number of Welsh-speakers in Wales in 1951 according to Census Returns,[5] was 715,000 persons aged three years and over, compared with 909,000 in 1931, and it is doubtful whether the total number of Welsh-speakers, including Welshmen living in England and other countries and in the small Welsh settlement in Patagonia, now amounts to one million.

The steady decline in the percentage of Welsh-speakers in the population of Wales is shown in the following table, based upon Census Returns :

Date	*% of population (aged 3 years and over) speaking Welsh only*	*% of population speaking Welsh and English*	*% of population able to speak Welsh*
1901	15.1	34.8	49.9
1911	8.5	35.0	43.5
1921	6.3	30.8	37.1
1931	4.0	32.8	36.8
1951	1.7	27.2	28.9

An analysis of the incidence of ability to speak Welsh in the population of Wales in 1951 according to age groups suggests that this decline is likely to continue, and the evidence may be tabulated as follows :—

Age group	*Number able to speak Welsh only*	*Number able to speak Welsh and English*	*% of total age group able to speak Welsh*
3–4	5,800	6,400	15%
5–9	8,900	28,400	20%
10–14	3,700	34,700	21%
15–24	3,000	73,200	23%
25–64	18,400	411,000	30%
over 65	11,300	97,500	40%

The only way in which this decline can be arrested is by the intensification of the teaching of Welsh as a second language to English-speaking children who attend Welsh schools. A statistical analysis of the incidence of bilingualism in the schools of Wales in 1950[6] revealed that eighty-two per cent of school pupils whose first language was Welsh were bilingual at the age of 11 – 12, but only four per cent of the pupils whose first language was English had acquired a knowledge of Welsh and those were drawn almost exclusively from English-speaking homes situated in areas that were predominantly Welsh-speaking. The schools of Wales, with the aid of various external forces, have succeeded in giving the Welsh-speaking population a command of English during the present century, but they have not yet succeeded in giving English-speaking Welshmen ability to express themselves in Welsh. Economic motives and influences such as radio, cinema and television aid the teaching of English as a school subject,but there are no such reciprocal aids to the teaching of Welsh, and the economic, social and cultural value of a knowledge of Welsh is less obvious to pupil and parent.

As the Welsh-speaking Welshman has a knowledge of English, linguistically mixed social groups tend to adopt English as a medium of social intercourse and this often results in a Welsh-speaker making little use of his mother tongue. Lack of practice in speaking the language usually leads to less command over its resources, and the Welsh-speaker's command of his second language, English, is often greater than his command over his mother tongue.

The social group where the effect of English being the common language is most serious as a factor promoting the decline of Welsh is the family. Unless the one Welsh-speaking parent makes a determined effort to speak Welsh to children brought up in a linguistically mixed family, the children naturally become English-speakers.[7] Inter-marriage between Welsh and English gentry was an important factor in the Anglicization of the Welsh upper classes after the passing of the Act of Union and marriages of similar linguistic significance have now become common at all levels in Welsh society.

For similar reasons meetings at which both English-speakers and Welsh-speakers are present are usually conducted in English. Welsh thus tends to be deprived of usage and status and to get pushed into the background and out of public life even in areas where as many as eighty per cent of the population habitually speak Welsh within family groups and in daily social intercourse.

The use of English as the medium of secondary and higher education, reinforced by the fact that the scope and content of periodicals and journals printed in Welsh is very limited, has prevented the growth of what may be regarded as professional vocabulary or occupational jargon

in Welsh. Doctors, lawyers and local government officers in Welsh-speaking areas usually talk to their Welsh-speaking clients in Welsh, but they use English for professional purposes and also as a medium of social intercourse at professional level. Their English vocabulary reflects their education and professional standing, but their Welsh vocabulary is very limited and it is not unusual to find a Welsh-speaking professional man who is almost illiterate in his mother tongue as a result of receiving education and training almost exclusively through the medium of English.

Instances of what is sometimes referred to as *lapsus linguae* are common at all levels in Welsh-speaking society at the present time and may be almost an inevitable result of the type of bilingualism that has developed in Wales with the use of one language confined to a very considerable extent to social intercourse in small scale society, infant and primary school education, and religious services, with the other language being used almost exclusively as the medium of higher education and for all official purposes in administration, government and law. Welsh-speakers who have a high degree of bilingualism are inclined to lapse into English periodically during conversation or discussion on such topics as politics or technology, science or sport. The terminology for discussing such matters in Welsh is not familiar to them although the Welsh terms may exist, and Welsh-speakers often find it easier to discuss such topics in the language in which they read or receive instruction about them than in their mother tongue. If they do not lapse into English for whole sentences, their spoken Welsh is liable to be sprinkled with English terms and stock phrases that they have absorbed from English newspapers and periodicals. For similar reasons, with the cinema as an important influence, Welsh-speaking young persons, especially in towns and industrial areas, do much of their courting and love-making through the medium of English.

The use of Welsh has been confined for four centuries almost entirely to informal social intercourse at peasant and working class level, popular literature and religious worship, and Welsh-speakers have formed the habit of not using their mother tongue for other purposes. The majority of Welsh-speakers fill in the English versions of official forms that are available to them in both languages and much of their letter-writing to each other for personal as well as official purposes is done in English. Welsh is spoken over the counter in shops in Welsh-speaking areas but English is used for cheques, receipts, etc., and tradesmen's vans rarely bear a superscription in the Welsh language although Welsh words on tradesmen's vans are so rare that they attract attention and are consequently effective as a means of advertising.

Linguistic promiscuity has increased steadily in Welsh-speaking areas as the communities have become more familiar with the English language as a result of the coming of English-medium education, the English

popular press, the cinema, radio and television. There is now a wide range of vocabulary that comes more readily to the average Welsh-speaker in English than in Welsh. The teaching of arithmetic through the medium of English in schools, for example, has spread the habit of stating price and time in English throughout Welsh-speaking Wales. In the case of new ideas, commodities and experiences brought into the Welsh countryside, the English word for what is new comes with it, and is liable to become established in the spoken language before a Welsh word for it is available, and even after a Welsh word comes into being the English word continues to gain more circulation through radio and press than the Welsh word even in areas that are almost entirely Welsh-speaking. In conversation, the usual practice is to use the first word that comes to mind without thinking whether it is Welsh or English, with the result that an increasing percentage of English words is imposed upon the Welsh sentence structure[8] and spoken Welsh is in danger of deteriorating to such an extent as to become a mere patois unless schools succeed in establishing and developing a habit of speaking it correctly. The older generation of present day Welsh-speakers, many of them steeped in the Welsh Bible through regular attendance at church services and Sunday school, have had less contact than the young with English as a written language and less education through its medium, and their spoken Welsh tends to be purer in idiom and richer in vocabulary than the Welsh of the young, with the exception of those who specialize in Welsh as a subject at school or college.

Linguistic changes usually reflect political, social, and cultural changes. The Welsh language, like the people who speak it, is coming under English influences as a result of the breaking down of the isolation of Welsh-speaking communities, and twentieth century developments in education, transport, and communication, that have led to an ever-increasing mobility of ideas, material things and persons. The Welsh language has failed to keep pace with modern developments and discoveries because it is not used as a medium of higher education and has no daily press or extensive radio and television service to propagate its vocabulary through usage.[9]

In spite of this significant evidence of the decline of Welsh, reflected in the decrease in the number of Welsh-speakers and in the deterioration in the quality of the Welsh spoken, there appears to be developing a new attitude towards the Welsh language that may consolidate its position in the national life, arrest the decline, and even bring about its revival to a status position that it has not held since the Act of Union. The clause which decreed in the Act that English should henceforth be the only official language in Wales has never been repealed, but the language is receiving official recognition at the present time in the fact that a knowledge of Welsh is regarded as an essential qualification for

many administrative posts in Wales and there has come into being during the present century a Welsh-speaking middle class. Many of the members of this new Welsh-speaking middle class support the Welsh language for economic as well as cultural reasons and are anxious that their children should speak Welsh and speak it well.

This change of attitude towards Welsh is reflected in the use made of the language in the schools. English was the medium of education at all levels at the beginning of the present century. Gradually Welsh was introduced as a medium of teaching Welsh-speaking pupils in infant and primary schools, and by today, it is exceptional for a Welsh-speaking child to be taught through the medium of English at primary school level. Welsh is the medium of primary education in areas that are predominantly Welsh-speaking, and, for the first time in the history of education in Wales, the children of English-speaking parents living in Welsh-speaking areas learn Welsh at school and become absorbed linguistically and socially into the Welsh-speaking communities to a degree that would not have been possible in the days of English-medium education. In many Anglicized areas Welsh-medium primary schools[10] have been established since the 1939–45 war to cater for the needs of the Welsh-speaking minorities and the primary school has become a factor of supreme linguistic significance, consolidating and spreading the use of the Welsh language. Welsh-medium schools in Anglicized areas tend to draw their pupils from homes with middle-class values, have an excellent record in so far as examinations are concerned, and in some cases have been accused of being ' snob schools '. Speaking Welsh is no longer popularly regarded as evidence of backwardness in a child or adult and bilingualism has become a social and economic asset. The new emphasis on Welsh in primary schools and the use of it as a medium leads one to believe that primary school children educated through the medium of Welsh speak their national language better than any other age group or social group of Welsh-speakers at the present time in relation to their potential linguistic ability.

English is still the medium of instruction at secondary schools in general, and secondary school examinations conducted by the Welsh Joint Education Committee can be taken in Welsh in three subjects only, but the use made of Welsh as a medium of secondary and higher education is also increasing. The first official Welsh-medium secondary school was opened in Flintshire in 1956 and a full course of teacher training through the medium of Welsh has recently been instituted at two Welsh Training Colleges. Recent publications of The Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education and of The Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales)[11] invariably recommend the teaching of Welsh to all children educated in Wales, irrespective of the language of their parents, and the introducing of all Welsh children to their national cultural heritage

through the medium of the school curriculum. This is a complete reversal of the nineteenth century attitude of educationists towards Welsh culture, when the assimilation of the educated Welsh-speaker into the English social milieu and culture pattern was the policy advocated and practised throughout the Principality at all levels in education.

The increase in national consciousness which has developed in Wales as in many other small nations during the present century has produced a desire to use the Welsh language even if it is not used extensively. More use is being made of it for ceremonial purposes, on signs and public notices controlled by local authorities, and there appears to have developed a general pride in having a national language and a general desire to keep it alive.

The British Broadcasting Corporation has also made an important contribution towards raising the status of the Welsh language. It is used as a medium of broadcasting daily, and Welsh language news bulletins were not discontinued at any time during the 1939–45 war. Television programmes in Welsh are provided regularly by both the B.B.C. and the Independent Television Authority. Welsh as spoken by broadcasting announcers and readers sets a pattern of speech for all Welsh-speakers, and the B.B.C. has unconsciously fostered the development of a standard Welsh that is understood wherever Welsh is spoken and is free from the influence of local dialects. New words are created to meet the needs of broadcasting and new Welsh terms are circulated throughout Wales by radio programmes and news bulletins. The Welsh Home Service broadcasts a variety of programmes ranging in nature and quality from the lightest of the Light to the type of programme on literature that can be heard on the Third Programme only in English. Translations of Welsh literature have been broadcast on many occasions in English on the Third Programme and the B.B.C. has helped to foster in educated English listeners as well as in Welsh listeners an awareness of the existence in Wales of an ancient British language in which there is a literature of a high standard produced over a period of nearly fifteen centuries.

More social contact with English-speakers and with English society at working class level as a result of war service, evacuation, compulsory military service, holidays with pay and the general breaking down of geographical and social barriers during the twentieth century has undermined the well-established association of the English language with status and prestige occupations in Welsh-speaking areas, and the frequent demand for a knowledge of Welsh as a qualification for administrative posts has made bilingualism a more valuable economic and social asset than a knowledge of English only. The Welsh-speaking—English-speaking linguistic division in Wales no longer reflects social stratification and bilingualism provides more security and advantage than English unilingualism. There is no longer a potential conflict between cultural

loyalty to Wales and the Welsh language on the one hand and fear of doing something that will prejudice one's career and economic prospects on the other. The appeal of the Welsh language has ceased to be limited to culture. Parents have come to regard it as a potential economic asset to their children, and the fear of frustration once associated with being 'Welsh' and without an adequate command of English is now liable to be associated with a lack of Welsh as well as a lack of English.

In the past a state of bilingualism proved of short duration in parts of Wales where it was achieved. In Welsh industrial communities that became bilingual towards the middle of the nineteenth century, one generation only was more fluent in Welsh than in English. The next generation, educated in English-medium schools, was more fluent in English than in Welsh, and by today, those communities have become monoglot English-speaking. It remains to be seen whether the present bilingualism that is prevalent over half the area of the Principality and in a quarter of its population will prove more stable. In the nineteenth century English was the only language associated with education, status and social advancement. At the present time it appears that the bilingual society to be found in Wales is in the process of developing norms, behaviour patterns and goals that may enable a state of linguistic equilibrium to be achieved in a stable bilingualism and so enable the national language of Wales and the culture that is associated with it to survive.

NOTES

1. This social pattern is described in T. P. Ellis—*Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages* (Oxford1926). The full text of the laws in Welsh and Latin, together with an English translation may be seen in *The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales.*

2. 'An Act for Laws and Justice to be Ministered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm' 1536, usually referred to as 'The Act of Union of England and Wales'.

3. This was a block of wood, attached to a piece of string, to be carried during the school day by a child who had been heard talking Welsh. The child was allowed to pass it on to another child whom he heard speaking Welsh, and the child who carried the block at the end of the school day was given that day's punishment for speaking Welsh. (O. M. Edwards, first Chief Inspector of schools appointed to the Welsh Department of The Board of Education when it was established in 1907, describes how he endured this treatment in his own school-days in his book 'Clych Atgof').

4. I recently heard a group of rural Welsh-speakers discussing the merits of a certain applicant for a local government post in a Welsh speaking area and agreeing that the applicant was too 'Welshy' to be considered although the advertisement for the post stated '—knowledge of Welsh desirable'. The connotation of 'Welshy' in this context may be compared with the connotation given to the word 'peasant' in certain circles.

5. Census Returns present the general pattern of linguistic change in Wales, but their value is limited as no attempt is made to define 'able to speak Welsh' and there is no distinction between those who are *able* to speak Welsh and those who *habitually do* speak Welsh.

6. Conducted by The Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) and reported in *The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales,* H.M.S.O. 1953.

7. Statistical evidence in support of this statement may be seen in a survey of the language of children in Flintshire in 1950, undertaken by Mr Leslie Harries, Organizer of Language Teaching in the county. Out of a total of over 2,000 children from linguistically mixed marriages in which the father was bilingual only 45 could speak Welsh. In the case of the mother having a knowledge of Welsh and the father being monoglot English-speaking, 70 children were bilingual out of a total of 1,561.

8. This can be illustrated by the following example from the report of a local council meeting as it appeared in a local Welsh newspaper (The Welsh Gazette) in 1950 :—

> Mae'r *plans* yma yn *conofformo*. Mae'n rhaid i'r *council* i *apprwvo* nhw. Mae'r dŵr yn *drinkable*. Dylid *connecto* gyda'r *main supply* '.
>
> Bydd y *scheme* yma yn *dovetailo* i mewn i *scheme* y *county*.
> Pwy yw'r *surveyor* ?

This may be translated :

> These plans conform. The council must approve them. The water is drinkable. It should be connected to the main supply.
>
> This scheme will dovetail into the county scheme.
> Who is the surveyor ? '

The sentence structure in this passage is Welsh, but English words which come naturally and almost unconsciously to a person who reads more English than Welsh are imposed upon the Welsh sentence pattern. There are Welsh equivalents for all the words *italicized* in the passage and it is probable that most of them were known to the speakers, but the mental effort needed to recall them was not regarded as necessary for speaking in a council chamber. Speaking Welsh correctly in ordinary conversation is liable to be regarded as pedantic, unnatural and snobbish, a practice that should be reserved for the pulpit and the lecture room.

The Welsh ending—*o* has been added to the English verbs, conform, approve, connect, dovetail, to make them appear more at home in the Welsh sentence. The equivalent of this practice is often found in other languages under similar conditions, e.g. the practice of adding *–eka* and *–one* to English words borrowed into the spoken native language in Ceylon during the period of British rule and English-medium education, described by Dr P. R. Pierris in his Ph.D. thesis, *The Sociological Consequences of Imperialism with special reference to Ceylon* (University of London 1950) and referred to in his article on *Bilingualism and Cultural Marginality,* British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1951. p. 333

9. e.g. There is a Welsh word for chair but not for a three piece suite, for boots but not for shoes, for trousers but not for shorts. Lists of Welsh words for agricultural implements and processes have been published by the University of Wales Press but the typical Welsh-speaking farmer says *beiler* (baler) not *byrnwr* (the word that appears in the list), *silage* not *silwair, drug* not *cyffur,* and his wife refers to *gas, electric* and '*fridge* ' not *nwy, trydan* and *rhewgell.* New Welsh words are not given enough circulation to enable them to become established at ordinary conversation level.

10. The prototype of this kind of school was established at Aberystwyth in 1939 as a private school sponsored by a small group of parents who wished to ensure that their children would not become Anglicized as a result of receiving English-medium primary education, and supported by The Welsh League of Youth (Urdd Gobaith Cymru). More than thirty such schools have been established by Welsh local authorities in English-speaking areas since 1947.

11. e.g. *Education in Rural Wales.* The Welsh Department of The Ministry of Education 1949.
Bilingualism in the Secondary School in Wales. The Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education 1949.

The Curriculum and The Community in Wales. The Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education 1952.

The Future of Secondary Education in Wales. Report of The Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) 1949.

The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales. The Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) 1953.

The following quotations will serve to illustrate the change in the attitude of educationists towards the Welsh national language and culture :—

> It is largely true that, whether consciously or not, the action of the educational machine in Wales has resulted, all too often, in driving a wedge between curriculum and community, between school and life. It could hardly be said at one time that a love of Wales, based on a disciplined knowledge of her land and history was part of the ethos of most Welsh schools . . . .
>
> The forces of disintegration are unmistakable, powerful, penetrating and persistent. If they conquer, Wales loses the only distinction that still marks her as a nation among nations ; she will become a geographical expression and her people will be indeed ' marginal Englishmen '. This however need not happen, provided that one indispensable condition is fulfilled, namely the transmission to the rising generation of an inexpugnable sense of the value of Welsh culture both as heritage and as challenge.

(*The Curriculum and The Community,* H.M.S.O. 1952, pp. 31 and 35.)

Bilingual School Policy

by E. F. O'DOHERTY

THE problem of bilingualism has occupied the attention of psychologists and educationalists for upwards of half a century. But in spite of the enormous amount of material available and the devotion and goodwill of the researchers in this field, it is one of the most difficult psychological and educational problems to discuss dispassionately. It is easy to see why this is so. The theoretical and experimental issues can be discussed and studied calmly from a purely psychological point of view, but the reality-situation is part of a wider problem involving political, national, economic and sociological considerations, with which the psychologist as such is not concerned, but from which he prescinds in practice at his peril. Even the very terms in which the problem is discussed are loaded with emotion, so that it is extremely difficult to discuss it rationally. The reason is not far to seek. It is important to note that not only are the individual words of a language all symbols, but the language itself as a whole can also be a symbol, but a symbol of a different kind. It can become a symbol of independence or of nationality, of culture or the lack of culture. To know Latin or Greek was a symbol of culture, to speak French well was and is a symbol of culture, to speak only a dialect is often a symbol of lack of culture. Language as a symbol of independence or nationality is a valuable thing. But there is a danger about all symbols, and especially about social symbols, which is vital to an understanding of human society. It is the danger (of which the examples are legion) that the symbol may itself take precedence over the thing symbolised. This is what happens in the idiosyncratic use of individual words by the schizophrenic. Its analogue in society is the elevation of the symbol above other social values.

It is perfectly understandable that language should have become a potent symbol for our people, just as it is for the people of Catalonia or of Flanders. It is perfectly understandable that in the vision of a free Ireland, an Irish-speaking nation should have played a part. Perfectly understandable again that in the flush of victory and the excitement of freely planning the future of a free nation rational and emotional factors should have got inextricably intertwined. Finally it is perfectly understandable that people who have lived with and loved a particular symbol all their lives, or who being still young have passionately adopted it, should resent being asked to look at it a little more closely or more critically.

I say all this in no patronizing way. I do not intend to hurt. I say it simply because I think it is relevant. It seems fairly clear that the Irish nation did not cease to think with the achievement of freedom. But we have become accustomed to quoting the unsubstantiated statements of great men as if they had to be accepted as unquestionable truths. It is quite certain, however, that each successive generation, if allowed the freedom to do so, will question such statements. Equally certain is it that while the values of one generation may be accepted by the next (and indeed should be if they are genuine values), the symbols in which these values are stated may, and indeed should, change from one generation to the next. No man can set bounds to the thought, any more than to the march of a nation.

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I should like first of all to stress the point that language is primarily and above all a device for interpersonal communication. This is the social aspect of language, and while social psychology is still in its infancy, it would be extremely rash for the psychologist or educationalist to neglect it.

For the very first society into which the child is born is the natural unit we call the family. The child first of all manifests its wants and needs and urges through cries which are not language. But the inadequacy of this means of communication is very soon evident. Soon the child becomes a party to the conventions of his group. The sounds which he now begins to utter, and which he refines and perfects through babbling games and exercises, lead at a rate of progress unparalleled in any other acquired skill to his speaking a language. Now this language which he speaks is his ' vernacular ', his *langue maternelle,* his ' mother tongue ' (because it is his ' mother's tongue '). It may not be his ancestral language. It may have a history of injustice, tyranny, bloodshed or worse behind it. It may have political, economic or social antecedents or consequents. But psychologically and educationally it is the child's mother tongue. In most countries and societies it would also be called his ' native language '. However the words ' native language ' or ' mother tongue ' are conventionally used in this country by many people to refer to the ancestral language rather than to the language of the primary society into which the child is born. This is a simple fact of linguistic usage which has had far-reaching effects on the thinking of many of our people with regard to the problem of bilingualism. For in nearly all the studies available on the topic, and in nearly all countries where there is a bilingual problem, investigators have consistently recommended that children should be taught their native language, and other subjects through its medium. The recommendations were

pyschologically and pedagogically in favour of the language which was the normal means of social intercourse of the child. But they called this language the child's native language, his mother tongue, and it very often was also his ancestral language. But here, owing to the different linguistic convention, these recommendations have often been interpreted in a contradictory opposite sense : that is to say, the child's normal means of social intercourse has been by-passed in favour of what for many (though not for all) is the ancestral language. I do not want to labour the point too much but it is vital for the understanding of the problem here.

It is fairly clear from recent controversies that, whereas I have just mentioned bilingualism as a problem, it is in fact many problems, some of which are inter-locked, and some of which are independent of each other.

Let me try to state these problems all at once.

(1) Should the Irish language become the vernacular language of this country ?

(2) Can the Irish language become the vernacular language of this country ?

(3) Should the Irish language be taught in the National Schools of this country ?

(4) Should the Irish language be taught to all the children in our National Schools ?

(5) Should all the other subjects be taught *through* Irish in our National Schools ?

(6) Should all the other subjects be taught through Irish to all the children in our National Schools ?

(7) Can all subjects be taught through Irish at National, Secondary and University levels ?

(8) Should this be done ?

(9) Who should have a voice in determining the answers to these questions ?

I am concerned with questions 3, 4, 5 and 6, and the answer to question 3 is yes.

It should be clear that these are different questions. Unfortunately, there are some who treat all these questions as if they were identical, or at any rate so linked that they can all be answered by asking still another question. This further question, Number 10, is logically, psychologically, and ideologically independent of the nine asked so far, and runs as follows :—

10. ' Are you an enthusiastic supporter of the present language policy in our schools ? '

If you say 'yes' to this one, you are presumed to be saying 'yes' to the first eight questions, and to establish the sole right to answer the ninth. If on the other hand, you answer 'no' to any of the first eight, you are presumed to have no right to answer the ninth, and instead of merely answering 'no' to the tenth, you are presumed to be an enemy, a traitor, or worse.

I am far from assuming that questions so heavily loaded with emotional factors, are likely to be resolved in practice by rational considerations. But unless one accepts as axiomatic that public affairs should be guided by irrational forces, it becomes a conscientious matter of some urgency, to try to inject some rational factors into the situation.

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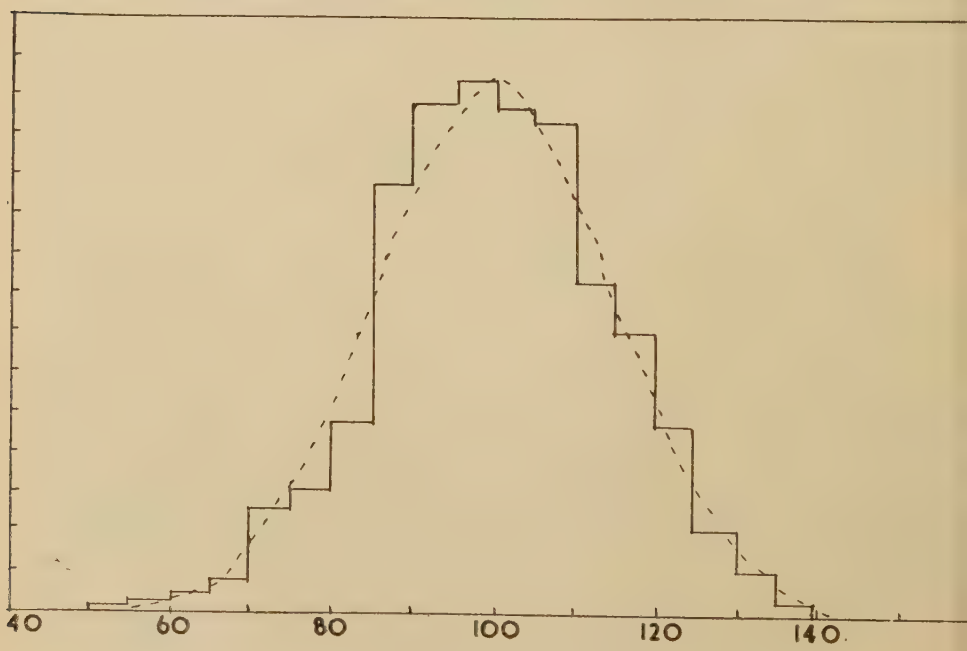
Half a century of research on the distribution of intelligence through the populations of many cultures, sub-cultures, nations, states and races, shows that human beings vary along a continuous scale from idiocy to genius. The normal distribution curve is obtained for any random sample of the population. Let me give you the curve which is universally found to hold (occasional variations of a point or two are not significant for our purposes). Intelligence tests are criticized for all sorts of odd reasons, but nobody to my knowledge, has ever challenged the validity of the curve showing the distribution of intelligence.



INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT

The following table gives some idea of the meaning of the curve :—

Population		*Intelligence Quotient*	
Approx.	1½%	below	70
,,	1½%	above	130
,,	6½%	between	70—80
,,	6½%	,,	120—130
,,	16%	,,	80—90
,,	16%	,,	110—120
,,	52%	,,	90—110

This means that about half the population has ' normal ability ' or ' ordinary ability '. It is a difficult task to educate children of ordinary ability up to the level of their capacity, or to ' full potential '. This is a difficult task in any environment, and in any school.

It is difficult for the monoglot child in a monoglot school, if his ability is merely average, or normal, or ordinary, to benefit as he should, and it is difficult for the teacher to enable him to do so. It is quite certain that this task becomes much more difficult when it is complicated by a second language, either taught as a subject, or as a medium of instruction for other subjects.

It is worth noting that standard practice elsewhere insists that those with I.Q. below 100 are debarred from a second language. This means that the lower half of the normal group, or a quarter of the total population should not begin a second language at school. The Report of the Council of Education is apparently alive to these facts, but instead of drawing the obvious conclusion, manages to suggest that teaching such children through Irish may in fact be ' advantageous '—see par. 235.

Now consider the range below 90. From 90 down to 80, you will find 16% of the population—or over 80,000 schoolchildren between 5 and 14 years of age. This is the age-group with which I am concerned here. These children are not feebleminded, nor are they imbeciles or morons. They are to all appearances normal, ordinary children, but they are on the average ten I.Q. points behind the normal or ordinary level of the community. I am not speaking here of the children whose backwardness or difficulty is so marked that they have had special schools provided for them[1]. I am speaking of eight children in every class of fifty in every National School throughout the country.

[1]The children referred to apparently in R.C.E., par. 235.

These children fail to understand most of what is taking place in the class-room, and you simply cannot tell by looking at them, which are among the 42 normal and which the 8 dull. (Later on, the difference will be more apparent, but in the early school years, mere rote-repetition, which is well within the capacity of such children, may enable them, by sheer hard work, to keep up with the class and pass unnoticed.) These children cannot be educated to the normal level of their age group, even in a monoglot school and a monoglot society. But if the task is going to be made still more difficult for them what can they hope to accomplish?

Below these children, there is a further 8%, for only a fraction of whom is there any special provision made. The rest attend the local National School. This means that in effect, something of the order of one quarter of the total school population of the country, which could not be educated up to normal achievement, even in a monoglot school, are being asked to try to achieve this in a bilingual one. Add this quarter to the quarter referred to above (the lower half of the normal group), and you get one half of the total population.

It is to be noted that, corresponding to the quarter of the population below average ability, there is another quarter of higher than average ability. Between I.Q. 110 and 120, one finds 16% of the population, and above 120 a further 8%. It seems fairly clear that on the whole, the top-flight secondary school pupils and University students come from this upper quarter. These people would do well in any scholastic or academic environment, and would benefit from instruction in Latin, Irish, English or any language. Appeals to the abilities and achievements of people from this echelon are not evidence as to policy for the average level, or *a fortiori* for the below-average level.

I do not wish to assert that bilingualism as such retards intellectual development. Indeed I think there can be no doubt that genuine bilingualism is an asset. Thus the child who has mastered French and English is to that extent at least better than the child whose only language is English. However since language is not a thing-in-itself nor an end-in-itself, the mere possession of two languages in no sense ensures any intellectual advantage over the monoglot, nor does it necessarily involve any other advantage of any kind. The value, like the life, of a language depends exclusively on the use made of it.

How many genuine bilinguals are there in the population? I suggest that there are very few. The RCE makes the point that 'there are to-day more homes in English-speaking districts in which Irish is the first language' (par. 207) than a generation ago.

The report says that it has not figures available to prove its contention, and I suggest that while the contention is probably true, the figures if available would indicate that the increase is not statistically significant.

Appeals are constantly made to the practice and achievements of other countries which have a bilingual problem to solve. The RCE deals fairly well with this sort of evidence, though it fails to state the conclusion which it must have drawn (par. 201). Let me repeat that I am concerned with the school-going population of 5—14 years. The fact that adults can study through Latin is not relevant evidence. And in any case it is contended that their command of Latin has been steadily deteriorating for thirty years. The fact that Wales has a successful bilingual school system, and that Welsh is flourishing, is a great credit to Wales. But it is misleading to appeal to the Welsh situation as a parallel to ours. The fact is that Welsh is the vernacular language of a very large proportion of Welsh children. Listen to some figures :—

Anglesea	...	84% of all school children have Welsh as vernacular
Caernarvon	...	77% ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Cardigan	...	80% ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Merionett	...	88% ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Carmarthen	...	67% ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

It would be wrong not to teach Welsh to such children, and wrong also not to teach other subjects through the medium of Welsh, for the very simple reason that Welsh is their vernacular. If this is sound reasoning, it should equally apply to children whose vernacular is English. People who appeal to the Welsh experience and procedure with Welsh-speaking children may not be aware that Welsh children whose vernacular is English are taught English and other subjects through its medium.

It would not be difficult to work out the number of children between 5 and 14 who have Irish as a vernacular. If Dr Tomás de Bhaldraithe is right in his estimate that the Irish-speaking community amounts to about 45—50,000 people, it would follow (taking his maximum figure of 50,000) that there would be perhaps 9 to 10,000 in the National School age group. Should a policy which is absolutely right for this 10,000, be applied, even in theory, to the total of half a million ?

Similarly, the appeal to South Africa and the position of Afrikaans, ignores the fact that Afrikaans is a living vernacular. The appeal to Israel fails because the situation is not parallel to ours. Hebrew is a lingua franca : a common medium of communication between people

whose vernacular is German or Polish or English or Hungarian, and who therefore need some common medium of communication.

It has been stated that the problem as I present it does not exist. It has been asserted that there are very few schools in which Irish is the medium of instruction and communication. It is true that there are very few all-Irish schools, primary or secondary. But these are not my problem. They are equivalently monoglot schools with a selected population to some extent genuinely bilingual and a selected teaching body. With regard to the rest, the departmental regulations are clear. As recently as 1948, the Revised Programme for Infants states : ' Where the teachers are sufficiently qualified the aim should be to reach a stage as early as possible at which Irish can be used as the sole language of the Infant School '. The question of the sufficiently qualified teacher raises problems of its own. The practice varies a great deal, according to the Department's own figures, but lest anybody think I exaggerate the seriousness of the situation, let me quote for you the fact that the Council of Education reports that ' *in only 25 schools out of the total (4,876)* was English used as a medium of instruction in all subjects, other than Irish '—(par. 230).

This is strange, for it is unlikely that in this country out of 4,876 schools, there are 4,851 wherein ' the teacher is competent to teach through Irish, and *where the children can assimilate the instruction so given* ' to quote the 1926 directive, reiterated in 1931, and still in force. It is the latter condition I wonder about, for I have no doubt about the sincerity and devotion of the teachers.

It would appear that the present situation in our schools arose because of a series of erroneous beliefs held in good faith by honourable men. Some of them were concerned with the nature of language, the relation between language and nationhood, and the relation between language and culture. But there is one in particular which has coloured our whole philosophy of education for more than thirty years. This was the belief that through the schools the Irish language could be restored as the vernacular of the country. This was asserted without any evidence that it was even possible. If I mention the name of Father Corcoran, in this connection, let not my words be construed as an attack on his illustrious memory.

We should by now have reached a point where we can differ from one another in debate, without any suggestion of personal affront. When Father Corcoran faced the issue in 1925 (*Studies*, Vol. XIV, page 386), he asked : ' Can the language be given in and through the school as a real vernacular ? ' and he answered : ' there is an

abundance of evidence for an affirmative answer'. In fact there was no evidence whatsoever, but Father Corcoran's enthusiasm ran high. He cited the spread of English through the schools as an example, and went on to say: 'The reversal of the process is equally feasible'—apparently forgetting that the spread of English was due to the use of totalitarian methods, economic, social, and political pressure, and a host of other factors, all at the same time. It is disingenuous to isolate the school as the only, or even as the most important factor.

But the methods he advocated at that time came bit by bit to be implemented, and have at length crystallized into the National School System as we now know it. The System would not be what it is were it not for the initial assumption that a vernacular can be restored ('created' would be a better word) through the schools. It is interesting to note that the RCE (par. 207) explicitly repudiates this belief. But it still determines our practice. If this belief is rejected, as it is, it should surely follow that means devised to implement it should be revised.

The function of the school is, in part at least, the preparation of the child for the environment in which he is going to live, move and have his being—and work out his eternal destiny. But we have turned this back to front, and accepted the theory that the function of the school is to create the environment for the child to live in.

It is important to remember that the emotional life of a large proportion of our children is disturbed by the ambiguous and ambivalent situation in which they find themselves. Anyone who chooses to ignore this aspect of the problem should have nothing to do with a child's mind. When a child has discovered the magic of words, the fact that he can manipulate symbols which produce results, there occurs one of the great bursts of personality development. But the child who suddenly discovers that his magic is no longer efficacious, who discovers in other words, a total or partial breakdown in communication, may suffer (and very often does suffer) a loss of orientation and self-confidence which may result in a temporary suspension of all development, personality and linguistic. But more to the point perhaps is the long-range effect. This early (and often prolonged) breakdown in social assimilation emerges later in life as a revolt. It is not necessarily an anti-social revolt in a generalized sense, but very often indeed it is a revolt against this specific society or against the parents or teachers with whom the breakdown in communication is most closely associated. Or to put it more simply, the initial failure of the child because of the language barrier, to identify himself with the group leads to a lack of security, a sense of unrest, to the frame of mind illustrated by the phrase 'there is no future in this country'. It may also lead to more serious psychiatric consequences.

Our children's minds must not be made the battleground of a political wrangle. In these pages I have been arguing that at least half our children cannot achieve the level of their potential development in a system however well-intentioned—and it is conceded readily that the motivation behind it is the highest—in which too much is asked of them.

I do not suggest that the whole system should be altered, or that there should be any abandonment of the genuine ideals on which it is based. I suggest only that attainable ideals should be clearly formulated, and that realistic means capable of achieving these ideals should be adopted. We have already seen enough destruction in the name of idealism. For Ireland now, political realism is the real idealism.[1]

[1] This article incorporates the substance of a lecture delivered to Tuairm on 17 January 1958. The first few paragraphs are used for an earlier lecture in order to place the subject in context.

Christianity in Armenia and the Lebanon

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CHRISTENDOM IN THE MIDDLE EAST (II)

by J. J. W. MURPHY

IN November 1945 an Arab mob attacked the Jewish quarter in the town of Tripoli, North Africa. The Arab police looked on and did not try to stop them. The British Military Administration which was then responsible for law and order in the Italian colony which Britain had conquered, delayed for three days before calling on British troops to intervene. There was then a Socialist government in Britain in whose scheme of things such intervention smacked of imperialism and the Bad Old Days. Any officer who ordered it before its necessity was so evident that even a Socialist government could not evade it, would probably get a ' bowler hat '. The violence spread to the villages throughout the length and breadth of Tripolitania where Jew and Arab had for centuries lived peacefully together, sharing the same hard life and speaking the same language. Men, women and children were murdered, houses and synagogues burned, shops looted. When British troops eventually restored order, 130 dead were officially counted.

I came from Egypt to Tripoli early in April 1946 as Senior Chaplain (RC) Tripolitania District. There were two battalions of infantry, the 2nd King's Royal Rifle Corps with the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, and a regiment of amoured cars, the Derbyshire Yeomanry. They did not want to talk about what had happened in those three days. Nobody did. Yet we had just come through a total war in any three days of which many more men, women and children had been killed. Bit by bit I put the story together. Soon I found what was wrong, what seemed to have sickened men who were not easily upset. It was the way that the Jews had let themselves be killed by the Arabs, had let their women and their children be killed, without putting up any sort of resistance. I was thankful I had not seen that. To hear it from men who had seen it, was quite bad enough. A year later when I was in Palestine where the Jewish killers of the Stern gang and the Irgun were doing such things to our people and to the Arabs as had been done to the Jews in Tripolitania, I used to control my anger by the thought that anything was better than the unresisted slaughter in Tripoli, any sort of fighting with any sort of

death, any cruelty, almost any crime, provided it could show that manhood was not lost. The Jews were fighting at last. If the price we had to pay in order to make men of our enemies, the Jews, must be our lives lost in a fight that they had forced upon us, I felt that we would not grudge it. To that extent, at least, we did love our enemies, even though we had to kill some of them who would have killed us. That was part of what we had to teach them. They all seem to have learned it, for in June 1948, just as we were about to leave Palestine, when another Arab mob attacked the Jews in Tripoli as they had done two years before, the Jews fought back and fought well. The final death-roll after two days was 14 Jews and 30 Arabs. It was the only good news we had in that sad and shameful month of June 1948, when we abandoned Palestine under the combined pressure of the Russian and the American vote in U.N.O.

As we marched in fighting order through Haifa to the waiting troopships, on the last day of June, we passed the British Military Cemetery where the low headstones of the 1914-18 war stood behind the small wooden crosses of our recent dead. Allenby's Palestine campaign of 1917–18 which drove the Turks from the Holy Land, after eight centuries, had been called romantically ' the Last Crusade '. Almost every Irish infantry regiment in the British Army had fought in it.

Was it for this the Wild Geese spread
A grey wing upon every tide?

To give Spain to the Bourbons and the Holy Land to the Jews? To make men of Jews and to teach them how to die fighting? Only God knows : only God really knows why anything happens to the Jews. The last crusade? Perhaps not the last.

The Jews have been always part of the historical background of Christendom everywhere. It is part of the Jewish mystery. Men will reason about it as they reason about Christian mysteries, and end where they began. In giving this glimpse of what I saw of it in the Middle East, where it is more evident than elsewhere, I do not intend to contribute to any of the temporary solutions of that problem, which are handed down every so often from the desks of the learned.

The history of the Armenian Christians is so very like the history of the Jews that it provides to the superficial an explanation of the Jewish character. It is shorter of course, only about a century longer than the history of Christianity in Ireland. The year 303 is given as the date of the official establishment of Christianity by King Tiridates II of Armenia, but there must have beeh Armenian Christians long before that. There are popular traditions that the Apostles St Thaddeus and St Bartholomew converted Armenia. There is also the legend, which is probably the only thing that most people have ever heard about Armenia, that Noah's ark is still on top of Mount Ararat south of the Caucasus, where it landed after the Flood. Near the foot of Ararat is Etshmiadzin, the most sacred

sanctuary of Armenian Christians. Since the war with Turkey in 1828–9 it is in Russian hands in what is now Soviet Armenia. This is nearly all that is now left of the fatherland of their nation, in which perhaps a million Armenians live. Like the Jews, the majority of them have for centuries lived outside their native land. Armenia, like Palestine, with its mixed population, had become little more than a geographical expression for a province of the Turkish empire. Only a handful of Armenians live in Turkish Armenia. In the whole of Turkey the number is under 60,000. The rest, a million at least, have wandered all over the Near and Middle East, to Europe, to India, to America. In every old town of the Levant [1] there is still an Armenian quarter. That in Jerusalem is literally a quarter, for it is one-fourth of the Old City, the other three being Jewish, Muslim, and Christian. That the Armenians should have so much of the Holy City to themselves instead of sharing with the Greek and Latin Christians, is significant. They were not a petty people, even though they were, as they are, scattered and unpopular minorities.

They are well able to compete with Jews as the money-makers of the world ; perhaps even to surpass them in the Middle East. They are bankers, money-changers, money-lenders and merchants, in big ways and in small. The oil-magnate, Gulbenkian, was one of them. They are kept together and apart from others by their religion and by their language. They have an amazing power of survival. Until Hitler murdered two million Jews, the Armenians must have held the record as victims of mass-killing. Here is a summary by Dr Fortescue writing in 1910 :

> In 1890 the massacres began at Erzerum. In 1893 there was another massacre and ghastly torturing. In 1894 there was a great massacre in the Sasun district. The chief massacre of all was from October to November 1895. This began in Trebizond and spread throughout the Armenian lands. Between fifty and one hundred thousand were killed, forty thousand children were left orphans, enormous numbers perished from starvation as the land was ravaged. In 1896 were fresh massacres in Zaitun and Van .... In 1909 twenty-five thousand Armenians were again massacred in Cilicia. It seems that under the Turk there is no hope for this ill-fated race.[2]

T. F. Johnson, Assistant to Nansen the High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees, takes up the story of the Turks and Armenians during the first World War :[3]

> Tala'at Bey .... sent the following telegram (15 September 1915) to the Chief of Police at Aleppo : ' It has already been reported that by order of the Committee (i.e. the Committee of Union and Progress, which had displaced the Sultan) the Government have determined

[1] The countries on the eastern Mediterranean sea-board from Turkey to Egypt.
[2] *The Lesser Eastern Churches* pp. 393–4
[3] *International Tramps* pp. 315–16

> completely to exterminate the Armenians living in Turkey . . . . however deplorable the methods of destruction may seem, an end is to be put to their existence without paying any heed to feeling or to conscience.'

He estimated that a quarter of a million Armenians were murdered on the order of the Committee of Union and Progress, the 'Young Turks' movement which in 1908 had seized power from the Sultan and had been welcomed by the Christian population of the Turkish empire as a forerunner of better days. It was in fact the first of those so-called 'youth movements' which in Europe led to the second world war, and in the Middle East look like leading to a third, if not met by adequate force before they have consolidated the dictatorships that always seem to go with them.

It is certain that if the Armenians had abandoned Christianity, they would have escaped much persecution in the course of their tragic history. But other Christian minorities in Muslim lands have suffered much less than they have at the hands of the Turks, so it would seem that there were other reasons besides religion which brought their troubles upon the Armenians. We have only recently seen one of those reasons at work in Hungary with similar disastrous consequences. Verbal sympathy and encouragement from a safe distance were poured upon the Armenians from Western Europe, especially by English Liberals whose favourite pastime in the 19th century was the encouragement of progressive movements in backward countries, regardless of the duty which their subjects owe even to backward governments, and of the probable reactions of such governments. The reaction of the Turks was savage and successful, like the reaction of the Russians to the Hungarian revolt of 1956. The pro-Armenian propaganda of the Christian West was as impotent to help against the Turks in Armenia as the Voice of America against the Russian tanks in Budapest.

The Armenians more than any other Christian minority in the East had the ear of the West by means of their world-wide dispersion and their commercial connections. They never had the literary fluency and artistic instinct of the Jews, but they had money, persistence and solidarity. In the course of the 19th century they had obtained certain concessions of limited liberty granted grudgingly by Turkey under pressure from the Christian West. France and Britain were in a good position to negotiate these concessions after the Crimean war had saved Turkey from Russia in 1855. Naturally the Armenians wanted more. They were encouraged to want more by individual French, British and American sympathizers, whose power to influence their own governments the Armenians overrated. The Russian government, which severely repressed revolutionary ideas at home, was glad to export them anywhere for the embarrassment of Turkey. Armenia was ready to welcome them. Secret societies were formed. The Turks struck first, and kept on striking until the Armenian

remnant was thankful to be merely left alive. Western protests were met with denials and evasions until, in sinister terms foreshadowing Hitler, the Turkish government could reply, in its best diplomatic French : *La question arménienne n'existe plus.*

Dr Fortescue records that during his travels in Asia Minor, gathering material for his great work on Eastern Christendom, he heard such stories as that of ' one Kurd climbing up into a hayloft where about ten Armenians were hiding, quietly killing them all, and then coming down again. The Armenians wept and prayed him to spare them '.

> Many people, even Christians, will tell you that the savage Kurd who massacres has at least the virtues of a savage ; he is brave, hospitable, honourable in his way. So they say they prefer him to the Armenian who can only weep when he is attacked, but who in spite of everything, comes up again by clever business dealings. I certainly think the most astonishing part of the story of the massacres is the ease with which whole districts of Armenians were calmly killed by quite small numbers of Kurds at their convenience. There does not ever seem to have been even a show of resistance.[1]

Dr Fortescue, priest and theologian though he was, did not seem to consider the possibility that these Christians were following their Master's counsel to turn the other cheek when smitten on one. Or if he did consider it, he rejected it as too unlikely an explanation. It does indeed seem unlikely that a whole people could rise to such a height of Christian perfection all at once. The truth about them is much more likely to have been what was true of the Jews in Tripoli in November 1945 : such passivity was not supernatural but sub-human.

Writing many years later of his own experience with the Armenian troops in 1917–18 during the Bolshevik revolution Major-General Dunsterville records his impression that ' the revolution had so taken the heart out of the men that this primitive spirit of the defence of hearth and home, one of the strongest instincts human beings possess, was entirely absent in the case of the South Caucasians . . . . At the back of the Armenian mind always lay the terror of impending massacre '. He blames the Russian revolution for this lack of spirit, and he charitably records that some of the Armenian leaders did their best, that the Armenian women in the firing-line ' were nothing less than heroines ', that some of the men were remarkably brave, and that disinclination for battle in most cases ' was based not purely on cowardice but also on an utter inability to understand anything about warfare '.[2]

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[1] Fortescue *op. cit.*, p. 392

[2] *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*. pp. 4 and 261. Their fear of massacre was well-founded. Under German influence the Turks, who owed their temporary triumph over Russia to German help, recognized Armenian independence and this was confirmed by the abortive treaty of Sêvres after the victory of the Allies. The Turks repudiated the treaty and the massacres began again.

The Jews have no military history from the second to the twentieth century, but before that time they were good fighters. Some of their fights are part of the world's great literature and are not unworthy of their place in it. Palestine was the cockpit of the Middle East between the great powers of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia and Rome. Armenia was also a cockpit country, between Christian Byzantium and pagan Persia ; then between the Christians and the Mongols ; between the Christians and the Muslims ; finally it was caught between Turkey and Russia, where all that is left of it remains imprisoned today. Armenians in those days had to be fighters and they were. They went out in a blaze of glory, after fighting on the side of the Crusaders in Cicilian Armenia near St Paul's native Tarsus whither many of them had moved from their own native land to found a kingdom at the other end of Asia Minor. It lasted some 400 years. The older Armenia of history that still bears the name, is now, as I have already said, politically divided between Turkey and Soviet Russia.

The last king of Cilician Armenia is buried in Paris. He died in 1393 after putting up a good fight for his kingdom against the Muslims. He was a Frenchman, a Lusignan, but his subjects had no reason to be ashamed of that, for he came to the crown by legitimate inheritance on his Armenian mother's side. Nor had he any reason to be ashamed of them. They have seldom fought since his time, and never so well again. ' But, my dear sir ', said a Turkish diplomat to a European colleague, ' if we do not massacre them, who will ? ' It would seem that human nature can stand only a limited amount of the truth about human cruelty. That accounts for the popularity of that Turk's witty remark. After all, things can't be so bad when one can be really funny about them. Probably a lot of it was the Armenians' own fault. And of course a lot of it must have been the Belgians' own fault in 1914–18, and the Jews' own fault in 1939–45. Eventually the bill is presented, and Christians still wonder why God permits wars.

The religion of Armenia, leaving out the legend of its apostolic origin, remained Christian from the 3rd until the 6th century under the successors in the primacy of St Gregory the Illuminator, the real national apostle of Armenia. Then it became heretical, after a doubtful period of schism caused by quarrels between kings and primates. Some moral aspects of these quarrels were rather like those that ended in England with the break from Rome in the reign of King Henry VIII. ' But of all Monophysite bodies ', says Dr Fortescue, ' the Armenian Church can best be excused her acceptance of heresy . . . . she did not at first make Monophysism her national cause as did the Copts. She stood aloof from the whole quarrel, knew nothing of it till long after, and then took the wrong side by an unhappy mistake.' [1] The venerable name of the

[1] Fortescue *op. cit.*, p. 411

national apostle went with the national religion, so the Monophysite Armenians are now called ' Gregorians ' ; those who have come back from heresy and schism are called ' Armenian Uniates.' There are about 150,000 of them. At times the whole nation seemed to have come back, especially when in the twelfth century the new kingdom of Cilician Armenia made friends with the Crusaders, and remained in communion with the Pope for two hundred years until its destruction by the Mamelukes and Turks. But a strong nationalist sentiment in favour of heresy had grown up meanwhile in the older Armenia which regained some of its former power with the loss of Cilicia and the defeat and departure of the crusaders from the Levant. Rome was far away ; their nearest Catholic neighbours were the Byzantine Greeks whom the Armenians detested ; hostile Muslims were all around. As so often happens, politics led the way and religion had to follow. ' Had the Armenian Church recognized the council of Chalcedon, her free apostolic patriarchal see would have been lost, and her independence would have been subjected to the Greek Church ', says the official Armenian catechism. Such a set of values can have but one conclusion.[1]

The issue before the Council of Chalcedon was not the administration of the Church but the very foundation of it, the meaning of the Incarnation. The argument that a national Church might have to accept a subordinate position in the hierarchy, if it accepted the findings of an ecumenical council on that fundamental issue, is surely an amazing revelation of a national selfishness not merely shortsighted, but completely blind. Such appeals to the gallery have been, and still are, characteristic of the East. They are being used now in China by the so-called ' patriotic priests ' who would like to fill the dioceses left vacant by the expulsion of foreign bishops as ' agents of imperialism ', and who threaten to take the law into their own hands if the Vatican does not accept their nominations. In a Dublin nationalist periodical last August appeared a curious report of a native agitation in Nigeria against ' the Irish-Roman ', meaning the Irish Catholic missionaries, who had taken advantage of the ' pax Britannica ' to spread Christianity in Africa but certainly not with any imperialist designs in favour of Britain or of Rome. Thus Church history repeats itself. The consequences are easier to foresee than to prevent.[2]

There is one group indirectly of Monophysite origin which has found its way back to Catholic unity and done this so whole-heartedly and so long ago that it will not now officially admit that it was ever separated. These are the Maronites. They are called after a St Maro who is part of their legend of perpetual orthodoxy. Their native land is the Lebanon,

[1] Quoted *ibid.* p. 421

[2] In no sense, obviously, is Nigeria ' East ', Middle, Near or Far. Its large Muslim population links it closely with Egypt, and is the channel for anti-European, anti-colonial, anti-imperial, anti-Christian and Pan-Islamic propaganda of which Egypt is the chief source in the Middle East and all over Muslim Africa.

a tiny country about half the size of Ulster's nine counties, on the sea-coast north of Palestine, where the famous cities of Tyre and Sidon survived as fishing villages with Arab names, Sour and Saida.[1] There are about 400,000 Maronites in the world, some ten per cent of them in the U.S.A., and every one of them is a Catholic. I shall not easily forget the indignation and hurt surprise, restrained from hot words only by her respect for me as a priest, which I saw on the face of a Maronite woman when, in my ignorance, I asked if her Church believed in the Pope. She was going to marry one of my sergeants in the R.A.F., and I was taking her particulars. I ought to have been long enough in the Middle East to know better than to ask a Maronite such a question, but I had not been in the Lebanon, and I thought the usual rule held good that every Oriental church had Uniates and non-Uniates. I did not know that Maronites are the proud exception. She felt like an Irish Catholic would feel, if asked such a question by a foreign priest. I felt not only foolish but guilty. It was my duty to have known better.

The Maronites were never Monophysite. They were seduced by a well-meant and plausible attempt to convert Monophysites by a theological compromise called Monothelism. As the Pope of that time, Honorius I, did not seem to see anything wrong with the Monothelite theory, it is hard to blame anybody for being deceived by it. It was ambiguous ; as stated by the Pope, it could be true ; as interpreted by the Monophysites it meant that our Saviour had no human will, or free human power of choice, but only the will of his divine nature. This would reduce his human nature to an automaton not fully human, which was as near to Monophysism as made no matter. Hence another of those popular slogans, with which this whole debate is disfigured : ' We have not come to Chalcedon, but Chalcedon has come to us ! '

The loud cheers from the Monophysite gallery should have warned the Maronites that orthodoxy was in danger. But here again politics came into action. The Byzantine emperor Heraclius was desperately anxious to conciliate his disloyal Syrian and Egyptian subjects, who were Monophysite as much out of spite as by conviction, and he saw in Monothelism a chance of doing this. He was at war with Persia. War with the Arab invaders was imminent, a war in which defeat would mean disaster to Christendom. The Syrians and Egyptians were always ready, as they are today, to welcome the devil they did not know. For faith and fatherland, as they saw it, they might stab their Christian emperor in the back. But Monothelism would meet their national heresy more than half-way : it would wipe out their theological defeat at Chalcedon two centuries before. The emperor hoped that they might be appeased and persuaded to join in the fight against the common enemy before it was too late.

[1] Sidon is back into the world of commerce since it became recently the terminus of the Trans-Arab pipeline from the Saudi Arabian oil-fields over 1,000 miles away.

The Lebanese then were, as they still remain, more friendly to the West than other Orientals ever are. Geographically their land looks west. Their political sympathies were with the emperor, so they fell in with his policy of appeasement. They even became Monothelites themselves, in all good faith at first. But when the successors of Pope Honorius condemned the Monothelite heresy, the Maronites did not renounce it until five centuries later under Crusader influence. Meantime the Arab invaders had driven the Byzantine emperor out of the Middle East and reduced the local Christians of all denominations to the subjection in which they still remain, except for the brief intervals of Christian control by the Crusaders in the Middle Ages and by the French and British in modern times. But even in the worst days of Muslim domination the Maronites in the Lebanese highlands could hold their own. Today they are the largest Christian body in the only country of the Arab world that has a Christian majority, the Lebanon. The population is about a million and a quarter, nearly half Muslim, and as the Christians tend to emigrate, chiefly to the U.S.A., it is doubtful how long they can hold their majority—indeed the Muslims say that the next census will show they have lost it.

Western intervention in favour of Christians in the Turkish empire was more successful in the Lebanon than in Armenia. The reason was that Britain and France could and did use their overwhelming sea-power as they could not use it in Armenia 400 miles inland from the Mediterranean coast, unless they were prepared not only to force the Dardanelles but to clash again with Russia. The Sultan's declaration of goodwill towards his Christian subjects after the Crimean war was resented by the Muslim fanatics who took the law into their own hands, with no fear of punishment from the Turkish government, whose officials might well be described in words rather more applicable to them than to those they were originally meant for :

> *One hand stuck out behind the back to signal 'Strike again'*
> *The other on their dress-shirt front to show their heart is clane!*

The signal to strike again was given in the Lebanon to the Druse fanatics in 1860 by the local governor, Khursud Pasha, after he had given formal assurances to the European consulates that they had no cause to worry about the safety of their fellow-Christians. He was no worse than the average of his type and time.

> Massacres of Christians in the Lebanon and at Damascus led to the despatch of warships to Beirut by Great Britain, France, Russia, and Prussia and several smaller powers and to the landing of a force international in status though exclusively French in composition. In consequence of this demonstration the Lebanon, whose population was

almost entirely Christian, was created an autonomous province under an Ottoman Governor-General to be selected with the approval of the Powers from among the Christian subjects of the Porte.[1]

The force landed under the guns of the allied warships was exclusively French in deference to the historic right of France to protect all the Christians of the Turkish empire. The right, acquired by treaty between Francis I and the Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, in the 16th century, was repeatedly confirmed and consistently used. In 1888 the Holy See warned Italian missionaries in the Levant, who were inclined to by-pass the local French representatives in favour of Italians, ' that if they need any help they are to have recourse to the consuls and other ministers of France whose Protectorate has been established for centuries and sanctioned even by treaties between the empires '. Ten years later Pope Leo XIII, on the eve of a twenty-year conflict between the French government and the Holy See declared that he had no wish to interfere with France's historic privilege in the East and that he trusted France would not abandon it. France would not ; the Pope was right. He had appealed not only to the undoubted political advantages which the Protectorate gave to France, but to something deeper and finer. When Sir Ronald Storrs asked M. Picot during the Franco-British negotiations after World War I, how France, agnostic, anti-clerical, secular-minded, could be genuinely interested in the Holy Land, he got one of those perfect answers that make us all, perhaps against our better judgment, want to forgive France her sins, which are many : . . .

C'était dans leur sang, plus fort qu'eux-mêmes.

The Protectorate gave France a legal basis for intervention, even armed intervention, without the inevitable risk of war. Last year the American Sixth Fleet lay impotent and worse than useless off the same coast where the combined French and British fleets had landed the French troops in 1860. This American intervention only helped to throw Syria into the arms of Russia, because the Syrians saw that America had not the will to fight if it came to the risk of a world-war, and that Russia had, or had frightened America into thinking that she had. Next to successful violence the Oriental respects successful bluff, and no man is a better judge of good bluffing. But even if America had the will to fight, there was no legal basis on which American troops could act, unless American citizens were in imminent danger, or the Jordan government invited them to protect itself. Such an invitation was in the circumstances unthinkable, and of course the Syrians saw to it that no American citizen was given any possible reason or excuse to call on the Sixth Fleet to rescue him. All that was achieved was an insult to Syria's national

[1] *Britain and The Middle East* pp. by Sir Reader Bullard 36-7. Eight foreign Franciscans died in the massacre and were beatified as martyrs in 1926. This is proof that they were killed precisely because they were Christians, not because they were foreigners.

prestige, which those Syrian politicians who favoured Russia exploited fully, and a revelation of American weakness and her ignorance of elementary international politics and procedure.

The settlement with Turkey, reached under pressure from France after the successful intervention of 1860, laid the foundation of the Lebanon's peace and prosperity. Its standards of education from primary to university level improved beyond all comparison with other countries of the Middle East. This was due almost entirely to Christian missionaries of various countries and denominations, chiefly French Catholics, with American Presbyterians a close second. The American school at Beirut was from the first a missionary centre for Syria as well as the Lebanon. It had no more success in converting Muslims than any other Christian denomination ever has, but it has certainly succeeded in spreading knowledge of the American way of life all over the Middle East. In 1866 it became the Syrian Protestant College and in 1920 the American University of Beirut. Students have come to it in thousands from every Arab country, and return with impressive degrees, hoping for white-collar jobs which are not there. St Joseph's Catholic University of Beirut, founded in 1875, received its title in 1881 from Pope Leo XIII in recognition of the educational work done at all levels by the French Jesuits, not only in Beirut but throughout the Lebanon and Syria. Its medical degrees were recognized by the French and Turkish governments. The Jesuits came from France to the help of native Christians rather than in hope of converting the Muslims, of whom their experience was greater and their expectations accordingly less than those of American Presbyterians. The high standard of their teaching has enabled their university to survive the decline of French influence and the Francophobia that followed the triumph of Arab nationalism in Syria and the Lebanon after World War II.

For good measure the Lebanese government has started a National University, which does not seem really necessary unless perhaps to satisfy national prestige. But if any Arab country could afford university education and absorb the products of it, the Lebanon could. Beirut is to the Arab world what the city of London is to the sterling area, the great money-market whose exchange and banking operations have become indispensable to trade. Matthew Arnold's Tyrian trader who had to ' shake out more sail ' in order to escape his nimble Greek competitor in the Mediterranean, is out of date on the coast of Phoenicia today. His successor, Christian or Muslim, in Beirut sits in his office and lifts a telephone. He could buy and sell that trader's cargo between any two ports. The trader was probably as good a judge of when to buy and sell, only he had not so wide a choice of markets.

The economic position of the Lebanon is strong. Its political position

is weak—desperately weak, it would seem to any except to the sort of people that the Maronites are, who in the ups and downs of centuries have not despaired. An Irishman can see in it resemblances to the position in Northern Ireland which are illuminating and need not be inflammatory. The Lebanon is smaller than the Six Ulster Counties, but it was still smaller from 1861 to 1920, for its area was reduced to the northern part where the population was almost entirely Christian, in order to keep as low as possible the number of Muslims who would have to live under a Christian governor. Administratively this was sound policy, but it was practical only on condition that the integrity of the area would be preserved at the cost of its independence. It was much too small to stand alone. In Ireland the situation would be similar if the government of Northern Ireland had received jurisdiction over only the predominantly Protestant areas of the four counties around Belfast. The French mandate (1920–43) had to prepare the Lebanon for eventual independence, as laid down by the League of Nations, so the area was extended east and south to include a mixed population of Muslims and Christians of various denominations. The situation then resembled what it would have been in Ireland, if in the same year 1920 the nine Ulster counties with their narrow over-all Unionist majority had been brought together under the Northern government by the British Parliament.

Since 1943 the Lebanon has been an independent Arab state, though the last French troops did not withdraw till 1946, making some trouble before going. To the east and north separated now by no natural boundary, is Syria, also Arab, many times larger and with nearly three times the population, almost as Muslim as the Republic of Ireland is Catholic. As might be expected, many Lebanese Muslims want to unite with Syria. Blood has already been shed on that issue. There were, according to Professor Ziadeh of the American University of Beirut, nine political parties in the Lebanon in 1956, including the Communist party which was officially banned. All are concerned with this problem ; each has its own solution. Most Christians want to keep the Lebanon independent. Some would sacrifice the predominantly Muslim areas and trust America to save the independence of the rest from Syria. So do Northern Irish Protestants rely on the British guarantee to save the Six Counties from forcible absorption by the Catholic South. Lebanese Muslims, like Northern Catholics, generally favour union or federation with their co-religionists over the border. But the numerous sectarian differences between Sunni, Shia, and Alawi Muslims, and especially the Druse, who are a Muslim people apart, produce almost as many differences of approach to the problem of union and independence. There are Muslims who prefer independence and there are Christians who prefer union. It is another of those complications characteristic of our modern age in which political nationalism has again set the pace for

religion, as it did so early and so often throughout the long, turbulent, tragic history of Christendom in the Middle East.

It may seem strange that any Lebanese Christians should want to compromise on the issue of independence. But compromise now seems to many the only hope of saving some of it. France and Britain, to whose intervention it owed its existence since 1861, now seem to have lost interest as well as influence. America has influence but never seems to know what to do with it in the Middle East. Russian influence is growing in Egypt and in Syria. There is a three-year old campaign of subversion against those Arab governments who resist Nasser's policy of so-called positive neutrality, which means playing off Russia against the West. In October 1957 Syria was the first victim ; in April 1957 Jordan had narrowly escaped ; Iraq fell in July 1958. Lebanon has been under pressure, intensified after Nasser took over Syria, until it caused a civil war in May 1958. Many Lebanese blamed President Chamoun for not holding the balance better between Muslim and Christian at home and between the positive neutrality of the Egyptian-Syrian axis and the western orientation of the Bagdad Pact abroad. Upon the maintenance of that balance, they believe, the survival of the Lebanon depends. Even if armed intervention by the West saved it for a while, they fear that it might sooner or later be sold-out by some western compromise with pan-Arabism. Britain has got a bad name in the East for letting down her friends since the surrenders of responsibility in India, Palestine, the Sudan and Egypt. America is usually unpredictable for at least one year before and after every change of President.

There is also a moral factor which goes deeper than these political influences on the Lebanese. It is the growth of religious indifference both in Christian and in Muslim and the filling of the emotional vacuum by nationalism. Fifty years ago a Maronite felt himself first a Christian and then vaguely an Arab. Now he thinks of himself as a Christian Arab, divided by the accident of infant baptism from his brother Arab who happens to be a Muslim, and who had just as little say in his choice of religion. One may see an analogous process at work in Northern Ireland, for good and evil. The younger generation of all denominations of Lebanese Christians tends to lean over backwards in order to demonstrate its indifference to the West. The temptation is stronger for young Maronite nationalists because the supreme authority of their religion is the Pope, who is at the very heart of western civilization. This growth of nationalism does not favour Lebanese independence which was so long bound up with Christianity and the West. It tends rather to pan-Arabism.

Neither Druse nor Maronite is now the fiercely independent highlander whom the Turks thought it best to leave alone. Nearly half the population lives in Beirut, buying, selling, speculating, or catering for the tourist trade of the newly-rich from Arab countries. The attraction of high wages draws more and more men from the country to the capital and to the oil-terminal ports at Tripoli and Sidon. Kemal Jumblatt, who has figured in the civil-war news as a Druse chieftain, is as unlike a highland chief as possible. He is indeed a landlord, but a reforming landlord, head of the socialist party, and a university lecturer.

The Druse do seem to have a grievance, and this is unfortunate for they are probably the most whole-heartedly Muslim group for the country's independence. By a gentleman's agreement of 1943 called the National Pact, the great offices of state were divided between the religious bodies so that the president of the Lebanon is always a Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, the head of the chamber of deputies a Shia. After that the key positions are mostly filled by Uniate Christians like Maronites. The Lebanon has a good tradition of settling its differences without bloodshed. Kemal Jumblatt does not seem to be the sort of man who would lightly depart from that tradition. He and his people have claim for a greater share in the government of the country which is as much theirs as nine centuries can make it. If it were not for the subversive activities directed by Egypt from Syria, that claim might have been fairly met without civil war. One can only hope that the recent American show of force will stop Syria and Egypt fanning the flames and give the Lebanese a chance to settle their own differences according to their civilized tradition of live and let live, too civilized, perhaps, to survive in the Middle East of our day. Camille Chamoun seems to have thought so. History will show how right he was.

The Christian autonomy of the Lebanon began under the protection of failing force, the Christian conscience of the West. It survived during the quiet interval between two fanatical periods, between the decline of Arab religion and the rise of Arab nationalism. If it is to survive now, it must be protected again by the West against the rest of the Arab world which surrounds it and Israel on three sides. On the fourth side is the sea from which help came nearly a century ago. The West still has the power, but has it the will to help, at the cost and at the risk that such help must entail if it is to succeed ? More important to know : have the Lebanese Christians the will to preserve their independence at what it must cost ? Too many of them seem to be emigrating ; too many talking about coming to terms with Arab nationalism. The Lebanese Christians separated from Rome, Orthodox Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, may be

said already to have made their terms with nationalism, terms of mental and moral surrender. The Maronites generally did well for themselves by sitting on the fence during the French mandate until they knew that France could not hold on. Camille Chamoun has failed to convince many of them that the day for such performances is over. The Melkites and the other Uniate Christians are too few to matter, and they also are divided.

Instead of marking time in Beirut and Amman since the middle of July, the British and Americans could have worked for a united front of Israel and the Druse and Maronites of the Lebanon against Egypt and Syria. The Israelis are the only people in the Middle East who have proved beyond question that they have the will to fight with their backs to the wall, giving and taking no quarter. Only the Transjordan Arab Legion was able to stand up to them, and that was an army, not a people. It is neither now. The Druse in Israel have been the most cooperative with the government of all the non-Jewish minority ; they never shared the Arab fanatical feeling against the establishment of the Jewish State and some of them even fought for it against their fellow-Arabs. They have no love for Jews and Christians, but they despise all Muslim sects, although their own religion is fundamentslly Muslim. For centuries they and the Maronites made common cause against the Turk, on a basis of enlightened self-interest which unfortunately broke down in the nineteenth century. This breakdown led to the massacre of 1860 and the Western intervention, but time has to some extent repaired it. It is in the interest of Druse and Maronite independence that the repair should be quickly completed.

Like the Druse, the Maronites refused to share the common Arab sentiment of implacable hatred against Israel. The Maronite Archbishop Mubarak caused much embarrassment to Arab Christians by a public statement favouring Zionism when its fate was in the balance before United Nations Organization in 1947–8.

Under pressure from its Muslim neighbours the Lebanon did duly declare war on Israel in 1948. The armies met, fired some shots, winked at each other and withdrew, the Jews to defeat the Syrians and Egyptians, the Lebanese *more patrio* to sit on their fence. They are not the sort of people with whom to go tiger-hunting, but a look at a large-scale map will show that the Lebanon could easily form a defensible frontier with Palestine, that is with Israel extended from its present impossible boundary to the west bank of the Jordan. Such an extension would be too much for the British and Americans to recommend, but they probably would acquiesce as usual in the accomplished fact, or compromise by occupying the present Arab-held part of the west bank with British or American

troops. With western support such a line could be held against any force that Egypt and its satellites could bring against it. It could also be a secure base from which the Suez Canal, the Oil-fields and the pipe-lines could be recovered and effectively protected. This operation would call the Russian bluff which saved Nasser in November 1956 and has been the most effective Communist propaganda-line in the Middle East ever since. It might also open the eyes of Western worshippers of that sacred cow, pan-Arab nationalism. Few Arabs would be found to fight for it in a real war. Street revolutions and political murders are more safe, profitable and popular. But far-off sacred cows have permanently long horns in the eyes of readers of the high-brow and upper-middle-brow weeklies.

Rhetorical Meditations in Time of Peace

I

SPEECH FOR AN IDEAL ELECTION

1

Then the visionary lady
Walked like a magician's daughter
Across green acres of Ireland ;
The broad bright sword
Of the politician's word
Summoned the applause in every square.

2

The unseen inhabited
A well, a corner of a field ;
Houses assumed magic light
From patriots' memory ;
Assemblies knelt in awe before
The supernatural in a shaking tree.

3

The light that never was
Enlarged profile, gun and phrase :
Green of the grass worn
On shoulder as catalytic token ;
Acrid speech of rifle and gun
Easing neurosis into definite action.

4

The house subsides into stillness.
Buried bombs ignore the spade.
The evening light, suitably grave,
Challenges renewed activity.
The transfigured heroes assume
The grey proportions of statuary.

5

Now the extraordinary hour of calm
And day of limitation.
The soft grasses stir
Where unfinished dreams
Are buried with the Fianna
In that remote rock cave.

6

Who today asks for more
—Smoke of battle drifting aside—
Than the struggle with ourselves,
With graceless unheroic things
The greater task of swimming
Against a slackening tide?

II

SLUM CLEARANCE

Standing at the window, I watch the wild green leaves
Lurch back against the wall, all the branches of the apple-tree
Stretch tight before the wind, the rain lash
The evening long against the stubborn buildings
Raised by man, the ugly rubbish dumps,
The half-built flats, the oozing grey cement
Of hasty walls, the white-faced children
Deprived of sun, scurrying with sharp laughter
From point to point of shelter,
And arched over all, the indifferent deadening rain.

III

INVOCATION IN TIME OF PEACE

At times on this island, on the sheltered edge of Europe
The last flowering sweet garden of prayer and pretence,
Green enclosure of monks and quiet poetry,
Where the rivers move, without haste, to a timid sea,
And the rain shifts like a woven veil
Over headland and sleeping plain,
At times in this island, dreaming all day
In the sunlight and rain of attained revolutions,
We are afraid, as the hints pile up, of disaster
Enlarged as a dinosaur, rising from the salt flats,
The webbed marshes of history, making the hand and eye tremble
Hardly knowing why.

At times, we watch the gradual progress of days
In this last casual fortress, separate by sea
And by choice, from all men's fears and alarms,
All signs of shattered unity referred
To the benign and exclusive care of the Trinity,
Who today in our hour of need, seems so distant and far,
Over the shuttered and graceful hills,
In a more blessed land, where peace is the air,
And praise grazes in every fresh pasture ;
There, our withdrawn ancestors, deserving of rest,
Kneel among dark rocks, in incessant
Contemplative prayer.

At times, we turn in most ordinary weakness and trembling
From the sweet incense rising, the gentle light falling
On damp slum tenement and holy mountain ;
From the safety of private quarrels, the ecstatic forgiving,
Turn with hands eager in wishing
To assist all those fearful, exiled, and ailing,
Implicit in our out-stretched palms
Pulsing from the woven wrists like doves in flight
This need to be sharing,
And yet know against this backcloth
Our best longings helpless, as the clouds begin banking
For a yet more ominous day.

JOHN MONTAGUE

(From *Forms of Exile,* a collection of poems shortly to be published by the Dolmen Press)

The Historian Tacitus

by P. G. WALSH

SCHOLARS writing in English have long exhibited a remarkable reluctance to essay general assessments in the field of Roman historiography. There is no modern study of Sallust or Livy in English to which students can be directed ; and though Tacitus has engaged more attention, it has been a painful exercise to compare the puny research of English-speaking scholars with the prodigious output from German, Italian and French universities. Now at last the Oxford University Press has published a work to remedy this grievous state of affairs.[1]

Professor Syme's study, a model of comprehensive and thorough scholarship, outshines all previous Tacitean analysis as Tacitus outshines all earlier Roman historians. The Camden Professor starts with signal advantages. As a contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History,* he has been a recognized authority on the early Empire, especially its military history, for a quarter of a century. As the author of a remarkable book, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), he has been responsible for a drastic reassessment of Augustus by his limpid, remorseless exposé of the princeps' manipulation of power ; if the judgement of the emperor be too severe, his depiction of the mechanism of imperial government has ostracized for ever the starry-eyed admirers. And finally, as the writer of numerous articles on leading Roman politicians and administrators, he has made a substantial contribution to the prosopography of the early Empire.

All this specialized study gives him a virtually unique insight into the structure of politics in imperial Rome, where the personality of the Emperor is frequently less important than the inherited techniques of government, the predispositions of army commanders, and above all, the clandestine activities of imperial advisers, often *novi homines,* their tensions with Senatorials, their promotion of favourites. This subject, the sources of imperial power, its manipulations, its tensions, and its breakdowns, is the central preoccupation of Tacitus. The key to his historical outlook lies chiefly in a thorough appreciation of the political climate of his society and of the political role which he personally played in it. This book is more than the study of an historian. With a style and language strongly reminiscent of Tacitean techniques, with a Tacitean view of men's motives (Syme sees Tacitus as ' impelled to a sombre, almost uniform

[1] *Tacitus* by Ronald Syme. Two vols. : 856 pp. O.U.P. 1958. 84s.

conception of human nature as necessarily manifested by transactions of violence, craft, and iniquity '), the author unfolds his masterly interpretation, new at many points, of the one hundred and twenty years subsequent to the death of Augustus in 14 A.D., a latter-day Asinius Pollio, he looks at the human predicament without sentimentality, without self-deception, and perhaps with insufficient sympathy.

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Publius Cornelius Tacitus was born in 56 or 57 A.D., shortly after Nero's accession to the principate. His provenance has long been disputed. Some have been beguiled by his name into imagining that he was a blue-blooded Roman, direct descendant of that *gens Cornelia* which had been one of the five ' upper crust ' families in Republican times. The possibility is remote. The *nobiles* who survived till Nero's later years were mostly removed at his instigation. Their oligarchical role in government is increasingly assumed by a new provincial class, who bear their august names because their forbears had received the citizenship from Aemilii, Fabii, or other aristocrats. Tacitus is representative of this emergent provincial influence ; the arguments adduced by Syme (not conclusive, but ingenious and persuasive) suggest that he was born in Gallia Narbonensis in the town of Vasio. This was also the home of Burrus, one of Nero's influential advisers, and perhaps through his agency Tacitus's father had become procurator of Gallia Belgica.

In the early Empire, such an official's son had excellent prospects of official advancement, and Tacitus reinforced his position by marrying the daughter of Agricola, one of the emperor Vespasian's most influential supporters. He duly held the minor political offices, and in 88 (half-way through Domitian's reign) he held both the praetorship and a select priesthood which marked him out as a man of promise acceptable to the regime. His activities during the remaining years of Domitian's reign, which were marked by savage repression of political opposition, are unknown ; perhaps, as Syme suggests, he commanded a legion. At any rate, there is no sign that he was victimized in any way. In 97, the year after that emperor's death, he became consul, perhaps on Domitan's designation; and the kindlier days of Trajan saw him reach the peak of political and forensic eminence at Rome. The climax to his career came in 112, when he was appointed Proconsul of Asia—the most coveted of all posts in provincial administration.

From this brief scrutiny of his career, two important conclusions emerge. First, Tacitus later writes on a situation which he thoroughly understands ; he is not a political innocent like Livy. As an outstanding Senatorial spokesman, holder of consular office in a year of crises (Nerva had just succeeded Domitian), he witnessed at close quarters the new

emperor's terrifying dependence on the inner circle of the court, and recognized his own office and indeed the entire Senatorial procedure to be a monstrous and pathetic façade. Secondly, Tacitus himself had suffered no personal impediment under the Flavian regime ; he showed no overt opposition, and indeed he deprecates the ostentatious martyrdom of those ' who resisted despotism with death, and brought no benefit to the state '. He and his fellows reluctantly acknowledge that Republican *libertas* has no place in their changed society ; in this spirit he praises his father-in-law for his impassivity and compliance in the face of Domitan's jealousy and ingratitude. *Obsequium* is the new watch-word. Such a policy of cooperation with a princeps with blood-stained hands increased Tacitus's aversion to the necessary evil (' Our hands dragged Helvidius off to prison,' he writes, ' our countenances felt shame at the sight of Mauricus and Rusticus, it was we whom Senecio bespattered with his innocent blood.') and sharpened his prejudice against past holders of the principate.

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It is appropriate here also to consider such philosophical and religious conceptions as condition Tacitus's historical interpretation. He was not attached to any philosophical school, as he makes clear ; it was in general regarded as unbecoming for a Roman of prominence to show too much enthusiasm for such pursuits. Any positive religious outlook in him is hard to pin down ; like so many educated Romans, he combines a sentimental reverence for tradition with a Thucydidean scepticism of any alleged emanation of divine authority through oracles and the like. (There is, however, the remarkable preoccupation with astrology as a science in the early Empire, to which Tacitus duly subscribes, though it hardly impinges on his views of the motivation of human action.) There abides in the reader the firm impression that a religious interpretation of human life is not a central preoccupation in the historian's mind ; and though he repeatedly states in both *Histories* and *Annals* that the tragic sufferings of Rome are a measure of the gods' anger, though he adverts to the savagery of *fortuna* and the malevolence of *fatum*, such expressions appear not so much to be theological concepts but conventional expressions and literary *motifs*.

Syme suggests that such absence of dogmatic tenets in an historian is salutary ; and there is a real point here if one is pondering the extravagant theological framework in which Livy, Stoic-wise, frames his mundane military narrations. Yet religious conviction need not obtrude so crudely and naively. Perhaps Tacitus, in resolutely closing his vision to philosophy, narrowed his vision of the wellsprings of human conduct. ' It has yet to be proved ', writes Syme, ' that acerbity or gloom is detrimental in an historian '. The question is too subjective to be answered in those terms

but many will believe that Tacitus's portraits of Tiberius and Claudius offer adequate indications. Certainly a profound pessimism, politically rather than religiously based, affects his entire presentation of the early principate.

* * * *

Tacitus's approach to history is also affected by the traditions of historiography within which he wrote. What did the Romans conceive the purpose of history to be? How was that purpose to be achieved? What standards were current in evaluation of source-material? In what way should history be presented? Such questions are vital to an understanding of Tacitus's achievement.

Many of the answers lie far back in Greek historiography, to which the Romans, as novices, looked for guidance. Syme declines to submerge himself in those treacherous and boundless depths; he begins with the first-century discussions of Cicero. For the Romans, history is the *magistra vitae;* its function is didactic and moral. 'I think it the chief purpose of history', writes Tacitus, 'to prevent virtues being shrouded in silence, and to cause men to fear notoriety before posterity for evil deeds and evil words.' Such a conception dominates the entire field of Roman history-writing. It is the individual who counts—not 'trends', 'forces', and other stock clichés of twentieth-century historiography, not social and economic surveys, but the motives, words, deeds, and character of individuals, and especially leaders of communities. And as Tacitus's history centres on Rome, it is the urban figures who predominate. In view of this, it is idle to criticize the absence of analyses of provincial government, of the growth of the civil service, of problems of finance and other social and economic issues; a first-century Rostovtzeff would be a contradiction in terms. Thus though (as Syme insists) there are in Tacitus items of social and economic information, they are incidental to the depiction of a dramatic incident or the characterization of an individual.

Characterization: this is the main medium for Tacitus's moral and didactic aims. Indeed, he begins with a biography, the *Agricola.* (As Syme remarks, biography offers the easy approach to history, and this was especially true for the Romans.) The means of characterization are the classical 'indirect' methods of drama; the reader forms his opinion from the speeches a person makes, and from the things that others say about him. Such speeches were by convention freely composed by the historian, and thus offered abundant opportunities for delineation of character. But Tacitus uses direct character-sketches more boldly than his predecessors, developing the techniques to which Sallust had pointed the way. One notes, too, the role of artistic comparison in Tacitean characterization. Just as in the *Agricola* there is an implied contrast between Agricola and the

emperor Domitian, so in the *Annals* Germanicus and Tiberius are compared—to the princeps' signal disadvantage, as Syme concedes, for Germanicus's serious errors of judgement on the Rhine and in the East are quietly ignored.

Tacitus's superiority over his predecessors is chiefly marked in his collection and disposition of evidence. His predecessors had been most lax in this respect. Romans like Livy were far too absorbed with literary considerations. Instead of delving into the documentary evidence, they relied upon the researches of others ; hence the ' authorized version ' of early Republican history, with its original farrago of patriotic distortion, political animosity, and family chicanery,was allowed to rest unchallenged. Tacitus impresses with a far greater mastery of his source-material. Syme rightly castigates those who portray Tacitus as reproducing the content now of this source now of that, as Livy tends to do. Tacitus's main work was an account of the period 14—96 A.D. ; he had personal recollections of much of the period, and his older acquaintances could help. He studied such documentary evidence as was available, notably commanders' dispatches and accounts of individual campaigns, and for the political scene the *acta senatus* and family-records. Such evidence he used to qualify the testimony of the written sources. There is nothing new to be said on this *Quellenforschung ;* every possible speculation has its apologist, and no firm answers can be given. For though Tacitus promises to cite authorities when they differ, he fails to do so ; Livy is in this respect more industrious.

Syme's own conjecture is that for the extant books of the *Histories* (that is, for 69—70 A.D.) Fabius Rusticus was much used; for the section of the *Annals* concerned with Tiberius, Servilius Nonianus, and for the later books, Cluvius Rufus, both consulars with professional expertise on politics. But Syme does well to insist that these are three amongst many, that the documents took prior consideration, and that Tacitus's narrative bears the stamp of original interpretation in an original style, conveying ' that authority of rank, weight, and maturity which pronounces a consular verdict upon men and affairs, peremptory and incorruptible.'

* * * *

What judgement, then, is to be passed on Tacitus's quality as historian? His earlier works, the *Agricola* and *Germania,* have their considerable defects. If considered as a potential source of information on Britain, the *Agricola* is disappointing. There is no mention of towns or legionary stations, and little geographical detail : little significant military information on Agricola's forces, or the extent of his conquests : his comments on the mineral deposits are inadequate. Such topics were irrelevant to his main aim, the glorification of his father-in-law, and there are sundry wilful inaccuracies and vague claims which contribute to that end.

The *Germania*, an ethnographical treatise, is representative of a literary genre popular at Rome. Tacitus had done little personal research, but was content to follow literary sources. Syme shows how this failure to obtain more contemporary information results in an anachronistic picture. The account of boundaries is more relevant to the Augustan period, disregarding the advancement of the frontiers of Upper Germany and Rhaetia beyond the Rhine and Danube in the Flavian era. The Marcomanni and Quadi are depicted as loyal subject-allies, though in 89 they had seceded during Domitian's campaign against the Dacians. One might add that he is inaccurate at some points of his social survey of the Germans. It is clear, then, that though these monographs served a useful purpose in introducing Tacitus to the discipline of the historian, and in the formation of a distinctive style, they are hardly representative of his best work. Tacitus ' still had a long way to go. Not in the development of a style only, but in depth and scruple of study '.

In the *Histories* were delineated the years 69–96 A.D. ; all that has survived is the account of the first momentous year, and a part of the second. Here is a brilliant evocation, written perhaps thirty years later, of the cumulative crises of the year of the four emperors—Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian. Syme notes the similarities between the accession of Galba and that of Nerva, with which Tacitus as consul for 97 was closely concerned. In each case ' a septuagenarian princeps lacked the decision and energy to direct affairs or even to discipline his own entourage ' ; the demeanour of the Senate, the ambiguous attitude of the soldiery made the resemblance more striking. Finally, Galba's adoption of Piso Licinianus as co-regent has a parallel in Nerva's adoption of Trajan. Tacitus's personal experiences gave him insight into the realities of Galba's precarious tenure. He makes it clear that the rule of the Caesars was dependent on the control of military power ; that after Nero's fall, the failure to curb the army at Rome caused an outward surge of rebellion to the provinces. Galba's fatal defect was his pliability and sloth, which precipitated the bloodshed. Hence Tacitus's unfavourable judgement, *omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.* The crisis found him wanting.

Since Mommsen's derogatory comment (' the most unmilitary of historians ') Tacitus's account of campaigning has been frequently disparaged. Syme enters for him a moderate apologia. First, the conventions of *historia* demand the exclusion of technicalities ; it is unfair to blame Tacitus for adhering to the literary proprieties of his time. Secondly, though the military narrative of the *Histories* contains inaccuracies, and especially misleads on the preliminaries to the battle of Bedriacum between Otho and Vitellius, Tacitus is in general not only accurate but the repository of much valuable detail of the topography of the Rhine area in the delineation of the rebellion there.

Instead of going forward to analyse the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, as he had once intended, Tacitus in his culminating work, the *Annals*, went back to the years 14–68 A.D., with the obvious aim of demonstrating how Augustus' pseudo-restoration of the Republic inevitably developed into arbitrary tyranny. Syme suggests that 4 A.D. (the date of Augustus' adoption of Tiberius as a *pis aller*) would have been a more effective starting-point ; the reader would thus have obtained a clearer picture of the foreign and domestic policy which Tiberius was committed to consolidate ; and the characterization of Tiberius—conspicuously affected by the tribulations before his accession—would have been more rounded. Another very interesting if speculative conjecture is Syme's theory that the narration of Tiberius's accession is coloured by Hadrian's early tenure of the principate. Hadrian's relation to Trajan has indeed many general similarities to that of Tiberius with Augustus.

Of the *Annals* in general it may be said that few would challenge Tacitus on his facts, apart from a few minor inaccuracies. More important is a certain lack of balance in the selection of material, much of it is the result of prejudice against individual emperors. Too much is made of Germanicus to cast indirect obloquy on Tiberius : the weaker side of Claudius is exposed by Tacitus's exploitation of the women dominating his life ; and in Nero's reign Corbulo, Seneca, and Thrasea Paetus are made larger than life to ensure that Nero emerges as an ignoble civilian, an ignoramus, an imperious tyrant. Syme's researches into the prosopography of the period enable him to claim that such over-emphasis results in the crowding-out of minor political and military figures whose contributions were often more substantial.

On the geography of the *Annals*, as of the *Histories*, Syme defends Tacitus from ' the cruder forms of misapprehension '. He admits to some vagueness and over-compression, but claims that the absence of landmarks in West Germany was an insuperable obstacle to the pin-pointing of operations there : that Britain is satisfactorily treated in Books XII and XIV : and that the sole valid object of criticism is the account of Armenia, for which the historian has sought insufficient information from military contemporaries.

There remains the central problem of the depiction of the principate and its holders. The essential validity of Tacitus's thesis is undeniable. He concedes that the stability of Roman rule is dependent on the delegation of power to the princeps; but he seeks to expose how Augustus and his successors made their power absolute while paying lip-service to Republican institutions. Thus the first princeps ' by slow aggrandizement seized the functions of the Senate, the magistrates, and the laws '. ' The opening chapters of the *Annals* ', comments Syme, ' . . . reveal the working of dynastic politics, and demonstrate that Tiberius was already in possession of authority before the Senate was invited to express an opinion. '

Tacitus's bitterness as a leading member of the Senate is comprehensible ; but he fails to discriminate between criticism of the office and of the holders. Syme allots a special chapter to Tacitean treatment of Tiberius, defending the historian and striking some shrewd blows at the veneration of Tiberius which has become a *sine qua non* since Mommsen. Syme's main argument is that Tacitus takes his portrait largely from the source material, a portrait universally accepted by the educated Senatorials of the historian's day, and sharpens it. This would be an excuse for an inferior historian, but not for Tacitus, whose superior insight should have been stronger than his prejudice ; there is too much malicious allegation masquerading as fact, as Syme elsewhere concedes. The further suggestion that Tacitus has an *odi et amo* attitude towards Tiberius, a reluctant respect, must elicit the riposte that there is no conspicuous sympathy for the sufferings and indignities of his early days, little appreciation of his competent administration, and insufficient acknowledgement of his private virtues.

* * * *

Tacitus's account of Claudius is lost except for the closing years; from what is left a picture emerges of a befuddled, feeble, callous, hen-pecked character. Even allowing for undoubted degeneration, one must conclude that this is a prejudiced portrait. Claudius's early execution of thirty-five senators ensured the hostility of historians, Tacitus included. On Nero the historian's strictures have unhappily more valid justification.

Tacitus possessed not merely an historian's insight but also consummate literary craft ; ' le plus grand peintre de l'antiquité ' Racine called him. His narrative abounds in grand scenes. In the *Histories,* one thinks of the entry into the capital of Vitellius's troops—the German soldiers with their hides of wild beasts and enormous spears, jostling against the unfamiliar crowds ; and Vitellius himself, mounted on a charger, preceded by the eagles and the standards, his escorting troops ablaze with arms and decorations. (' It was a splendid sight ', characteristically remarks Tacitus, ' an army deserving better than Vitellius for emperor.') Or again, from the *Annals,* the scene in the Senate when Tiberius makes his first appearance ; here there is brilliant unobtrusive use of *oratio obliqua* to depict the inner sentiments of a fulsome Senate and a studiedly ambiguous emperor. Or the remarkable evocation of the tragicomic situation after Nero tried to drown his mother Agrippina by purposeful accident —the crowds milling about, jumping into boats, wading in to their necks, stretching out their hands from the shore.

A second virtuosity is his mastery of the character-sketch. Here Sallustian influence is conspicuous. (One of the merits of Syme's study is

his conscious awareness of the importance of Sallust to Tacitus, not merely in point of style but also in historical conception.) In the *Annals*, the celebrated portrait of Sejanus, unsavoury henchman of Tiberius, has deliberate verbal reminiscences of Sallust's Catiline ; Tacfarinas recalls Jugurtha ; Poppaea Sabina, mistress and later wife of Nero, is a latter-day Sempronia—*huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum animum.* Fame, beauty, wealth, intelligence, a show of modesty—and lechery.

Thirdly, Tacitus's literary power is reflected in the speeches. As the outstanding orator of his time, and the author of a dialogue on oratory, he brought his practised techniques to bear. From the speech of the Scottish chieftain in the *Agricola*, condemning in the ringing tones of *oratio recta* Roman policies of imperialism (' They make a desert and they call it peace ') to the more subtle use of *oratio obliqua* in *Annals* XVI to delineate the debates prior to the condemnation of the Stoic, Thrasea Paetus, in 66, one notes his mastery of this medium to achieve a two-fold purpose. For in Roman historiography literary elegance and rhetorical forcefulness were not ends in themselves ; the speeches also serve the historical purpose of characterization. At the literary level, one can examine Tacitus's techniques by comparing a speech attributed to Claudius with the original oration preserved at Lyons ; no pedestrian infelicity is allowed to remain. At the higher level of historical interpretation, one notes a whole series of speeches inserted at apposite points in the narrative for purposes of characterization. The speech of Otho, delivered to insubordinate troops in their camp, reflects the prînceps' abilities as a conciliatory demagogue ; by contrast, note the speech of Germanicus in a similar situation on the Rhine, for here Tacitus evokes reminiscences of Scipio Africanus in his portrait of Germanicus as an intrepid patriot.

Such literary achievements were dependent on the successful evolution of a new historical style. In the *Agricola* and the *Germania* the stylistic experiments do not always avoid obscurity and ambiguity. The *Histories* reveal an immense advance, but the *Annals* alone embody the full achievement, prose ' swift and splendid, intense and majestic '.

The basis of the new style is the avoidance of the simple, direct and natural ; the schools of rhetoric, with their love of precious diction, have a formative influence here. Tacitus cannot call a spade a spade ; instead, *per quae egeritur humus,* ' the things the earth is dug up with '. Nor can he call a eunuch a eunuch ; *spado* has too vulgar a ring, hence *vir ademptae virilitatis,* ' a man of deprived manhood '. For *calvus* (bald) he writes *nudus capillo vertex.* This passion for variation—a real defect in some instances, achieving turgidity or bathos—is taken to extraordinary lengths ; the poetic word is preferred to the common prose form, the abstract to the concrete ; Tacitus rearranges standard phrases—*bellum civium,* for example, replaces *bellum civile.*

Secondly, there is his brevity—deliberate omission of main verbs, free use of historic infinitives, the avoidance of prepositions by bold use of the dative and ablative. One notes, too, the free poetic colouring, the deliberate reminiscences of Vergil and others, the extraordinary violence of metaphor, and bold personification. All this could not be more unlike the Ciceronian conception of *historia ;* Sallust is the model. Syme suggests that the Tacitean verbal disharmonies ' reflect the complexities of history, and all that is ambiguous in the behaviour of men'. So the smoothly-rounded periodic style of Livy is unsuited to historical narrative ; the facts should be set down starkly and without pretentious organization. This seems to me fanciful. Certainly the greatest English historians might find this an embarrassing criterion. Nor does Syme advert to the dangers of the pithy, epigrammatic approach,that the truth may be half obliterated by the verbal gymnastics.

Ironically enough, Tacitus, the greatest of the Roman historians, is the only one excluded from the syllabus of the Irish secondary school. This is tragic ; for after brief acquaintance, the latinity presents little more difficulty than Livy's. One hopes that Professor Syme's brilliant study will encourage some enthusiastic teachers to introduce their brighter pupils to some of the grand scenes, the character-sketches, the speeches. Otherwise the treasure resides with the handful of Honours Latin students. And the loss is especially grievous for the aspiring historian, who may need the assurance that history-writing can be reconciled with a distinguished literary craft.

Celts, Romans and Saxons

by DONALD NICHOLL

THE very title of Daniel Corkery's book, *The Hidden Ireland,* at once grips the prospective reader, with its promise of revealing to him those intimate sources from which the life of the nation has never ceased to flow. Most closely comparable to Corkery's book, for an English historian, is R. W. Chamber's fertile study, *On the Continuity of English Prose,* which traces for us the course of an Anglo-Saxon tradition that never dried up even in the parching days of Norman invasion and occupation. It is the purpose of the present essay to trace the outlines of an other, and yet earlier, hidden country, the one over which we are accustomed to write that unrevealing name of Anglo-Saxon. The name has become customary, I believe, because it has enabled us to accept conveniently simplified and tidy versions of two critical periods in our history ; the first being the period when the Roman Empire lost its control over Britain, the second centring around the famous synod of Whitby, at which the Roman system of reckoning Easter was adopted. Of the first period the conventional view amongst people of general education still is that the Romans withdrew their forces from Britain under the threat of the Saxon invaders, who then swept across defenceless Britain obliterating existing institutions and driving out the native population. Conventional teaching on the second episode begins by describing the antagonism between the movements of Celtic and of Roman Christianity ; it then relates how they finally clashed at Whitby where the Roman movement triumphed and the Celtic party retired sullen to the remote corners of our island. Despite innumerable modifications made by scholars the general opinion expressed by Stubbs remains strangely tenacious, that ' from the Briton and the Roman of the fifth century we have received nothing'.[1]

Within the space of a few brief pages—and with due apologies for over-compression—I shall attempt to indicate the main lines upon which scholars are now constructing a more likely and convincing story.

One of the most pertinent questions which the conventional theory never faced up to was : how did these conquerors of Teutonic stock[2] ever arrive on the shores of Britain ? What sort of ships were available to them ? Did they bring their own women with them ? And so on. The most radical answer now being given claims that in fact they were already here before the Romans withdrew, serving the Romans in one role or another, and especially as auxiliaries, irregulars or *foederati.*[3] The likelihood of this answer is easier to acknowledge if we remember the very

variegated composition of the Roman forces at the end of the fourth century, and the readiness with which bodies of men were moved from one area of the Empire to another. In 383, for instance, when Magnus Maximus the Spaniard went from North Wales to the continent in his attempt to seize the Empire, he took with him troops from Segontium (i.e. from the Caernarvon area) ; and after the defeat of Maximus these troops of his were settled in the area of Illyria where they continued to be known as *Seguntienses*.[4] There was also a movement of the Cornovii (from the Shrewsbury district) to serve on Hadrian's Wall,[5] whilst the exodus of Cunedda and his sons from the Scottish lowlands in the early fifth century marks the beginnings of the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd.[6] But the most significant transference from our point of view occurred when Count Theodosius was re-organizing the defences of Britain ; members of a tribe known as the Bucinobantes, of Alemanni stock, were moved from their home near Mainz to settle in Britain under their king Fraomar, who was given the rank of tribune.[7] Especially significant about this episode is the fact that we never hear of them again ; and we are left to wonder how many similar episodes of great moment have escaped even the six-line memorial to them which the Bucinobantes received. Of what Teutonic tribe, for instance, were those irregulars who erected a shrine at Brampton (Cumberland) to Maponus, the Celtic god of youth and music ?[8] Does the grave at Dorchester of a fourth century Teutonic merchant mark a regular trade route along the Rhine-Thames line ?[9]

What makes it easier to imagine large numbers of Teutonic auxiliaries and *foederati* being established over broad areas of the island is the fact that the islanders' fears during the last two centuries of Roman rule were riveted upon the North and North-West—the direction from which the marauders of 367–8 A.D. came, for example, who ravaged as far south as London. Defensive strategy required a screen of troops strung out across the North of England to protect the prosperous and vulnerable lowlands of the South and East—such a force, no doubt, as Vortigern is traditionally supposed to have invited in under the leadership of Hengist and Horsa.[10] At least some evidence for military areas of this character being established under the Romans is provided by archaeology in the very places one would expect to find it ; that is, the York and Lincoln districts.

At York there was a large cemetery outside the Roman walls containing evidence that a very early Teutonic settlement was made there. Both at York and at nearby Driffield we find a more or less unbroken continuity of occupation between the late Roman and pagan Saxon periods.[11] The region of Lincoln, in particular, is one from which those should avert their eyes who wish to maintain that there was a catastrophic break between the Roman order and Teutonic incursions. Even the north gate of the Roman city, the famous Newport Arch, remained in good order into the middle ages and is still to be seen to this day. Moreover

the name of the city (the *Lindocolina* of Bede) could scarcely have survived unless British citizens also had stayed on to use it.[12] And it is remarkable that the very first king of this region to emerge after the Roman withdrawal bore not a Teutonic, but a British name, Caedbad,[13] suggesting that here, as elsewhere, the late Empire had delegated power to native princes whose families subsequently merged with Teutonic stocks. A further notable example of this merging may well be that Elesa of the Wessex royal house[14] who has been identified as ' the chief of the region ' (named Elasius) whom St Germanus of Auxerre visited early in the fifth century.[15]

It was thought at one time that the evidence of archaeology stood most firmly in the way of the claim for continuity, but here once more closer examination has proved otherwise. To begin with, it is now clear that the early Teutons here did not always cremate their dead as did the Saxons in Germany ;[16] even the earliest cemeteries, in the centres along the east coast, provide examples of interment and cremation side by side.[17] This argues for a considerable stretch of time during which peoples were living together who had different ways of dealing with their dead, whether by cremation (Teutons ?) or by interment (Romano-Britons ?), and possibly adopting each other's customs. And some cemeteries provide the most irrefutable evidence of all that the two peoples were mixing, in the shape of skeletons whose classification shows their possessors to have been of combined British and Teutonic descent.[18] Though perhaps no one has ever flatly denied that such mingling took place, and the question is simply to discover the period when it occurred. At which point the study of pottery comes to our aid ; for we find pots of Roman construction (i.e. shaped by the wheel) bearing Teutonic decorative patterns (knobs and bosses) alongside pots of Teutonic construction (i.e. handmade) which are decorated in Roman fashion (i.e. stamps in horizontal zones).[19] Could such a fusion have taken place at any time other than the late fourth or early fifth century, when both the Roman and the Teutonic skills were still vigorous ?

Perhaps the most improbable thesis incorporated into older accounts of this period is the one that speaks of Saxon invaders arriving in the island as settlers but ignoring the highly-developed agricultural system that the Romano-Britons had organized around the villa. With their heavy coulter plough at hand enabling them to break up the heavier soils the Saxons are supposed to have obliterated their predecessors' work under their own peculiarly efficient two-field system of agriculture which required them to live in villages and not in villas—which were consequently left to crumble away. The extreme unlikelihood of this account will immediately strike anyone who has had to live off the country ; how very unlikely has been left to H. P. R. Finberg to underline.[20] By concentrating upon the village of Withington in Gloucestershire he has shown that the Romano-Britons almost certainly

did use the heavy coulter plough which enabled them to make the long furrow characteristic of the strip system of agriculture.[21] That they employed the system of crop-rotation supposed to be peculiar to the Saxons is also highly probable ; and, above all, that the conquerors of the fifth and sixth centuries worked the same fields as their predecessors had done, not according to any preconceived notions of agriculture but in accordance with the advantages of site and soil ; and these remained unchanged.

But, one might ask, if there was so much continuity of life, how does one explain the overwhelming preponderance of Teutonic place-names, especially in the south and east of the island ? After a neatly-illustrated caution about making generalizations from place-names,[22] Dr Finberg suggests that it is perfectly compatible with the view that the country was taken over by a numerically small number of aristocratic warriors who eventually imposed their own language upon the majority. Most of the latter presumably became slaves or peasants with low status,[23] but in the humbler occupations, such as metal-work or pottery, they must have maintained their own traditions of craftsmanship. This latter supposition would certainly explain the recurring patterns of Celtic motifs which strike all who study the art and workmanship of the Anglo-Saxon period.[24] And it fits in intelligibly with the evidence that the movement towards the west of the island traces the flight of the Romano-British aristocrats rather than of the bulk of the population—who clearly had to remain where they were, tending the soil, if they hoped to survive. Social antagonisms had already made life precarious for the aristocratic order by about 400 A.D.,[25] and they were only able to maintain their status by themselves taking to conquest in the next century, when they imposed British ways and the British language upon the north-western corner of Gaul, establishing there a Little Britain.[26]

If, then, the transmission of traditional ways from the Roman province to the English kingdoms was partly achieved through the submerged classes of natives, this would help us to understand several puzzling features of the second period we are to consider, that of the Whitby Synod. For the other medium of transmitting Romano-British culture was undoubtedly the Christian Church ; [27] and there are indications that the influence of the Church and of the lower ranks of society were exerted in the same direction. It has been pointed out, for instance,[28] that there must be more than meets the eye in the bare entry found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 654 : ' Penda perished, and the Mercians became Christians.' A whole people does not become Christian just like that. May it not be that the lower orders in Mercia (the ' Welsh ' of the Laws) were already Christian, and that the 654 entry simply records the decision of the Teutonic ruling families to fall in with the popular religion so as to make their own position more

secure? Countenance is lent to this suggestion by the puzzling fact that churches dedicated to St Chad are very numerous and widely scattered throughout Mercia, although Chad was only Bishop of Lichfield for some two and a half years. It is reasonable to suppose that after returning from his training under Aidan and in Ireland, Chad had spent the unrecorded years of his life travelling around Mercia on foot, in Celtic fashion, and establishing there churches which were to keep his memory green in the minds of the humble.[29]

Nor was Mercia the only location for convenient conversions. Northumbria saw Edwin make a similar decision in 627, and Bede's account of it again arouses one's suspicions that there was a story behind the story.[30] Had Edwin's experiences in exile taught him that Christianity was a living power amongst his people which he would do well to respect?[31] That it enjoyed such power even in Northumbria is suggested by the curious fact that the first English poet is not a pagan, but a Christian; that he has a seemingly British name, Caedmon[32]; and that his social status was of the lowliest—he was an illiterate old minder of cattle.[33] What is more, the oral-formulaic character of Caedmon's *Hymn to Creation* argues that the society from which Caedmon sprang had behind it a rooted tradition of Christianity, with appropriate Christian expressions.[34] Since newly converted pagans do not provide such a tradition is it not more likely that Caedmon is, in fact, transmitting expressions that were first coined in the language of the native Christians? Some traces of a similar process at work in the North are to be found in the famous *Canv Aneirin,* which contains expressions later found in English poetry.[35] The point I wish to make with these references to Chad and Caedmon is that inter-traffic between the Celtic and the Teutonic districts of the island, and between the peoples of Celtic and Teutonic stock, was much more regular than is usually supposed from a superficial reading of Bede. It is all too often forgotten that the first monk to die on Iona was a Briton,[36] and that there were Saxons in the Iona community before the arrival of St Augustine of Canterbury.[37] Nor did his obviously Welsh name prevent Owin, the faithful companion of St Chad's last days, from serving at the court of the Northumbrian King Ecgfrith, where he was major-domo to the queen, Ethelthryth.[38] And it would be a long list that we could compile of pilgrims who, even after the Whitby Synod, sought instruction in the Celtic areas and who must have formed lasting ties with those who gave them hospitality. The young Willibrord, for instance, who had been trained by Wilfrid, the champion of the Roman enthusiasts, at Wilfred's own foundation of Ripon, did not hesitate to seek peace in Ireland. It was there he met other Saxons such as Wigbert and Egbert (who was later to bring Iona into line over the dating of Easter); and it is likely that Willibrord took Irish companions with him in 690 when he went to evangelize the Frisians.[39] Moreover the encouragement

he received from Wilfrid in his work shows that the older man never regarded Willibrord's Irish years as a regrettable deviation.

Nor was it only pilgrims who slipped easily from one area to the other. Refugees did so almost as frequently. Edwin of Northumbria spent some of his exile in North Wales,[40] and is even supposed to have become a Christian under British instruction.[41] And when Edwin himself seized the kingship, the royal brothers Eanfrid, Oswald and Oswy, fled to the ' Picts and Scots ', where they all became Christians and where Eanfrid found himself a royal wife of Pictish race.[42] It seems probable that the Northumbrian royal house used such marriages to extend its sway,[43] for the statement that Oswy married the British princess Rhiainfellt[44] offers an explanation of how the Northumbrians took control of the Rheged area (Galloway) in the later seventh century without, apparently, having to fight for it.[45] When we remember further that the fruit of this marriage was Aldfrid ' the learned ', Fland Fína in Irish tradition, friend to Adamnan of Iona as well as to Aldhelm of Malmesbury, the notion that Celtic influences became of minor importance after Whitby is seen to be wide of the mark. Except against this background of constant intertraffic between Irish, British, Pictish and Teutonic people at every level, the establishment of Northumbria and the flowering of Northumbrian culture becomes quite inexplicable.

In such a rapid survey of recent scholarship as I have attempted it has not been possible even to sketch the picture that is emerging of this period, but it is clear that we need to revise the dictum of Stubbs quoted at the beginning and to recognize that ' to the Celt and the Roman we owe more than we yet know.'

NOTES.

[1] *Select Charters.* 9th Edition 1942, p. 3

[2] I advisedly use the vague word ' Teutonic ' because the word ' Saxon ' on the lips of fifth century Romans and Britons does not seem to have had the precise tribal meaning that it has for later writers—it is often more a term of contempt. Bede's clarity about Angles and Saxons has obscured the reality and only now is the obscurity being dispersed. Cf. G. C. Homans. The Frisians in East Anglia. *Economic History Review,* 1957. pp. 189–206.

[3] A. W. Wade-Evans. *The Emergence of England and Wales* (Wetteren, Belguim, 1956)

[4] *Studies in Early British History* (ed. N.K. Chadwick 1956) p. 12

[5] *Dark-Age Britain.* (ed. D. B. Harden, 1956) p. 56

[6] Nennius. *Historia Brittonum.* c. 62

[7] *Ammianus Marcellinus.* XXIX. 4. 7

[8] I. A. Richmond, in *Dark-Age Britain,* p. 13

[9] *Dark-Age Britain,* P. XIII.

[10] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* I. XIV. XV.

[11] P. Hunter Blair. *Archaeologia Aeliana.* 1947. pp. 1–51 ; cf. also I. A. Richmond, *Roman Britain.* (Pelican Books 1955) p. 65

[12] K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953) p. 24

[13] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* 1947. pp. 48–9

[14] *The Parker Chronicle.* s.a. 597

[15] P. Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana, 1957.* Hagiographie Celtique pp. 158–226.

[16] Joan R. Kirk in *Dark-Age Britain,* p. 124

[17] Ibid.

[18] G. J. Copley, *The Conquest of Wessex in the Sixth Century,* 1954. p. 103

[19] J. N. L. Myres, in *Dark-age Britain.* pp. 19–20

[20] H. P. R. Finberg, *Roman and Saxon Withington. A Study in Continuity.* Leicester 1955.

[21] Finberg. p. 25 ; and E. Barger, *English Historical Review* 1938. pp. 385–411

[22] Finberg, p. 35 : Susibre, the British name of a hill, is used in a Mercian charter dated 718, and then disappears. At first the river known to the British as the Coln is named Tillath, or Tillnoth, by the Saxons—and then the earlier name comes to be accepted. What inferences about the population can we draw from this, except that they must to some extent have been bilingual ? It is notable how frequently detailed local studies, as opposed to more general ones, bear witness to this bilingual phase, and to the survival of the British population. cf. S. Potter, *Cheshire Place-Names,* 1955. *The Place Names of Wiltshire* (E.P.N.S. 1939) pp. XV—XVI, A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* 1928, pp. XV–XVI on the survival of the British even in the more fertile parts. For an interesting argument against relying on place-names exclusively cf. T. C. Lethbridges' remarks, *Hermits and Herdsmen* 1950, p. 99 on Celts in Iceland.

[23] Such as the Wealas, or Welshmen in the Laws of Ine (King of Wessex 688–726)

[24] See the interesting remarks of L. Stone, in the *Wiltshire V.C.H.* Vol. II (1955) pp. 37–38, on the influence of Irish metalwork. One thinks also of how the style of metalwork was applied to illumination of manuscripts in the great days of Northumbria.

[25] E. A. Thompson, *Zosimus on the End of Roman Britain. Antiquity,* 1956. pp. 163–7

[26] cf. E. A. Thompson's article in *Antiquity,* already referred to, and Jackson, *Language and History.*

[27] Jackson, pp. 76–122

[28] Finberg, p. 33

[29] H. E. Savage in *York Minster Historical Tracts* 1927 (Savage also points out that Bede, in his *Historia Abbatum,* skates over eleven years in the life of Benedict Biscop (654–665) ; and suggests that Benedict was labouring in Wessex during this period in cooperation with the suspect British churchmen). Chad's master, Aidan, was also noted for his work amongst the poor ; he redeemed slaves and had them trained as priests. (Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. V).

[30] Chadwick. *The Growth of Literature,* 1932. Vol. I. p. 336

[31] *Baedae Opera Historica,* ed. Plummer II. p. 93

[32] cf. Jackson, *Language and History* p. 244

[33] *Historia Ecclesiastica.* IV. XXIV.

[34] cf. F. P. Magoun. *The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* Speculum. 1953. pp. 446–463. It must be remembered that about the probable time of Caedmon's birth there were still British kings ruling over Elmet in the heart of Yorkshire (H. M. Chadwick *Early Scotland* p. 144) ; that Caedmon's monastery of Whitby, under Hild, was Celtic in sympathy and that Hild's father had taken refuge with Cerdic, the British king (of Elmet ?)

[35] ed. Ivor Williams. *Canu Aneirin.* 1938 cf. pp. xlviii–xlix and the observations of K. Jackson in *Antiquity* 1939 pp. 26–27. Chadwick in *The Growth of Literature I.* p. 472, points to stories of this time that have a Celtic background. There is clearly a need for comparative studies such as Professor Carney has pioneered in his *Studies in Irish Literature and History,* 1955.

[36] Adamnan. *Vita Columbae* III, VI.

[37] Adamnan. III. X and XXII.

[38] *Historia Ecclesiastica.* IV. III. It may be worth noting that Ethelthryth was daughter of Anna, K. of E. Anglia, who is thought to be commemorated at Sutton Hoo, and was certainly a benefactor to St Fursey at Cnobheresburg.

[39] C. Wampach. *Sankt Willibrord.* 1953. pp. 134–5.

[40] Plummer's *Bede* II. p. 93

[41] Nennius *Historia Brittonum.* c. 63. This story may not be as absurd as it seems.

[42] *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. I ; and Chadwick *Early Scotland,* p. 90

[43] e.g. the marriages of Alchfeld and Alcfrith to Peada and Cuniburh of Mercia.

[44] Nennius. c. 57

[45] A. W. Wade-Evans. Prolegomena to a Study of the Lowlands. (*Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*) 1950. pp. 82–3

Theatre Poetry and Dramatic Verse

by DENIS DONOGHUE

FOR COMMUNICATION

BEGINNING with a commonplace. Yeats will provide a text ; Allen Tate will indicate its scope ; no serious writer in our time has been unaware of its implications.

In June 1903 Yeats, committed for the time being to an ' aristocratic ' drama, a theatre for the *élite*, declared :

> Almost the greatest difficulty before good work in the ordinary theatres is that the audience has no binding interest, no great passion or bias that the dramatist can awake.

To Allen Tate thirty years later (in *Reactionary Essays on Poetry and Ideas*) it seemed, and surely it is even more apparent today, that the age provided for the poet no epos or myth, no pattern of well-understood behaviour, which the poet could examine in the light of his own experience. The ages which have produced the greatest drama, he observed, are those which offer to the poet a seasoned code : drama would seem to depend on such a code for clarity and form. It matters little whether it is a code for the realization of good or of evil. The important thing is that it shall tell the dramatist how people try to behave, and that it shall be too ' perfect ', whether in good or evil, for human nature. By adhering strictly to the code the dramatist exhibits a ' representative ' action. The tension between the code and the hero makes the action also specific, unique. The code is at once broken and affirmed, the hero's resistance at once clarified and defined by the limits thus set to his conduct. Macbeth asserts his ego in terms of the code before him, not in terms of courtly love or the idealism of the age of Werther : he has no choice of code. The modern character has the liberty of indefinite choice, but not—like Macbeth and Antigone—the good fortune to be chosen. Mr Tate also argued that with the disappearance of general patterns of conduct the power to depict action that is both single and complete also disappears. The dramatic genius of the poet is held to short flights, and the dramatic lyric is a fragment of a total action which the poet lacks the means to delineate.

The problem is pretty well understood by now as a breakdown in the range of communication. It has been defined for the present generation in Ionesco's plays and Empson's poems. (Indeed the line from

Chekhov's *The Three Sisters* to Ionesco's *Chairs* is the very enactment of the breakdown). Here is Empson :—

> though you
> Look through the very corners of your eyes
> Still you will find no star behind the blue ;
>
> This gives no scope for trickwork. He who tries
> Talk must always plot and then sustain,
> Talk to himself until the star replies,
>
> Or in despair that it could speak again
> Assume what answers any wits have found
> In evening dress on rafts upon the main,
> Not therefore uneventful or soon drowned.

If we are reduced to ' assuming ' and ' feigning ', the great traditional prop of drama has collapsed : faith (in *something*), or a body of provisional beliefs (in *something*). Empson has learnt a noble, if precarious, style from a despair, but in drama such a venture is doomed. The meditative poet may speak for a long time without adverting to the fact that no one else is listening. Not so the dramatist.

Yeats, tackling the problem with his own insights, brought off a drama of formal purity which has practically nothing to say to modern theatre audiences. Trusting in its own fine validity it hovers in mid-air over a society with which it has barely established diplomatic relations. Yeats showed what can be achieved even after one has despaired of the Common Man ; and the limits of this achievement. (Mrs Brown always has her revenge). Eliot's approach, so different, has been equally suggestive. He has rarely been happy with coterie-drama, and he has acknowledged the necessity of meeting the Common Man. But snags persist. In Eliot's strategy the dramatist uses the Common Man's words, but makes them accommodate elitist meanings. He tries to assume at least the remnants of a code, the Christian one, and to conceal all trace of the assumption from his audience. But it is an inhibiting device, complicated still further by Eliot's innate distaste for the Common Man. Eliot's dialectic, in fact, differs very little in this respect from Yeats's.

Language : Eliot and Aristotle

In this situation Eliot placed his trust in language, specifically in dramatic verse, not only to effect communication but to impose artistic order on experience. In 1950 he argued (*Poetry and Drama*) that it is a function of art to give us some perception of an order in life by imposing an order upon it. It seemed to him that beyond the classifiable emotions

and motives of our conscious life when directed toward action there is a fringe of feeling which we can only detect, so to speak, out of the corner of the eye, and can never completely focus ; feeling of which we are aware only in a kind of temporary detachment from action. This peculiar range of sensibility, he thought, could be rendered by dramatic poetry, at its moments of greatest intensity.

This confidence in language is dangerously excessive, but one can easily see where it fits in. Eliot's own success in the direct manipulation of words is an obvious factor. Again there is his conception of language as not only the guardian of one's tradition but the means by which one names feelings and attitudes. Furthermore, as a literary historian Eliot has pointed to certain dramatists (Dryden, for one) whose plays have been kept alive mainly by their language, their ' pure magnificence of diction '. In the same context he conceded that ' drama is a mixed form ; pure magnificence will not carry it through ', and that the poet who tries to achieve a play ' by the single force of the word ' provokes comparison with poets of other gifts. Corneille and Racine, he noted, do not attain their triumphs by magnificence of diction :

> . . . ; they have concentration also, and, in the midst of their phrases, an undisturbed attention to the human soul as they know it.

This dates from 1924 ; its insight has been largely shelved in Eliot's recent theory of drama. The thin clarity of that theory is disturbing; particularly the wishful suggestion that despite indications to the contrary pure magnificence of diction *will* carry the play through.

The issue is tricky, though. In those parts of Shaw's theatre which retain their strength, the vitality issues mainly from the sharpness of the argument, the athletic vigour of the prose. Think of *On the Rocks, Getting Married,* and *Heartbreak House*. Beddoes, too : whatever impact he continues to make as a dramatist arises solely from his flair for language. (Nobody dreams of studying Beddoes for any other reason). But language cannot be dramatic ' of itself '. The most acclaimed speeches in the history of the theatre are ' dramatic of themselves ' only because while reading them we recall or imagine the situations in which they are uttered. This applies also to *Death's Jest Book* and *Sweeney Agonistes*.

Eliot's preoccupation with dramatic verse (to the neglect of more basic problems involved in the composition of a play) arises, I should imagine, from two considerations. First, the failure of nineteenth century verse dramatists presented itself to him (wrongly, in my view) as a linguistic failure, a failure to provide ' the special language necessary for drama '. Again as a practicising verse dramatist he found that there were no established traditions—or none that he regarded as still viable—no charted ways of exploiting the full resources of language in the theatre.

In confronting the problem of language in modern verse drama Eliot has shown that the verse which ' works ' in the modern theatre is as different from *La Figlia Che Piange* as from *The Blessed Damozel* or *The Lake Isle of Innisfree.* Indeed, *insofar as the problems of verse drama are linguistic problems,* Eliot has done more than any other dramatist to lay down genuine lines of development. He has indicated the necessity and the possibility of refurbishing theatre-speech, whether verse or not. It is a commonplace that the modern theatre condones remarkably inept handling of language ; the sheer bad writing to be found in the plays of O'Neill, to cite one instance, points up the debt the modern theatre owes to Eliot as a devotee of scrupulous speech.

And yet there is more in a play than words. Drama is like poetry and fiction inasmuch as it uses words ; unlike poetry and fiction inasmuch as words alone are not enough. Eugene O'Neill, however elephantine in manipulating words, was a better dramatist than Henry James ; I don't relish the fact, but there it is. Yeats was a better *poète de théâtre* than Eliot or James or Joyce—for several reasons: (1) he knew the difference between a poem, a play, and a nouvelle, (2) he had a finer sense of the theatrical organism, (3) he had the intelligence to exploit a valid relation between the Noh plays and certain shapes vaguely discernible in the legendary anecdotes which he chose as substance of his theatre. The measure of his superiority is the structural finesse of the *Plays for Dancers.*

The dramatist who has started as a poet or a novelist is often loath to concede that words alone are not enough. His natural impulse is to trust the words to carry all his burdens : action, plot, agency, gesture, and more than these. Alternatively he refuses to acknowledge that the composition of a play requires new skills which he, however expert in words, may not command. His hope, in fact,—it is Eliot's—is to deduce a play from a poem. He may even have been encouraged in this fancy by those critics who have been in the habit of presenting Shakespeare's plays as 'poems' ; as sheer verbal artifacts. The appropriate corrective, of course, is Aristotle, recalling the implication in the tangled *Poetics* that a play is not in the first instance—to use Francis Fergusson's gloss—' a composition in the verbal medium '. At its deepest level it is a sequence of acts, whose nature is indicated partly by words, partly by gestures, partly by the ' context of situation ', by the ' scene ' itself. Eliot and the keenest modern critics have of course studied Aristotle, but their ideas of drama have been largely determined by Coleridge, a closet-dramatist. This is partly why Eliot has not felt the relevance, the sheer resonance, of the *Poetics.*

Eliot with Coleridge against the devotees of Aristotle ; a crude reduction but not too inaccurate. It would be pleasant if we could throw in our lot with either party, without serious qualifications or misgivings. But it is hardly feasible. What we must regret in Professor Fergusson and in M. Cocteau, if not in Aristotle, is the hovering implication that the

words do not greatly matter; if the plot is sound the ' verses ' will look after themselves. In the Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* we find Cocteau saying :

> Car je supprime toute image et toute finesse de langue. Il ne reste que la poésie. Donc, pour les oreilles modernes, il ne reste rien.

This is perverse. Yes of course the plot is primary ; no ' words ' can take its place. But this does not mean that *poésie de théâtre* in Cocteau's sense—what every serious dramatist is striving to achieve—has no use for the full resources of language ; *toute finesse de langue*. A play is more than its scenario, just as it is more than its text. Eugene O'Neill would have been a finer dramatist if in addition to his theatrical sense—which itself was strong though not profound—he had been gifted with the arts of language and the powers of mind on which they depend. Recall too that one of the special concerns of modern critics has been to show that metaphor and image, far from being mere decorations on an already given, wrapped-up meaning, are often the essential ways of bringing meaning to birth. How then can *poésie de théâtre* be *fully* articulate unless it utilizes all the exploratory potentialities of words. Mark Twain, providing in *Huckleberry Finn* a profound sequence of acts, still needed something very close to the ultimate skills of language in order to *render* those acts. It would seem that in *poésie de théâtre* (and in the effort to comprehend it) we need the kind of insight that might emerge from the juxtaposition of Aristotle and Coleridge Aristotle would endorse the primacy of plot, and he would force Coleridge to scrutinize his whole idea of drama, to see whether it was not fundamentally flawed. He would warn us, graciously, that the determining fact about a play is that one thing is represented as happening after another ; that the features which give us an impression of the play's *simultaneity* are local enrichments contributing their versions of unity to support the quite different kind of unity which issues from the sequential coherence of the play ; that this sequential thrust is the source of the *dynamic*. In turn, Coleridge would define, with solicitude, the role of language in drama. And perhaps a third force, which we will call Kenneth Burke, might persuade both critics to assign a more creative role to the *scene* in which an *act* is performed. All in the service of an ideal theatre and the organic myth by which we would define it.

TOWARD EVALUATION

Twentieth century verse drama in English has been very slow in becoming a 'modern' movement : it has trailed far behind crucial events in poetry and fiction. One anachronism, of several : up to 1932 verse-drama in England meant Masefield, Flecker, Phillips, and Bottomley. Such writers, having made nothing at all of Yeats's theatre, (those who knew it), clung to the ' high ' example of Shakespeare's tragic soliloquies

and affected the ' sublime ' in those terms. Since Shakespeare never took day-to-day reality tragically, and since the tragic and the sublime were prerogatives of the great, the Georgian verse dramatists sought the sublime through heroic characters and heroic situations. Yeats's chosen level as dramatist was also ' high '—though not in a neo-Shakespearean tradition —in keeping with his own heroes and myths, which have their own validity because of the virile, if limited, ethos that sustains them. Eliot, trusting otherwise, has enlarged the range of modern verse drama, and strengthened it, by enforcing some of the sharp movement of the ' low ' style which he mastered in his early poems ; cutting away the Georgian *fat* by means of language exact, ascetic, transparent. But there is still an air-lock that is blocking verse drama from some of the deepest areas of experience. Some years ago Dr Williams (the most acute critic in diagnosing such weaknesses) complained that Eliot's approach to actuality was still only partial. There is no getting around this : the defect is *there* : Eliot's is very much a Paleface theatre.

Unlike Ibsen's, which has a certain warm *thickness*. Eliot is like Ibsen in conceding extremes of experience to persons in social rank far below ' the great '. But a temperamental blockage has prevented him from making the most of Ibsen's theatre-poetry. Is it not emerging more clearly than ever that modern theatre poetry, finding the Shakespearean example inspiring but, in the long run, unemployable, may take its formal bearings more rewardingly from Ibsen ? If so, it is peculiarly unfortunate that Ibsen's achievement has been so radically misunderstood by such dramatists as Yeats, Synge and Eliot himself ; and so attenuated even by Joyce in the lyric purgation of *Exiles*. In the long run it will matter less that Ibsen's *haute bourgeoisie* has become unrecognizable than that he has provided for our time the most viable emblems of theatre-poetry. What Eliot requires, what verse drama requires, to substantiate a Flaubertian finesse of language, is a sense of the theatrical organism comparable to Ibsen's.

In present circumstances there is little hope of developing a drama characterized by the range, concentration, and precision of awareness which astonishes us in *Antony and Cleopatra, King Lear,* or *A Winter's Tale.* Modern drama seems fated to be a mirror in fragments. Francis Fergusson has reminded us that beyond the problem of tapping the roots of our culture for the revival of the actual theatre there is the general cultural problem in its thousand forms, the preoccupation of Joyce, Mann, Yeats, and Eliot : what is the relation between the divided modern awareness and that ' organization of the sensibility ' which we feel in Shakespeare, Dante, and Sophocles ? We do not know. All we can see is the condition of the contemporary theatre ; a profusion of talent and goodwill issuing in plays composed on the margin of a blank page ; almost total confusion as to the nature of tragedy ; almost total inability to find order or meaning in an individual life ; the misunderstanding of *entelechy ;*

a failure of nerve issuing in the Mood Play ; the sheer gimmickry of ' theatre ', cut off from genuine theatrical invention.

We have glanced at Yeats's version of modern heterogeneity. Eliot's is equally suggestive. In studying the Elizabethan dramatists, he observed, we feel that they believed in their own age, in a way in which no twentieth century writer of the greatest seriousness has been able to believe in his. And accepting their age, the Elizabethan dramatists were in a position to concentrate their attention, to their respective abilities, upon the common characteristics of humanity in all ages, rather than upon the differences. We recognize an ' assumption of permanence ' in Shakespeare, in his minor fellows, in Dante and the great Greek dramatists. Eliot's account is homely but just as valid as several more pretentious theses. It is clear that even in the work of such theatre-satirists as Hall and Marston there is a commitment to the solidity, the reality of the world. What Marston ' says ' about the world in *Antonia and Mellida* is sufficiently mordant for anyone's taste, but it does not undermine the image of that world as *real*, however corrupt. Shakespeare could take certain positive values for granted, while enacting their perversion ; the only things Eliot can assume are negations or, at best, ' neutralities '.

The phrase ' assumption of permanence ' strikes a painful note in our time and illustrates the position of contemporary drama. One well-documented result is that there are no longer any heroes, any ' capable men '—Wallace Stevens's phrase—as distinct from arbitrarily chosen characters to whom things happen. Harry Levin has noted that Faust in the twentieth century is the decadent aesthete of Mann or the intellectual snob of Valery. The hero of the modern artist is Flaubert's Saint Anthony, the resigned protagonist who secludes himself, yet is haunted by the desires he has resisted. His watchword is renunciation ; his favourite figure of speech is *meiosis*. Only through mystical correspondences can the modern artist link the symbolic world of poetry with the actual world of experience. Marlowe succeeded in bringing the two worlds close together because his background was still sustained by the mythical and universal, even while he was engaged in bringing the factual into the foreground. Recalling Marlowe we can hardly avoid noticing that the symbols of modern drama, as compared with those of the heroic *auto* are attenuated to the point of invisibility. Eliot has given us more than one version of the heroic ; and yet these, if anything, support our point. In Eliot's early plays there is a disconcerting parity between the degree of moral action possible to Man and the extent of his enstrangement from the day-to-day world. To act, this Man must transcend Mankind, becoming Meta-Man. In the later plays Man acts not to the extent that he is *human*—with reason and will—but only insofar as he is *religious*. Or, in an extreme version, it amounts to this : only

Christians can act. Eliot's plays, with the fine exception of *The Elder Statesman,* do not share our conviction that this day-to-day world—in itself, and without apology—is still the glowing locus of value. The habit of implying that the human being can no longer *act* has already had a deliberating effect on the novel and the drama ; we applaud such writers as Joyce Cary, Cozzens, and Herbert Gold for resisting, for asserting the value of human choice and action. In the theatre the regressive habit has tended to substitute the static for the dynamic ; to exalt the ' interesting ' or the decoratively anaemic. *Pathos* rather than *praxis.*

In the face of this situation the modern dramatist can only work with the materials available. It is even more difficult for him than for the novelist to endorse the minority assumption that human life is valuable. Society must recover or formulate some kind of code before the dramatist can use the code as a member of the dramatic tension. In *Hamlet* we feel a reciprocal relation obtaining between the society and its drama. No confident feeling of this kind arises from the plays of Yeats or of Eliot. Can we not say this, that our theatre is full of individual insights, ' characteristically ' partial images of man ; insights all the more extreme because they feel themselves caught in a trap ? What we lack is an image of man, in the medium of theatre, which we can acknowledge as somehow representative, somehow central ; we lack ' harmonies '. Modern drama is all Behaviour (Mr Blackmur's term, from another context), but Behaviour cut adrift from any ' theoretic form ' of Manners or Morals, which would test its vitality.

What are we to do, then, with these partial, extreme images ? With Beckett's image, for instance, or Brecht's, or Eliot's parade of D.P.'s ? Reject them ? Endorse them ? Argue about them as if they were instances of dialectic (which, obliquely, they are)—or, as a protective or ironic gesture, place them against some equally extreme but more engaging images, hoping thereby to redeem their partiality ? Our idea of the representative image is constantly forcing us, as it were, to compose (by ourselves) the ' perfect ' image of man — and the ' perfect ' modern play—by setting up many partial images to redeem the supple confusions of each.

Eliot's drama, seen with these preoccupations, is not so much a number of good or bad plays as a body of interim drama, *essays* in drama rather than drama itself. And as essays they are probably, in their own way, as fine as can be managed until the conditions of society change. Indeed it may well be that their value is to keep the lines of severe intelligence open in the commercial theatre, waiting for such a change. If society changes, it will also provide ' central ' motives for the dramatist ; relevance will gather into new patterns involving the whole of man. At present each dramatist does the best he can with his own little corner.

This being so ; since there is no ' centre ' there can be no ' tone of the centre ', no single authoritative style—no mode of vision—emblematic of our time. I take it that this is the context which has propelled Dr Williams's life-long search for ' a redeeming language ', a new measure consonant with our time, just as it has compelled every serious modern writer to be an experimental writer, trying anything at least once. It is possible to argue from literary history that the most fruitful eras were those in which a supply of viable conventions was available to an artist in any medium, and that literature today suffers from the lack of such conventions. In the meantime we are exposed to the bizarre, the oblique, the grotesque, the extreme, the raw insight.

If new actions somehow acquire relevance ; if, somehow, society acquires a determining motive or code—and this is a tune we whistle desperately to ward off the ghosts—it will be desirable to have a verse style capable of playing its part in *poésie de théâtre*. We cannot afford to let the words take care of themselves ; hence the justification, even at this stage, of trying to understand the question of dramatic verse.

* * *

The rules which Eliot has proposed in regard to dramatic verse are few and modest. They amount to this ; the proper verse is one in which everything that has to be said may be said with ' ease ' and grace ; the speeches must satisfy the requirement of strict dramatic relevance. We would argue, further, that the dramatist who writes a ' contemporary ' play is compelled to take his bearings from the habits of speech in the section of society with which he is dealing ; Eliot has shown that one can do this and still write with distinction. The difficulty is to decide how rigorously this commitment is to be interpreted ; my feeling is that it must be taken fairly severely. I imagine most people would concede that experiments in the imposition of an artificial verse-manner in modern drama have been unrewarding. The trouble is that the conventions of the theatre do not leave the dramatist completely free to choose ; nor are they sufficiently ' of our time ' to provide adequate signposts for a dramatist investigating contemporary experience. The conditions are more favourable for the writer of fiction. A writer like William Faulkner knows, as Henry James knew, that the novelist to a much greater degree than the dramatist enjoys the privilege of composing a self-subsistent universe ; his only obligation—which is also a prime means of persuasion—is internal consistency.

The freedom of expression which Faulkner's stories exhibit is not as readily available to the dramatist. Probably the main snag is that no satisfactory convention—that is, a set of procedures to which theatre

audiences respond with ease—has yet been developed by which the dramatist may indicate more of the truth about an agent than that agent may be expected to know. Eliot's experiments in this direction have not been fruitful and in recent years he has abandoned them. The problem persists, however, and some interesting experiments are being made. I would mention one ; Reuel Denney in *September Lemonade* has tried a procedure which allows him frequently, though not arbitrarily, to transcend the probable. In that play Irene talks to her younger sister Janet on a warm Autumn evening ; at a certain point she moves toward Janet and takes her hand :

> You know, if a hand should hold this season's mouth,
> Someone would hear it anyway ? Would call the birds back
> With drummed tattoos on hollow beams and elms
> Into the cypress balconies of the South ?
> Where no one on a terrace weeps in armchairs.
> Or turns a fluid lake to ice of snakes.
> Or tries the blue between-tones of this time.
> Or tunes like that Blue Diesel of the horn.

Janet moves off to the right, saying :

> Terraces you talk about, while we put up with porches.
> You know, the way not to give what you don't want to keep
> Is to tell them you'll kiss but you'll never sleep ?
> Miss Diesel, you blue consultant, what color polish
> Shall I put on my toes ? My wave has been to wash
> And my toes are scrunchable. Have some candy !

Janet sits on the settee, pulling her legs up snugly. Irene lolls in the chair beside the table, saying :

> When are you going to try to stop being a menace to work at gas stations and navigations in any narrow channels where the bridge-keepers are under forty-five ? You don't have to act thrown together that way with a one-piece sit-down and eyes rolling on weights like a doll's head ; that is, unless you want to. Maybe you want to.

Then Janet :

> I like to toss myself around like a rag doll, that's all. I feel better that way. I can't talk like you ; so how can I say to myself how I feel ? I have to just move the way I feel. I just like to feel, for example, like taffy on one of those machines on the beach. Remember how that taffy goes around the arms of the machine, two ways at once ? Oh, to be as daffy as that taffy ! Here comes your friend !.

Four speeches, the first two quite improbable. But each of those is the verbal sign of a ' movement of feeling ' which the girl herself, if limited to

the probable, would be unable to render. Here the words move far beyond the probable because they insist on finding out how accurately they can represent, stand for, the girl's otherwise inexpressible feelings. The change from verse to prose endorses the movement from full expression to partial expression—from ' the whole truth ' to ' as much of the truth as the girl knows and can speak '. Much of the meaning of the play is enacted in transit between the two fictive worlds.

These verse speeches do not, of course, suddenly or wildly break through the probable. If they were to do so they would be disastrous, like some of Oliver's speeches in *This Music Crept By Me on the Water,* or the irruption of a smart remark by Cliff Lewis in *Look Back in Anger.* Rather, they have been sanctioned by the ritual formality insinuated since the beginning of the play. If the audience responds to these procedures easily and without distraction, the dramatist can force open the doors of the mind which tend to close on the familiar fragment of experience and insight. And in *September Lemonade* when these speech-procedures have been insinuated, the dramatist can have Jack apologize to Irene in words which stand very suggestively for the ' quality ' of his feeling : he has built up a decorum which sustains this version of the improbable :

> I feel as wrong as a King of Egypt
> With his money of time gone on :
> My hand was rough ; I'll tend, mend
> The frail forsythia of your mood,
> Make amends to your mere might
> Fallen into my hands like spring.

There is something here of that density of reference which a dramatist may reasonably seek. Self-denial in a dramatist is a good thing, but not every form of self-denial. We would welcome, in its proper place, such language as Jack's in *September Lemonade* because it encompasses a range of expression that realistic drama has tended to suppress ; and because in suppressing it this drama has helped to render modern audiences insensitive to words.

In the linguistic procedures of *September Lemonade*—no masterpiece, a slight play, but suggestive—there are intriguing possibilities. The play demands, of course, that the audience rise to the verbal occasion, fairly strenuously from moment to moment, and this response is quite different from the surrender to bardic lushness requested by *Under Milk Wood.* But Mr Denney's strategy is not as factitious as our account of it may suggest ; since the play contains only two ' kinds ' of speech, and these sharply differentiated, audiences might respond without too much fuss. It's hard to say. We remind ourselves, warily but with hope, that in the past audiences have responded to extensions of procedures at least as radical as this.

DRAMATIC VERSE : A TRIAL DEFINITION

Eliot made his most direct attempt to specify the qualities peculiar to dramatic verse in *The Three Voices of Poetry*, where he envisaged the first as the voice of the poet talking to himself, or to nobody ; the second, that of the poet addressing an audience, whether large or small ; the third, the voice of the poet when he creates a dramatic agent speaking in verse, saying only what he can say within the limits of one imaginary agent addressing another. This distinction is less rewarding than one had hoped; it provides no solution to what Eliot calls' the problem of the difference between dramatic, quasi-dramatic, and non-dramatic verse ' ; especially as Eliot remarks rather gnomically in the same context that in ' poetic drama ' all three voices are audible. It is obvious that a lyric or meditative poet who sets out to write a verse play needs a new set of procedures, but the precise nature of these procedures remains elusive.

We should avoid being precious about this. Dramatic verse is different from other kinds of verse, but the differences are not, we would argue, in matters of image, syntax, metaphor, diction, or metre. Only its context makes ' Ripeness is all ' a dramatic statement, and one could envisage a non-dramatic context such as *The Vanity of Human Wishes* in which the same statement would fit neatly enough. Again, there is nothing in such lines as

> Farewell ! thou art too dear for my possessing
> or
> My lady's presence makes the roses red,
> Because to see her lips they blush with shame

which would debar them from supporting the burden of *some* dramatic situation. Indeed Romeo might have tossed Constable's lines to Benvolio in the opening scene without our feeling that they were inappropriate or undramatic. *In context.*

If this is so ; if we cannot distinguish between dramatic and non-dramatic verse in such terms, what then ? I should argue that a vital difference remains. Susanne Langer has pointed out that in literature the sound and meaning of words, their familiar or unusual use and order, create the illusion of life as a realm of events—completed, lived—events that compose a past. Drama, on the other hand, presents the poetic illusion in a different light ; not finished realities, not ' events ', but immediate, visible responses of human beings, make its semblance of life. The basic abstraction in drama is the act, which springs from the past but is directed toward the future and is always great with things to come. The distinction is that as literature creates a virtual past, drama creates a virtual future. This tension between past and future, the theatrical ' present moment ', is what gives to acts, gestures, and attitudes the peculiar intensity known as ' dramatic quality '. In drama, speech is an

act, motivated by visible and invisible other acts, and like them shaping the oncoming future. What distinguishes dramatic verse from lyric or meditative verse, therefore, is nothing as tangible as diction or syntax or versification, but rather a bias, on the part of dramatic verse, toward the fulfilment of a form whose completion lies ahead. The completed form may be seen to have developed in a straight or crooked line, but throughout the play there is a force which presses *forward*, and the verse must answer to that pressure. Kenneth Burke had something like this in mind, I imagine, when he spoke of the dramatist building up ' potentials ', giving the audience a more or less explicit or vague ' in our next ' feeling at the end of each scene, and subsequently transforming such promises into fulfilments. The potentialities of one scene would in this way become the actualizations of the next, while these in turn would be potentialities from the standpoint of unfoldings still to come. This is the kind of sequence that Hopkins professed to find in Bridges's *The Growth of Love* : he felt that the work excelled 'in phrasing, in sequence of phrase and sequence of feeling on feeling '. By ' sequence of feeling ' he meant ' a dramatic quality by which what goes before seems to necessitate and beget what comes after '. The idea is pretty much the same.

Arguing thus ; an essential requirement of dramatic verse, I should maintain, is that throughout the play it shall be agile in miming each ' movement of feeling ', and at the same time in generating future acts ; the thrust of the potential to realize itself in the actual. We would praise a passage of dramatic verse by indicating how its rendering of the present moment is simultaneously creating an emotional demand for fulfilment. Throughout the play the verse must be occupied in ' shaping the on-coming future ' and in persuading the audience to desire its ' perfect ' enactment.

We would illustrate this in speeches which are not obviously ' dramatic ' ; to cite Cleopatra's ' They do not go together ' would be inappropriate. Here is a fair example, all the more relevant because its dramatic quality has been questioned :

> Alas that Love, whose view is muffled still,
> Should without eyes see pathways to his will !
> Where shall we dine ? O me ! What fray was here ?
> Yet tell me not, for I have heard it all :
> Here's much to do with hate, but more with love :
> Why, then, O brawling love, O loving hate,
> O anything of nothing first create !
> O heavy lightness, serious vanity,
> Misshapen chaos of well-seeming forms,
> Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health,
> Still-waking sleep, that is not what it is !
> This love feel I, that feel no love in this.

The words—we make an obvious point—render a certain ' movement of feeling '. It is possible to laugh at the speaker, and Romeo is uneasily aware that he is talking like a Petrarchan sonnet or like a poem from Watson's *Hekatompathia* :

> *Romeo* : Dost thou not laugh ?
> *Benvolio* : No, coz, I rather weep.

The oppositions persist : the syntax is not 'merely verbal'. Simultaneously, the lines evoke in the audience (who are deemed to be free from Romeo's confusions) a desire to have Romeo's mode of feeling confronted by the sharper realities of experience. The speech is designed *like* an Elizabethan love-poem so as to call out from the audience an appropriately critical response ; if Romeo is to be tossed out of his enclosed garden of love-sickness it must be because the audience somehow wants this to happen. Hence the rich, if interim, fulfilment when Mercutio from outside the garden applies his salacious critique. Hence, here, these words which evoke in the audience a critical desire to put Romeo's seemingly fragile heart to the test. The lines press forward, not—like a Johnsonian sentence—closing and nailing down the matter, but expanding, as their energy strains to enact such a test. The audience's desire is appeased in V, i, when Romeo says, ' Is it e'en so ? Then I defy you, stars ! ' It is a resonant assertion ; Romeo has passed the test ; a sequence of feeling has been ' perfected '. What we respond to, therefore, is the organic and extrinsic quality of Romeo's early speeches ; their ' poetical ' nature is at once a rendering of feeling and a critique of that feeling ; as critique it generates a characteristically dramatic sequence.

Continuing : in Coleridge's *Remorse* the inferiority of the drama is accompanied by an almost continuously intrinsic and retrospective use of language. In IV, iii, for instance, Teresa says :

> The moon is high in heaven, and all is hushed.
> Yet, anxious listener ! I have seemed to hear
> A low dead thunder mutter thro' the night,
> As 'twere a giant angry in his sleep.
> O Alvar ! Alvar ! that they could return
> Those blessed days that imitated heaven,
> When we two wont to walk at eventide ;
> When we saw nought but beauty ; when we heard
> The voice of that Almighty One who loved us
> In every gale that breathed, and wave that murmured !
> O we have listened, even till high-wrought pleasure
> Hath half assumed the countenance of grief,
> And the deep sigh seemed to heave up a weight
> Of bliss, that pressed too heavy on the heart.
> And this majestic Moor, seems he not one
> Who oft and long communing with my Alvar,
> Hath drunk in kindred lustre from his presence,
> And guides me to him with reflected light.

This limp aria, typical of *Remorse*, dissolves drama into a lyrical moment, just as the typical speech in *Zapolya* tends to enforce an epic perspective : in both cases the essential defect is the same. There is no point in arguing that the verse is too close to the kind of lyric verse, such as *To the River Otter*, which Coleridge wrote in imitation of Bowles's sonnets ;—that begs the question. The real fault is that it provides ' explanations ' rather than raising emotional ' problems ' which demand solution. Even if the speech adequately mimes Teresa's feeling, its activity is merely local : it generates nothing from its blocked off ' present moment '.

In contrast here is a passage from *The Confidential Clerk,* part of the conversation between Lucasta and Colby at the beginning of the second Act :

Lucasta : But it's only the outer world that you've lost :
You've still got your inner world—a world that's more real.
That's why you're different from the rest of us :
You have your secret garden ; to which you can retire
And lock the gate behind you.

Colby : And lock the gate behind me ?
Are you sure that you haven't your own secret garden
Somewhere, if you could find it ?

Lucasta : If I could find it !
No, my only garden is . . . a dirty public square
In a shabby part of London—like the one where I lived
For a time, with my mother. I've no garden.
I hardly feel that I'm even a person :
Nothing but a bit of living matter
Floating on the surface of the Regent's Canal.
Floating, that's it . . .

The plot of this, moving from the ' outer world ' to the ' inner world ' and equating the latter with ' a world that's more real ', prepares us for the otherwise excessive weight of significance in ' garden '. When this word has taken the strain, its greatly increased momentum carries it through the rest of the play, extending its scope and supporting the spiritual burden of such lines as :

But for Eggerson
His garden is a part of one single world.

In Lucasta's speech the juxtaposition of ' garden ' and ' dirty public square ' endorses that of ' person ' and ' matter ' : the nexus of insight thus formed radiates through the entire play; outer, inner ; public, secret ; matter, person. The lines mime Lucasta's feeling with precision, ' placing ' her particular kind of self-consciousness. What they exhibit is a beautifully controlled rhetoric, similar in kind to that which Eliot admired

'*Rhetoric*' *and Poetic Drama*) in those situations in Shakespeare's plays in which a speaker *sees himself* in a dramatic light. It issues in

> Floating on the surface of the Regent's Canal.
> Floating, that's it. . .

where the repetition indicates the dramatic light in which Lucasta, for the time being, sees herself.

* * *

'Dramatic' is a eulogistic term, like 'poetic'; and like 'poetic' often used to praise an effect which we like but do not understand. We often speak of a dramatic element in a poem, without indicating very precisely what this means. We need an example. Compare Donne's

> Show me deare Christ, thy Spouse, so bright and clear.
> What! is it She, which on the other shore
> Goes richly painted? or which rob'd and tore
> Laments and mournes in Germany and here?
> Sleepes she a thousand, then peepes up one yeare?
> Is she selfe truth and errs? now new, now outwore? . . . . .

with Arnold's *Written in Butler's Sermons* —

> Affections, Instincts, Principles, and Powers,
> Impulse, and Reason, Freedom and Control —
> So men, unravelling God's harmonious whole,
> Rend in a thousand shreds this life of ours.
>
> Vain labour! Deep and broad, where none may see,
> Spring the foundation of the shadowy throne
> Where man's one Nature, queen-like, sits alone,
> Centered in a majestic unity . . .

To what are we responding when we feel that Donne's lines are more dramatic than Arnold's? Not, surely, to any differences between the substance of the poems, the moral issues involved; or even, perhaps, to the fact that Donne's language is closer to spoken idiom, more sinewy, more Chaucerian. We recognize that the realism of speech in Donne's poem arises from the vigour of the speaker's piety, interpreting piety in Santayana's sense—larger than the usual one—of 'loyalty to the sources of one's being'. The speaker in Donne's poem is striving to acknowledge the prime source of his being and to unite himself with it. At once, then, a relationship is effected, by *fiat*, and this relationship is potentially a dramatic situation. In Arnold's lines, on the other hand, we merely overhear someone meditating at large. Arnold's poem, a meditative lyric, presents the speaker gathering up his life's experience into a single moment

of critique. It is the end of something rather than the beginning : it looks back upon experience, distilling its meaning. The poem does not attempt to persuade by involving us in a close or urgent relationship : its tone is that of a man making a trial account of his experience purely for his own benefit ; we have not been invited to attend. We enter into the experience of Donne's poem directly, meeting no obstacles. Our entry into the experience of Arnold's poem is likely to be inhibited by our recalling other literary habits, such as those of the moralistic essays which Johnson weaves into *Rasselas*. Donne's plot and characterization are much keener than Arnold's, the plot being of course the movement of words which testifies to subtle developments in the relationship of the speaker to Christ ; the brusque tone of ' What ! ', for example, being a new ' situation', a development from the humble address of ' deare Christ '. May we not say, then, with these instances before us, that a speech is dramatic to the extent that it directs attention immediately and vigorously to a personal relationship in the process of enactment ? Hopkins seems to have had something of this in mind in one of his letters to Bridges when he used the word ' bidding ', describing it as ' a nameless quality which is of the first importance in oratory and drama '. It is ' the art or virtue of saying everything right *to* or *at* the hearer, interesting him, holding him in the attitude of correspondent or addressed or at least concerned, making it everywhere an act of intercourse—and of discarding everything that does not *bid*, does not tell . . . witness Greek plays—and Shakespeare's '. There is very little bidding in Arnold's poem.

Perhaps now we may add a further characteristic of dramatic verse, that it attracts primary attention to the mind speaking rather than to the language being spoken. But we must be careful with this. Horatio's

> But look the morn in russet mantle clad
> Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastward hill . . . . .

may seem to draw our attention away from Horatio as speaker to the language as such ; we may be inclined to ' explain ' the lines as being designed primarily to answer to a deep desire in the audience at that moment, other claims being in abeyance. But this is unnecessary here, though it applies to several other speeches in Shakespeare. Even Eliot's comments on Horatio's speech fall away from the real point. He declares (in *Poetry and Drama*) that the scene in which these words are spoken ' is great poetry, and is dramatic ', and is something more. There emerges, he suggests, a kind of musical design also which reinforces and is one with the dramatic movement : it has checked and accelerated the pulse of our emotion without our knowing it. When we hear Horatio's words, Eliot says, we are lifted for a moment beyond character, but with no sense of unfitness of the words coming, and at this moment, from Horatio :

> The transitions in the scene obey the laws of the music of dramatic poetry.

Poetry, Drama, and then, as if things were not sufficiently complicated already, Music; each curiously evanescent. If Mr Eliot intended to say why and how these lines are dramatic, it seems to me he failed. But the hint we need is in the earlier tribute, which we have already met, to 'the really fine rhetoric in Shakespeare'. 'Where a character in the play *sees himself* in a dramatic light': or, translating to fit Horatio's case, where a character in the play *sees the occasion* in a dramatic light. In the word 'walks' Horatio's sense of being, activated to a Wordsworthian degree by contact with the Ghost, imparts a corresponding heightening to the felt nature and appearance of the morning: 'state' is pointed up as 'act'. I imagine the procedure comes within the terms of *prosopopoeia* as interpreted by Elizabethan poets generally. Horatio sees in a dramatic light the situation in which he, Marcellus and Bernardo find themselves. Read in this way, of course, the lines exhibit our second characteristic of dramatic verse: they mime a movement of Horatio's feeling.

A convenient illustration of another attribute of dramatic verse is provided by *Samson Agonistes*. Robert Martin Adams has discussed the latinate element in *Samson* with particular reference to the word 'capital,' arguing that when Samson refers to his 'capital secret', he is pointing out the importance of his secret, that it resided in or on his head, that like the Capitol in Rome it was the centre of his power and the residence of a deity. One is aware of a latin word behind the english, with its own impact. But we need the text:

> Thrice she assay'd with flattering prayers and sighs,
> And amorous reproaches to win from me
> My capital secret . . .

Here, I should argue, any latinate meaning of 'capital' over and above the primary meaning 'chief' issues not from Samson's role or from his feelings at this moment, but from Milton as commentator. Milton, from without, adds a comment which we may apprehend: the latinate overlay is not in Samson's consciousness or in the habits of speech which testify to his role; it is an expansive gloss by Milton on the meaning of Samson's destiny. The procedure is very dangerous in a drama which has not set up a decorum to sanction it; it comes very close to the ventriloquism that bothered Coleridge. The point may appear petty, and one can traffic ungracefully with details of this kind, but we have been concerned to examine it at a stage in which it has been carried down so thoroughly into the texture of the verse that it is barely noticeable. Instances which we might cite from *Venus Observed* would show the thing much more blatantly. In Fry's early comedies the language—much of it—is undramatic because it sets up verbal barriers between the audience and the relationships which are in process of exploration and enactment. Attention is diverted from the relationships to the opaque language itself.

Tying up the threads. The essential characteristics of dramatic verse would seem to be that the language is generative, answering to a pressure *forward* (which is in the movement of the acts imitated) toward the ' realization ' of the play's form ; that it is continuously agile in miming each movement of feeling ; that it compels primary attention to the mind speaking rather than to the language being spoken ; and that its sharpest focus is directed on the changing relationships within the play.

Some Notes on the Stories of James Plunkett

by THOMAS MAC INTYRE

SINCE the publication of *The Trusting and The Maimed* (Devon-Adair : 1955) Irish critics have been taking particular notice of James Plunkett. Magazine articles regularly have mention of him as ' the most promising of the younger school ' ; there have been references to his ' refreshing realism ', and also some talk of ' over-indulgence in the use of symbolism '. In connection with Plunkett's work, there has also been talk of a man called Joyce.

The purpose of this short article is to examine fairly Plunkett's achievements as a writer, to discover the major influences in his work, and to estimate his position among the Irish writers, past and present, skilled in the short-story genre.

At the risk of over-simplifying, one may say that an examination of the stories contained in *The Trusting and The Maimed* reveals Plunkett in four major roles : (i) social critic ; (ii) student of child psychology and behaviour ; (iii) sympathetic observer of the inimitably Dublin scene ; (iv) the artist sensitively touching on the futilities of existence.

In the stories, ' Weep For Our Pride ', and ' The Wearin ' of The Green ', we find Plunkett, the social critic, flailing the things in our society which he feels are objectionable. Both stories are merely vehicles for social criticism, and are palpably contrived. Plunkett is here attacking what are to him the twin horrors of modern Ireland : (a) nationalism gone mad—Fiorgaelery with its brightly gleaming Fainne and fanatically gleaming eye ; and (b) puritanical restrictions on the youth of the country by a clergy stiflingly conservative.

An unartistic bias prevents either story from being a success. The author, bent on demolishing ' the new social hierarchy ', too often comes between the reader and the story. In ' The Wearin' of The Green ', Purcell, the schoolmaster, has brought life to the small town by establishing a Choral Society. But he has virulent opposition from the centres of power in the town, and is eventually beaten. Here he is speaking, but is there not some ventriloquism on Plunkett's part? . . . .

> I forgot the important people ; the patriots and the priests, who must test everything first to assure themselves that the plan is set out on Irish-made paper which has been watermarked with the Sixth Commandment. Murphy, [local Gombeen-man] for instance, has a corner in patriotism. He sincerely believes that our forefathers wore kilts and played Gaelic football when they weren't writing Aislings . . . .

Plunkett here shows himself to belong to a stream in modern Irish writing which has a ' bifurcated view ' of Caitlin Ni Houlihan : one view reveals a wistful maiden ; the other a snarling hag. These stories also exhibit the tremendous Church-Literature tension, which is a feature of so much Irish writing. ' Weep For Our Pride ' and ' The Wearin' of The Green ' are both interesting stories, but they lose artistic balance with the weight of prejudice. They remind one of George Moore, at large in The Untilled Field, and wielding the loy with quite indisciplined savagery. But like Ould Mahon, Mother Ireland rises again ; both Moore and Plunkett are easily eluded, and she emerges with not even her visage astray.

In ' The Damned,' ' The Half-Crown,' and ' Janey Mary,' Plunkett gives us three childhood stories (strictly, ' The Damned ' is an adolescent study) which, in their sometimes brutal realism, are clearly a reaction to the semi-romanticized happy-as-Larry child studies of certain established Irish writers in this genre. We have had enough of trailing clouds of glory, Plunkett seems to say, and he sets out on the trail of the ugly rack which is also floating around.

He finds it too, and ' The Half-Crown,' one of his finest stories, is the result. This is an honest, accurate study of the young teenager at odds with parents, education, religion, indeed with life. It is quite uncontrived and untrammeled by the pretentious symbolism which mars many of his stories. This fault spoils both ' Janey Mary ' and ' The Damned,' although in the latter he does convey poignantly the torture of a child up against the gates of dogmatism.

Most distinctively Dublin of his stories are ' Mercy ' and ' The Dublin Fusilier '. Both are full of humanity, and characterized by feeling for, and fidelity to, the old Dublin which Plunkett obviously knows and treasures : St Audoen's, St Patrick's, John's Lane and Christ Church, and below them, the river, flowing sullenly seawards. ' Mercy ', a vignette of an old watchman about to die, is outstandingly good. In it Plunkett

expresses beautifully the lonely fear of the aged, and for once, the symbolism is controlled and compellingly effective. But ' The Dublin Fusilier ', although the city background is excellent, is too contrived to come off. Here the symbolism is not compelling, but compulsory.

Plunkett writes of Dublin with confidence and conviction. (By contrast, his small-town pictures are vague, superficial, and imitative. They have none of the accuracy or insight of a Bryan MacMahon view of the Irish country town.) His dialogue carries that somehow *assertive* quality which seems to be a feature of your true Dubliner's garrulity . . . .

> Marty swung his grenades. Was he not Marty, an Irishman and a Dublin Fusilier ? Son of no Carey nor scab, but now and then the son of a seacook, and sometimes the son of a bitch, and always an oul' son of a gun. No sugarin' policeman would lay a hand on Marty. No dirty Jerry, nor snooping Boer, nor bloody Black and Tan. He'd banjax the whole issue, Marty would, all on his Barney Malone. But in the meanwhile, would you manage a pint, Marty ? Would a duck swim, wha' ? Willy is a bad fella. Right you are, oul' son, off we go for a loaf of Bolands.

There we have all the authentic swaggering gusto of Fluther or Captain Boyle (or any of O'Casey's immortal disreputables). On the other hand, ' The Dublin Fusilier ' shows a tendency to inflict on the reader anecdotes bald with antiquity, and much overworked Dublin slang. This is reminiscent of Behan in bad form, and Plunkett is good enough to do without this sort of crutch.

Two of Plunkett's most discussed stories are ' The Trusting and The Maimed ', and ' The Eagles and The Trumpets '. Most critics consider the latter his finest piece of work so far. Both stories present to us almost unmitigated pictures of the futility of existence. These characters are from the world of frustration and failure, deceit and subterfuge. Joyce's *Dubliners* comes to mind : Little Chandler and Farrington are not far away. Yet, in ' The Eagles and The Trumpets' (by far the more successful) there seems to be more of Eliot than Joyce; this is, apart from the fact that the title is a line from Eliot, and the additional fact that two of the characters discuss another Eliot quatrain in the course of the story. Plunkett's characters in this story, like Prufrock, have momentarily ' lingered in the chambers of the sea/By sea-girls wreathed with seaweed red and brown ' but always, human voices wake them and they drown.

The title is taken from Eliot's ' A Cooking Egg ', a poem in which childish dreams of blinding success are compared with the actuality of a flat and unpalatable present—

> Where are the eagles and the trumpets ?
> Buried beneath some snow-deep Alps.
> Over buttered scones and crumpets
> Weeping, weeping multitudes
> Droop in a hundred A.B.C's.

Similarly Sweeney (Coincidence? —or can this be Mrs Porter's friend), a clerk in a city office, is about to go week-ending in the country to see the one girl who has meant anything worthwhile for him. But the evening goes awry, as has happened before, and one feels, will happen again. Sweeney is dragged off on a pub-crawl and ends the evening puking and sick by the Liffey wall; his girl ends her evening by going off with a broken-down commercial traveller to the country hotel where she and Sweeney had known happiness.

Plunkett tells the story with a compassion that is never sentimental, and his technique of switching the theme, while still achieving a unified mood, is quite skilful. The delicacy and evocativeness which Plunkett achieves is well illustrated in one superb scene—devastatingly effective because it shows Sweeney groping for the lost pearl of his soul. He and his friends have arrived at a speakeasy. The drinks are being served. Suddenly, Sweeney is reminded of some lines of poetry which his friend Ellis had quoted the week before. He asks Ellis to quote again....

> Ellis looked surprised. But when he found Sweeney was not trying to make a fool of him he clasped the cup tightly with both hands and leaned across the table. He moved it rhythmically in a small wet circle, and repeated the previous verse. Then he continued with half-closed eyes.
>
> 'But through the waters pale and thin
> Still shine the unoffending feet..'
>
> 'The unoffending feet', Sweeney repeated, almost to himself. That's what I wanted. Christ —that's beautiful.
> But the gramophone rasped out again, and the moment of quietness and awareness inside him was shattered to bits. Higgins came with three cups which he left down with a bang on the table.
> 'Refreshment', he said, 'Annie's own. At much personal inconvenience.'
> Sweeney looked up at him. He had been on the point of touching something, and it had been knocked violently away from him. That always happened....

One story remains to be mentioned: 'The Web'. This story describes the closing of the ring of British soldiers around a group of I.R.A. men on the run. It is only moderately successful, and again the Plunkett weakness for nailing symbolism on to a story, instead of fusing it into the work, is evident.

How much does Plunkett owe to Joyce?; more particularly, how much to *Dubliners*? Not as much as Joyceolators would have us believe. These stories do resemble *Dubliners* in so far as *frustration* is a dominant theme; Plunkett's Dublin is also a centre of paralysis. And certainly the dusty offices, soured clerks, and querulous pub scenes of *The Trusting and The Maimed* are very reminiscent of *Dubliners*. These

things mentioned, differences are easier to find. Compassion informs Plunkett's stories, while the callous objectivity of *Dubliners* is notorious ; Plunkett's stories carry an oppressive sense of sin which *Dubliners* has not ; the pallid characterization, awkward symbolism and featureless prose of Plunkett shows that he has, unfortunately, derived little from Joyce in those respects.

This is not to say that the trumpets have been sounded without cause. Plunkett has brought something worthwhile to Irish writing in this genre. His quick-stabbing realism is his own particular vein : he jerks us away from the tender arms of O'Connor, from the he-manity of O'Flaherty, from the donnish urbanity of O'Faolain ; he is original and sincere, and his work has that vital feeling that certain things *do* matter. As yet he is an unsubtle alchemist. He is no Joyce, no Mansfield, no Aymé : nor should we expect him to be. But he shows sufficient promise to indicate that his new play, scheduled for production in the Autumn, and the novel on which he is working, should be worth investigating.

The Third International Seaweed Symposium

GALWAY : 13–19 AUGUST 1958

by MARTIN M. BRENNAN

THE first International Seaweed Symposium was held in Edinburgh in 1952, and the second took place at Trondheim, Norway in 1955. That the third in the series should be held in Ireland this year was due partly to the great potentialities of our coastline, especially in the west ; partly to the record of excellent work done in University College Galway, on the chemistry of the seaweeds, and on their ecology and distribution in the Chemical and Biological Departments respectively ; and partly to the vision and enthusiasm of the sponsors which impressed the International Committee. The results of the Symposium more than justified their confidence ; the organization throughout was so very efficient in a delightfully easy and non-mechanical manner as to conceal the tremendous effort it must have entailed for the relatively small local committee.

The actual work of the Symposium was organized in three sections, namely, Botany (Section A), Utilization (B) and Chemistry (C). There were in addition two exhibitions, one by some Irish and other firms on the industrial and commercial exploitation of seaweed and seaweed products ; the other a historical exhibition of the methods of utilization and the instruments used for gathering seaweeds in the past in Ireland. These exhibitions and all the technical papers of the Symposium were held in University College.

Of the three sections the layman would presumably be more interested in the proceedings of B (Utilization). Commercially the most important substance dealt with here would probably be alginic acid. This occurs as an important cell-wall component in many Brown Algae. From these it is extracted and processed and in the form of alginates it is extensively used commercially where a stiff but water-soluble base is required as for instance to mention but two, in the manufacture of tooth-pastes and ice-cream.

Professor T. Dillon, U.C.G., the Chairman of the Irish Committee gave a very full account of the discovery of alginic acid by the English pharmaceutical chemist, E. C. C. Stanford (1837–99) and his announcement of it to the Philosophical Society of Glasgow in 1883 under the name of algin. Until recently Irish commercial exploitation of this discovery consisted in collecting, drying, grinding and exporting to Britain quantities of suitable weed—mainly the common species of *Laminaria* (*L. cloustoni*)

formerly collected for kelp. However, delegates to the Symposium on a tour of local seaweed factories were shown a pilot plant in the factory of Atlantic Alginates Ltd., Ballyconneely, with which all the preliminary difficulties and problems of sodium alginate production had been solved.

Seaweeds have been used since time immemorial as manures rather in the manner of farmyard manure, either as top-dressing or dug into the soil. Modern methods of using it take the form either of a liquified extract of weeds of established manurial value which is mulched into the soil or sprayed directly on to the leaves of the crop plant ; or of a ground product which can be spread or dug lightly in. The latter form should be particularly valuable in areas where a shortage of farmyard and other organic manures could result in a humus deficiency. The former should be very effective when no humus deficiency is feared. The beneficial results claimed for both methods were quite arresting.

The question of seaweed feeding stuffs for animals figured both in the communications and in the exhibitions. They take the form of seaweed meals which can be supplied loose or compacted into nuts. While there may be some room for doubt as to their efficacy when added to a diet already reasonably balanced, they are apparently of great value in supplying deficiencies of vitamins, as for example of A, and there is a strong case for their utilization to correct deficiencies of minerals, especially the crucial ' trace ' elements. This, of course, can be done directly by their use as foodstuffs but also indirectly by seaweed manuring.

With the increasing use of seaweeds new problems will arise, such as the estimation in advance of the location and yield of suitable crops of weed and efficient and economic methods of harvesting them. Such problems were considered, and in particular that of mechanical harvesting was discussed frequently in private. No one doubted the success of the mechanical harvesting of the long floating fronds of *Sargassum* on American shores. A film (by the Institute of Seaweed Research, Scotland) showed a mechanical harvester at work on the attached weeds of the sea-bottom. It was obviously mechanically successful ; but one wondered if it would always be economic in view of the necessarily rocky nature of such a substratum.

Of pharmaceutical and medical interest were the accounts of a rather unsuccessful but extremely interesting attempt to use an anticoagulant laminarin sulphate (from *Laminaria*) on experimental animals. The Symposium was also supplied with an account of a new phytocolloid in the Italian Pharmacopeia, known as Algasol T 331, which gave very encouraging results with transplanted tumours of experimental origin and later somewhat hopeful results in clinical tests. An intriguing communication, read only in title, was ' Seaweed meal, a prophylactic against Foot and Mouth Disease.'

The somewhat kaleidoscopic nature of the proceedings of Section B was repeated in Section A (Botany). Here, among others, there were communications dealing with problems of taxonomy, speciation and distribution, the ecology of individual species (autecology) and synecology, or that of groups or communities. Algal taxonomy, especially in regard to some of the groups, seems to be in a somewhat unsatisfactory state, due, it was claimed, to a failure in many cases to refer back to type specimens, lack of over-all revisions of genera, and possibly mostly to 'failure to make allowance for the seasonal and environmental modifications of the external form of the thallus' (P. S. Dixon). Obviously one cannot expect an over-all taxonomic revision of a whole phylum (*Algae*) at a short symposium. Such an achievement is the mature outcome of long work and especially 'contemplation' of the component groups. But some of the few contributions to this basic discipline gave promise of ultimately achieving it.

The ecological discussions, as was to be expected in such a young branch of science, did not give the same promise of early fruit, but a healthy spirit of constructive criticism and 'heart searching' was apparent in some contributions. Ecology is still largely in the descriptive stage. Nevertheless it did give promise of some universally valid conclusions. These, interestingly enough, appeared more in the unpublished introduction of the Chairman (Professor T. A. Stephenson) to the Symposium on Intertidal Ecology. Incidentally, one might add, that at least some of his audience relished his very sane asides on Natural Selection.

Other papers in Section A were of a marginal character and could have been read with almost equal propriety to the chemical section, as, for instance, some vitamin and hormone studies. Another, dealing with a problem of possible utilization by the mass cultivation of microscopic marine algae—inspired by similar efforts with fresh-water unicellular algae like Chlorella—described an attempt to find an easily cultivated, easily harvested microscopic marine form. This of course would have to be comparable to the yeasts and Torulas in protein yield. While so far unsuccessful these endeavours are extremely interesting as illustrating one of the ways in which food problems of the future may be intensively tackled.

To the biologist the Chemical papers seemed to present a picture of greater relative unity than those of the other two sections. Most of the subjects dealt with were of obvious practical applicability. Papers on the structure and reactions of the carbohydrates, mucilages and alginates could perhaps be said to have given the section its character. One of the most fascinating papers of the whole Symposium, 'Biochemical and biophysical aspects of some seaweeds', by Preston of Leeds, showed how as a physicist interested in the biophysics of growth problems in higher (flowering) plants, he turned to the simpler algae for at least an indication

of the solution. X-ray and polarization studies of the cell wall (at first in *Valonia*) in its various stages of growth, when interpreted, gave a model of the submicroscopic structure of the material which was later confirmed by direct observation with the electron microscope. These studies are continuing and are yielding valuable light on the structure and development of the cell wall in the algae.

But for the active participants in the Symposium possibly the most valuable work was done in the intervals between meetings as also at the social events and particularly in the field-work and tours of inspection. Here useful contacts were made or renewed, information sought and given, problems discussed. The visits to local seaweed factories have been mentioned. In addition members of Section A (Botany) went as far afield as Milltown Malbay in Clare, Carraroe in Connemara and Clew Bay in Mayo on three separate days to collect on these favoured coasts.

A general outing to Aran on Sunday (17th) was social and recreational rather than scientific but was immensely appreciated by all, especially by those on their first visit to Ireland. The latter were particularly appreciative of the excellent traditional singing and dancing provided for them on this trip and at the sectional Dinners. Other social visits were the Civic Reception (Galway Conference Committee) and the Reception by An Tánaiste on behalf of the Government—the first and, we hope, not the last of its kind to be held outside Dublin. The delegates—from twenty-seven different countries—left no possible doubt as to their great satisfaction with all aspects of the Symposium.

Speaking to all, Irish and visitors, scientists and industrialists alike, at the official opening in University College, An Tánaiste, Mr Seán Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce, showed by his presence at least as much as by his words, the importance the Government of Ireland attached to the event, and solemnly promised every possible help in the exploitation of our seaweed resources. We sincerely hope that many will take him at his word and thus add a further reason for saluting the already undoubted success of the Third International Seaweed Symposium at Galway.

Reviews

HISTORY

THE INDEPENDENT IRISH PARTY 1850–9. By J. H. Whyte. Pp. xiii+201. Oxford University Press. 1958. 25s.

PARNELL AND HIS PARTY 1880–90. By Conor Cruise O'Brien. Pp.xiii+373. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1957. 45s.

In the last two decades a considerable amount of original work has been done in nineteenth century Irish history, work which is helping to put the developments of that century into a new perspective. Dr R. B. McDowell's survey, *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland 1801–1846,* Rev. James A. Reynolds's *The Catholic Emancipation Crisis in Ireland* and the studies in the history of the Great Famine are illustrations of this for the earlier part of the century while Dr F. S. L. Lyons has contributed to our understanding of the parliamentary scene in the late nineteenth century with his book *The Irish Parliamentary Party 1890–1910.* Now the Oxford University Press has put Irish historical scholarship in its debt by publishing two important new works, the one dealing with a much neglected phase in Irish history, the other concerned with a man and a party which have both been the subject of a great deal of controversial writing.

It is easy to dismiss the eighteen-fifties as a period when nothing very much happened. It can be too readily passed over as a lean time between the excitement of Repeal on the one hand and the age of Fenianism, Home Rule and the land agitation on the other. It is one of the real services done by Dr Whyte's book that it shows how unwise it is to forget about the eighteen-fifties. Dr Whyte rightly says, ' the leaders of the Home Rule party in the seventies and eighties were consciously trying to avoid the mistakes of their predecessors and the policies of Butt and Parnell, different though they were, can be only incompletely understood unless the memories which they had of the fate of previous parliamentary movements are borne in mind '.

Most accounts of the tenant-right movement and the parliamentary party associated with it in the eighteen-fifties tend to be based on Gavan Duffy's *The League of North and South.* Gavan Duffy's services to nineteenth century history have been considerable, but I think it is fair to say that recent work on the period has helped to qualify in certain ways Gavan Duffy's treatment of events. In his remarkably able studies of the Repeal movement we now know he presented O'Connell, Mitchel, Davis and even himself not as contemporaries saw and judged them but as Gavan Duffy in his later years chose to interpret them. Now, Dr Whyte helps us to realize that the picture of the tenant-right movement as drawn by Gavan Duffy needs correction in some important respects.

Dr Whyte's detailed analysis shows, for example, that the constitutional movement of the fifties was by no means 'Duffy's party'. Equally effectively he demonstrates that the parliamentary party, as an independent Irish opposition,

did not collapse with the entry of Keogh and Sadleir into the Aberdeen coalition ministry, but survived with some vigour both this occurrence and Gavan Duffy's decision to emigrate to Australia in 1855. Dr Whyte makes it clear that men like Frederick Lucas and G. H. Moore played a larger part in the events of the decade than is usually ascribed to them.

Dr Whyte set himself two primary tasks : to discover why the Irish party came to hold by 1852 so strong a position and to explain why before the end of the decade that independent Irish party had ceased to exist.

The rise of the party was due to a complex interplay of forces. The evictions and social insecurity of the post-famine years and the abandonment of the repeal agitation had made tenant-right an issue. But it needed more than the founding of the Tenant League in 1850 to turn the more radical of the Irish Liberal members and nominal Repealers into the nucleus of an independent Irish party. The high religious tension of the early eighteen-fifties, reaching its climax in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill dispute, was undoubtedly of considerable significance in bringing the party into existence. Without that religious factor and the entry of the Catholic clergy into the fray, it is difficult to see how an independent opposition could have been created on a serious scale.

The Tenant League and the Catholic Defence Association were the props of the party. O'Connell, throughout the eighteen-thirties and forties, had been seriously handicapped by the fact that he could not build up a strong and reasonably disciplined parliamentary following. This was partially due to the limited franchise and partially to the tremendous pressure landlords could exert on the electors. There was in practice only one organized group which could challenge that power in a sustained way, the Catholic clergy. They did so in the general election of the summer of 1852 and some forty-eight independent members were returned. This represented the high point in the relatively short life of the party.

Dr Whyte is undoubtedly right in attributing the decline of the party to a failure of leadership, especially after the death of Lucas, to an easing of the religious tensions, to the reassertion of landlord influences in the constituencies and, on another level, to a cooling of episcopal enthusiasm for the Tenant League, particularly on the part of Dr Cullen.

In an age when some share in patronage was the one tangible reward members of parliament could hope for, it was difficult for the Irish members to remain aloof from the English Liberals. The independent members found themselves without effective leadership or a strong party organization. By 1859 the party was for all practical purposes dead. It was surprising it had lasted so long, especially as both the tenant-right agitation and the religious controversies had wilted in Ireland.

It is difficult to find fault with Dr Whyte's handling of the material. He brings out well the differences of approach between the northern and southern advocates of tenant-right and his survey shows, too, the urgent need for a thorough study of Cardinal Cullen's place in Irish public life. On one or two relatively minor points, however, Dr Whyte may be criticized. Few will quarrel with his assessment of landlord influence. But one reader at least was left with the impression that his generalized picture of an Irish landlord

resembled too much the conventional portrait of an English squire. To attempt to formulate, in the present state of our knoweldge, any generalized conclusions about landlord and tenant relations in Ireland, in the mid-nineteenth century, is still a perilous adventure. Again, while Dr Whyte makes skilful use of statistical material about the composition and voting record of the independent Irish party, a little more could have been said about the character and quality of the leaders of the party. What Dr Whyte tells us must make the reader wish he had said more.

The welcome given to Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien's *Parnell and his Party 1880–90*, by the critics in both the learned journals and the press helps to emphasize the character of this book. It is both a serious study, based on academic research, and a piece of very effective writing of a kind which is all too rare in modern historical work. Dr Cruise O'Brien has written not a political biography of Parnell but a study of the political machine he had to use and which, of necessity, imposed limitations on him and had a life of its own.

Like Dr Whyte, the author of *Parnell and his Party* devotes a considerable amount of space to an analysis of the Irish party's membership and to an examination of the backgrounds and occupations of the members. He undoubtedly extracts from the available material a considerable amount of information. He shows how, for example, the 1880 general election brought a larger non-landlord element into the party and how that process became still more evident from 1885 onwards. Dr Cruise O'Brien is, however, at his best in dealing with the diplomacy of the period rather than in expounding semi-statistical sources which are extremely difficult to control.

His treatment of the Galway election of 1886 represents a valuable contribution to the study of Parnell, his personal relations and the evolution of his party. Dr Cruise O'Brien attaches considerable significance to this by-election, which saw Parnell use all his influence and power to have Captain O'Shea returned to Parliament for a Home Rule constituency in the face of protests from some of Parnell's closest associates in the Irish party. 'The Galway election', Dr Cruise O'Brien stresses, 'probably contributed to the over-confidence which proved disastrous to Parnell in 1890; it also sowed seeds of distrust among his followers which germinated in that later crisis.'

A great deal of Dr Cruise O'Brien's book is naturally concerned with problems of organization and management within the party and with the way in which funds were raised and distributed. He shows, for example, that, in the late eighteen-eighties, roughly half of the Irish party's M.P.'s were in receipt of salaries from party funds. At a time when members of parliament still received no allowances from public sources, such payments took on an obvious importance in helping to undermine the narrow class basis of the House of Commons and in helping, too, to strengthen party discipline. In fashioning new political techniques the Irish party in the eighteen-eighties contributed a great deal to the shaping of the modern British party system.

In more general terms Dr Cruise O'Brien shows how from 1882 onwards and even more so from 1886, with Gladstone's open conversion to Home Rule, Parnell was faced with the task of dampening the semi-revolutionary spirit in his own party without at the same time weakening his hold on the people. That he was in practice so successful, despite his frequent absences from active

politics, the ambitions of his lieutenants and his domestic difficulties, is a remarkable tribute to the ascendancy he had achieved in Irish public life. Equally interesting is Dr Cruise O'Brien's examination of the attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy towards Parnell and his leadership of the Irish party. He helps to make it quite clear that the view which holds that ' Parnell's followers deserted him at the command of the Catholic bishops, because of the divorce verdict ' is not borne out by evidence. The available evidence rather suggests that members of the Hierarchy, like Archbishop Croke or Archbishop Walsh, though most unhappy about the whole position after the divorce suit, were slow to intervene in the hope that Parnell might voluntarily retire. The crisis was brought rapidly to a head because of Gladstone's well-grounded fears of the impact of the divorce case on British opinion and Parnell's tragic failure to realize that he would have to go, if only for a time. The situation so created gave Parnell's potential rivals in the party their chance to strike.

The object of Dr Cruise O'Brien's book, then, is to restore Parnell ' to his immediate political context and to describe that context '. It in no way detracts from the fundamental value of the work done to say that a longer introductory chapter, devoted to the political developments in the decade before 1880, would have helped that purpose considerably. As it is, the reader is plunged rather suddenly into the complexities of Irish politics in 1880.

It is to be hoped that Dr Cruise O'Brien will be encouraged to follow this book on Parnell and his party with a full-length study of Parnell.

KEVIN B. NOWLAN

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MEDIEVAL TIMES. By John B. Morrall. Hutchinson : 1958. 18s.

DR MORRALL has been lecturing on medieval history, and in particular on the development of medieval political theories, in University College, Dublin, for the past seven or eight years. This book is not, and does not claim to be, a full history of the development of medieval political thought. For so ambitious a work a limit of 150 pages would plainly be insufficient. But we have here an admirably clear and thoughtful account of the most important phases in that development ; and the account is all the more welcome for being written in a very pleasing and readable style. As a general introdution to a subject which has attracted the attention of many able scholars, more particularly in the past fifty or sixty years, it could hardly be bettered.

A brief explanation of the chronological and geographical limits within which the story is told is followed by a chapter on ' Church, Empire and Barbarians '. Here, I must confess, Dr Morrall passes so rapidly over a period which includes the great name and person of Augustine, Popes such as Gelasius I and Emperors such as Justinian, as well as the whole complicated process of fusion of Teutonic custom with Roman law and tradition, that one cannot help feeling that too much is attempted in far too brief a space. Students who wish to gain clearer insight into this most vigorous and fruitful era in European history will need to turn to other works. But once the reign of Charlemagne

has been reached, Dr Morrall eases the pace, and begins to hold our attention more securely. We are now in the first stage of that long struggle between *sacerdotium* and *regnum* which has caused modern historians no less than medieval pamphleteers to spill quantities of ink on one side or the other. Dr Morrall states the main issues, and then draws attention to new elements and personal influences, some of which have only recently been recognized as important.

The twelfth century, followed by the thirteenth, is the great period of canonist and civilian, and gets full attention ; Dr Morrall is justified in finding here, more than in the preceding centuries, the birth of the modern state. Traditional concepts which had derived ultimately from the thought of St Augustine, biblical teaching and the strong influence of German custom, are now modified by a new understanding of Roman law and the teaching of Aristotle, most of all in his *Politics*—the last of his treatises to find their way into the western schools. Here Dr Morrall is particularly clear and satisfying. So great a teacher as Thomas Aquinas needs to be understood in the light of contemporary thought, and modern criticism has shown how deep and lasting was the influence, hitherto far too much neglected, of medieval civil and canon law. The thirteenth century ends most dramatically with the extreme statement of papal claims by Boniface VIII, and the sharp challenge of new political ideas as represented by Philip the Fair and his lawyers.

Dr Morrall is perhaps most interesting in what he has to say about the confusing and sometimes startling novelty of political theories in the fourteenth century. Having told the story of Boniface's bold effort to maintain an old-fashioned, but in itself noble theory of papal *plenitudo potestatis,* and having analysed the very much less practical, but none the less powerful thought of Dante in his treatise on monarchy, Dr Morrall inevitably makes Marsilius of Padua the central figure in the next phase of this development. But his careful study of contemporary thought in France and Italy and Germany, and his own sound grasp of Ockham's teaching and thought, makes it easier to understand why Marsilius, drastic critic of tradition and daring innovator though he was, can none the less be truly appreciated only when he is studied against his contemporary background. There are other developments at this time such as the growth of representative government and the conscious desire to work out a system of collegiate or corporate organization, which derive in part from the growth of towns and the influence of commerce, but which are plainly to be seen as active influences in the thought of an academic teacher like Ockham.

In a final chapter, which is headed ' The Age of Ambiguity ', Dr Morrall takes us rapidly through the conciliar movement, with its insistence on corporate government as applied to the government of the Church; through the painful experiences of concordats which seek to limit the earlier *plenitudo potestatis* of a papacy which has once more freed itself from French influences and has found its way back to Rome ; and finally to the open cynicism of Machiavelli, whose thought is here seen to be less daring and less plainly a break with earlier political speculation. We are thus brought to the eve of the Lutheran revolt, with its tragic consequences for later generations, and we are prepared for the sad truth with which Dr Morrall ends his brief survey of this vast field of human enterprize : ' The distintegration of the Christian social and political *Respublica* was in progress long before the Reformation '. That does

not lessen the tragedy, nor does it lessen the significance of the sixteenth century as a watershed in the history of Western Europe. ' The explicitly accepted religious fragmentation of western Christendom in the sixteenth century was the final proclamation that the old ideal was dead, and with it the medieval world.'

AUBREY GWYNN

THE GREATNESS OF OLIVER CROMWELL. By Maurice Ashley. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1957. 25s.

This is a biography of a somewhat old fashioned kind, concerned with the defence of its subject at almost any price. As chairman of the Cromwell Association, Dr. Ashley was obviously not going to cast himself for the role of devil's advocate but one might have perhaps anticipated rather more detachment from an historian of his standing. The test case for Cromwell, is of course, the conduct of his Irish campaign, and the main issue here is the extent to which it conformed to the *accepted* standards of the time. The sack of Drogheda, as Dr Ashley points out, was not unique for its barbarism and savagery in seventeenth century Europe, but the question must be answered whether it and similar happenings such as occurred in the course of the Thirty Years' War were recognized as normal Christian practice or as pieces of exceptional brutality. Dr Ashley does not really attempt to deal with this crucial point. He contents himself with references to ' saturation bombing ' and to Nagasaki and Hiroshima. He does not seem to appreciate that these arguments can be turned quite easily against the subject of his biography.

The place of Cromwell as one of the great generals of the seventeenth century is undoubted, and Dr Ashley rightly devotes a good deal of space to the battles fought by him. He never makes sufficiently clear, however, where it was that the precise originality of Cromwell's generalship lay. Professor Michael Roberts's inaugural lecture *The Military Revolution* 1550–1650 would have proved of some assistance here. In any case, however, a mere Buchanesque description of battles alone is not sufficient to provide a satisfactory criterion of generalship. Dr Ashley is therefore open to criticism on the ground that he does not deal satisfactorily with the military side of Cromwell's achievement. Equally open to criticism is his treatment of Cromwell's political activities. Most historians have looked upon Cromwell as the archtype of a military figure thrown up in the aftermath of a revolution and proving incapable of dealing with the political complexities facing him. Dr Ashley sees him as a statesman of considerable stature, as ' no latter-day dictator, but the first servant of a Commonwealth of Nations ' (p. 278). His attempt to ' unite the three nations in one Parliament was forward-looking, although union with Scotland was not attained until 1707 or with Ireland until 1801 (p. 354). Cromwell's political approach was ' Elizabethan and yet in his own way he was groping towards the doctrine of the ' separation of powers ' that was embodied during the next century in the constitution of the United States of America ' (p. 300). These and other judgements may well be true but Dr Ashley nowhere offers us any convincing demonstration of Cromwell in action. Nor does he deal satisfactorily with the

vexed question as to Cromwell's responsibility for the transplantation to Connacht. He may attempt to justify the episode on the grounds that it derived ultimately from the policies of Elizabeth, James and Strafford but he makes no attempt to deal with the point that the Cromwellian confiscation was planned upon a scale undreamt of by his predecessors in Ireland and involved far more human suffering. Dr Ashley's emphasis upon Cromwell's toleration also rings somewhat hollowly against the Irish background.

Cromwell is said to have directed his portrait painter to paint the true picture, warts and all. The chief criticism of Dr Ashley must be based upon his reluctance to do this. The result is a conventional picture which does not really persuade us of Cromwell's humanity. It is as far from the truth as that which still exists in some over-fevered Irish imaginations.

H. F. Kearney

THE ANVIL OF CIVILIZATION. By Leonard Cottrell. London: Faber & Faber. 1958. Pp. 288. 25s.

FRANCE: GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY. Edited by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill and J. McManners. London: Methuen. 1957. Pp. 275, vii. 25s.

Though these books differ widely in their subject-matter, there is a case for considering them together. They are both examples of a growingly important class of historical literature—works of 'popularization'. The great challenge set by this kind of writing is that of translating a mass of specialist research into clearly stated general conclusions for the benefit of an audience which must be assumed to be comparatively unversed, though more or less interested, in a given subject.

Mr Cottrell has had considerable experience in presenting the results of archaeological discoveries not only in print but also in those avowedly 'popular' *media*, radio and television. Though he modestly describes his book as 'the product of little learning and less art' (p. 18), he has perused the standard authorities on the ancient cultures of the Near East with which he deals. It is true that he sometimes seems to take for granted hypotheses which are by no means universally accepted; in the early chapters, for instance, he leans somewhat too heavily on the works of the late Professor Gordon Childe. Generally speaking, the peoples and civilizations which Mr Cottrell particularly likes (e.g. the Egyptians and the Greeks) are presented more satisfactorily than those which he does not find so congenial. Israel of the Old Testament is given perfunctory treatment, laced with an unnecessary irony which can hardly be accounted for on purely historical grounds. Mr Cottrell's seeming dislike for organized Christianity leads him to visit the 'sins' of the child on its monotheistic Jewish parent. The book ends at 400 B.C. and one cannot fairly blame Mr Cottrell for leaving Greek philosophy almost unnoticed; on the other hand Greek literature of the fifth century deserves more than the superficial treatment accorded here. Mr Cottrell's touch seems more sure on periods such as the Minoan and Mycenean ages, where archaeology rather than documentary history is the staple evidence. On the whole this book seems

likely to serve its purpose as an attractive introduction to the ancient history of the Eastern Mediterranean. It seems that another volume on Greek and Roman history is on the way ; perhaps in it Mr Cottrell may tidy up an inconsistency in his bibliographical method, which at present supplies or omits dates of publication of cited secondary works in a bewilderingly haphazard manner.

The other book reviewed here is by a team of professional historians. Originally delivered as lectures at Oxford in 1955, presumably for a mainly undergraduate audience, it presupposes (perhaps over-optimistically) ' an adequate grounding in French history as a whole ' (p. vii). Some contributors have taken this more seriously than others ; thus Mr C. A. J. Armstrong's ' France of the Hundred Years ' War and the Renaissance ' is too allusive to be very helpful to a non-specialist reader. By contrast the earlier chapters in the collection, particularly Miss Beryl Smalley's ' Capetian France ', manage to combine a complete mastery of scholarly material with a lively sense of the type of exposition which is most likely to appeal to an intelligent general audience. Miss Smalley is even bold enough to venture an allusion to the French equivalent of *1066 and All That,* Jean Duché's *l'Histoire de France racontée à Juliette.* In general the medievalists in this collection are more successful in achieving the maximum clarity than their modernist counterparts ; perhaps the very remoteness of their subject-matter discourages them from taking too much for granted.

The dominant impression left by the whole survey is the remarkable continuity in French history. Pre-Celtic Druidic religion (points out Professor C. F. C. Hawkes) survived to form the social pattern of Gaulish life ; Roman law and methods of holding property profoundly influenced (according to Professor J. M. Wallace-Hadrill) the Merovingian age. In connection with a much later period Mrs M. Prestwich shows that the *ancien régime* was not an unlimited despotism ; much of the medieval sense of the supremacy of customary law was preserved and at times jealously vindicated. Mr J. S. Bromley and Professor J. McManners agree that the Revolution itself was not a totally new departure ; before 1789 there was a potential revolutionary tradition, made up of the Frondist tradition of Paris and its *Parlement,* and the Jansenist movement. Mr Bromley makes a particularly valuable point when he suggests that this combined religious and legal resentment against monarchical tendencies towards absolutism played more part in preparing the Revolution than did the more nebulous speculations of the *Philosophes* ; indeed the latter were usually to be found pleading the cause of enlightened despotism. Professor McManners seems to hold that the Revolution was in essence the expression (which might well have taken another form) of the demand of the *bourgeoisie* and peasants for a place in the sun. Later contributors agree that the history of the nineteenth century, beneath all its superficial constitutional *bouleversements,* forms the success story of these two groups in their struggle to keep their gains against a conservative nobility and a largely conservative Church on the one hand and against a growingly articulate industrial proletariat on the other. To preserve their equilibrium in such a balancing feat, the classes concerned had to be politically liberal (to justify opposition to the counter-attack of the aristocracy and the Church) but socially conservative

(so that they could appeal to traditions of law and order against the aspirations of the lower classes). The *régime* of Louis Philippe, its successor, the Second Republic (until it got out of hand) and after that the revival of the Bonapartist legend, all served their constitutional turn in preserving middle-class France, but it was the Third Republic which proved to be the best expression of the *aurea mediocritas* which was that France's chief ideal. That was why the Third Republic lasted so long and why its classical political party belied its name by being neither radical nor socialist.

The demand for social change which was made by an increasingly articulate proletariat was for long side-tracked by the exclusively political liberalism of the Third Republic. Mr P. M. Williams in ' From Dreyfus to Vichy ' argues that the anti-clerical furore of the Walbeck-Rousseau and Combes administrations was artifically stirred up to distract attention from the more fundamental social problem. When that problem became, after the First World War, inescapable, the soft centre of Republicanism realized very well that, despite its cherished slogan ' No enemies to the Left ', it would have to depend on at least the acquiescence of the Right. The Right, which was adopting an outlook of more or less semi-conscious Fascism during the period between the wars, felt able to take over completely in 1940 with the support of a large section of the classes who had previously felt committed to support the Republic.

The Liberation made little difference to this basic situation. If anything it made it more explicit, as the *dénouement* of recent months has made abundantly clear. The greatest source of weakness for the Fourth Republic, as Mr Max Beloff points out in the closing lecture in this book, has been the fact that its largest single party, the Communist, cannot be safely entrusted with a share in the responsibility of democratic government. The lack of a genuinely democratic Left (for neither the Socialists nor the Christian Democrat M. R. P. are powerful enough to fill the gap) means that the central liberal parties are in effect the perpetual prisoners of a Right whose conservatism has not usually been enlightened. This law of French parliamentary mathematics is the explanation of the surprising willingness with which liberal elements in France have frequently connived at illiberal policies in North Africa. At the moment of writing this review it remains to be seen whether General de Gaulle will be able, as his supporters claim, to find a way out of this *impasse* without sacrificing Republican political liberties. Meanwhile English-speaking readers can ask for no better introduction to the past and present political problems and achievements of France than is provided by this book.

JOHN B. MORRALL

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND. By E. I. Watkin. Oxford University Press. 1957. 7s. 6d.

THIS addition to the Home University Library is most welcome. Dr. Watkin has succeeded admirably in sketching the history of the Church in England from the Reformation up to the present day. As a layman he has had the advantage of being perhaps a shade more outspoken than might otherwise

have been the case. Of the action of Pius V in deposing Elizabeth he can say that it was 'a blunder, worse than a blunder, a disaster, probably the most serious blow inflicted on English Catholicism between the Reformation and the present day'. Of Bishop Milner, he writes, ' if learning, orthodoxy, zeal, energy and determination, together with an irreproachable private life suffice, Milner was indeed worthy of a bishop's office. These qualifications, however, were offset by the false witness, public and private, unrepentant and persistent, against opponents denounced as unorthodox, and the bitter and unjust invective with which he conducted his controversies'. This note of critical detachment is consistently maintained throughout the book and the author is never afraid of making judgments upon policies and persons whom he considers to have been mistaken. The result is refreshing. Dr Watkin provides a picture of an institution which has had a similar kind of history to that of many another, one in which personal rivalries and vanities have had results out of all proportion to their intrinsic importance. At the same time, however, the reader is reminded that such things belong to the visible life of the Church : ' the divine life by which she lives is interior and invisible and finds external expression chiefly in day-to-day activities which by their uniformity, their lack of incident evade historical treatment '. This book may be recommended as an excellent introduction to a complex subject. It is weakest on the contemporary scene but on other periods Dr Watkin has clearly drawn upon very wide reading. The Church in Ireland will be fortunate if its history is described so well in just over two hundred pages.

H. F. Kearney

CENTENARY HISTORY OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL DEBATING SOCIETY. Edited by James Meenan. Tralee : The Kerryman. Pp. xxiv and 377. 21s.

One might have expected that this centenary history, already two years out of the press, would by now be collecting dust and saucer-stains among the piles of forgotten books. It sets out to be the story, by thirty-one different hands, of the *Ellenaitch.* But through the skill of the editor and the exuberance of the cunningly-chosen contributors, it has grown into something like a Dictionary of National Biography for twentieth-century Ireland, a dictionary with a difference, sparkling and intimate as no dictionary would dare to be. Here are many of the men who today are making our laws and fixing our income-tax and excising our appendices and sitting in judgement on our misdemeanours ; but here we see them as their contemporaries saw them in their years of *Sturm und Drang.* We see them in their salad days, passions still unspent, ideals still high, while they learn the arts and warm to the animosities which make them great but slightly inexplicable to their juniors today.

The contributors have all learnt from experience that they must be pungent enough to keep their audience interested, even when relating a history. Here, for instance, is Mr Michael McGilligan on Dr Coffey's solution of an election dispute (he appointed each candidate for half the year) : ' Dr Coffey suggested a

compromise which followed closely King Solomon's compromise between the two mothers. This is not to say that Dr Coffey was a Solomon, but rather that he liked to do things by halves.'

The story of the Society itself is of a gradual movement towards the left. It has changed considerably since the demure students of Newman's University, who were forbidden to debate topics of more recent interest than the Napoleonic Wars. Even then it earned the anathemas of the *Express* as a ' treasonable, irreligious and democratic society'. Today the debates are much more topical, private business tends to overshadow formal oratory, and the ' mob ' has grown more self-assertive than a century ago. But the recent contributors insist that the body of the Society, however willingly it welcomes entertainment and even pantomime, yet has never lost its sense of fair play, its gentleness towards those who, because of their sex or their inexperience, are more defenceless against heckling. The very high spirits of this audience make it a severe and incorruptible judge of merit. No pull or flattery will win its recognition, but it is glad to be silenced or subdued by real eloquence. It is the destroyer of platitudes and long-windedness, of everything that Salinger would call ' phoney '. It is a searching tester of authority and leadership in an auditor, of intelligence and eloquence in a speaker. Success in this assembly is therefore worth more than success in more limited or more venal bodies. Failure here cannot be wholly redeemed elsewhere. And as you put this delightful book aside until you have leisure to browse through it for a second and a third time, you must wonder what has happened, in this land so poor in leaders and in orators, to the gallant figures who at the threshold of their careers passed with flying colours through this most rigorous test.

All thanks to the Editor for this glimpse of them in their days of promise.

PAUL ANDREWS.

LITERATURE

THE ROMANTIC ASSERTION: A Study of the Language of Nineteenth Century Poetry. By R. A. Foakes. London : Methuen. 1958 16s.

Mr Foakes thinks that the most influential modern critics (meaning Eliot, Leavis, Brooks, Ransom etc.) have sold nineteenth century poets short. This is one of those engaging half-truths to which Mr Foakes is partial. It ignores important evidence ; Trilling on Keats, Ransom on Wordsworth, even Tate on Keats, Austen Warren on Emily Dickinson, Leavis on Hopkins, Robert Penn Warren on Landor : the list is incomplete but adequate. The modern critics have thus erred, Mr. Foakes argues, because they have been unable to accommodate the major Romantic poems in their critical rhetoric of Wit, Tension, Complexity, Irony. (Again, a dubious conclusion : Ransom, no friend of Romanticism, has made his case on grounds that do not involve the brandishing of these favoured terms. In fact he has come out against Irony, believing ' that opposites can never be said to be reconciled merely because they have been got into the same complex of affective experience to create a kind of ' tension ' ;

that if there is a resolution at all it must be a logical resolution ; that when there is no resolution we have a poem without structural unity ; and that this is precisely the intention of irony, which therefore is something very special and ought to be occasional '. Again, Winters leans very lightly indeed on wit, irony, tension, ambiguity, etc. No, if the modern critics are ' against ' nineteenth century poetry, it is not because they lack terms to cope with it.)

To rescue the Romantics Mr Foakes proposes to show that their poems are based on principles different from those operative in Donne or in Eliot ; that these principles may admit of ' highly adroit and skilful writing '; and, by implication, that the modern critics have been rather dim about all this. He endorses the views of Mr Pottle on Shelley.

When he has cut his way through these matters Mr Foakes examines several major Romantic poems, notably *The Prelude, Adonais, The Eve of St Agnes,* and *In Memoriam,* tracing in particular the development of two ' structural images ', which he calls the Journey of Life and the Vision of Love, and the association of these with a vocabulary of value-words. The argument is that these are the typical instruments by which the great Romantic poets assert a principle of order and permanence in the universe.

I hope I have been fair thus far. Mr Foakes's ' thesis ' stands or falls by virtue of its power to clarify the texts. And here is the disappointment. I have reason to believe that Mr Foakes could give a very perceptive account of these poems ; but in doing so he would find his thesis, I suspect, a nuisance. One example : the plan of the book compels Mr Foakes to point to the Journey as the structural principle of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner ;* this is true, but when you have gathered so much you have only just begun to read the poem. The observation would serve very well as the introductory remark, but hardly the conclusion, of an account of the poem ; especially a poem which has received a great deal of sophisticated attention. It would seem to me that at this stage in the study of *The Ancient Mariner* a critic should try to add to whatever we may already have divined of the poem through fairly wide reading in Coleridge and through the critical labours of Warren, Miss Bodkin, Lane Cooper, Olson, and Kenneth Burke. If our ' thesis ' inhibits us in this regard, so much the worse.

The Prelude is of course another Journey. Wordsworth compared it to a river, thus ' justifying ' any degree of meandering or ' motions retrograde '. Mr Foakes seems to condone the notion of form and structure thus implied, ignoring the fact that there are better versions of order and that *The Prelude* is all the poorer for the version which Wordsworth selected. Again, how much insight have we provided by saying that the Journey is the structural principle of *The Prelude* ? Is this not equally true of any number of works, from the *Purgatorio* to *Pilgrim's Progress, The Faerie Queene, Gulliver's Travels, Ulysses,* and *The Magic Mountain* ? Mr Foakes seems to assume that the delicious range of meanings in or near the word ' way ' (e.g., ' high-way ' meaning strenuous spiritual endeavour) is a Romantic discovery ; likewise the habit of rendering the literal in such a way as to make it figuratively resonant. But surely these are standard procedures in literature ; in Herbert and Vaughan, for instance.

The pity of all this is, Mr Foakes has been hamstrung by his thesis. I wish he had simply given us a straightforward critical account of the chosen poems,

with no strings attached. It would then have been unnecessary to invent misleading terms like ' image of thought ' and ' image of impression ', ' poetry of acceptance ' and ' poetry of conflict '. Mr Foakes could have led us through the poems, allowing his ' point of observation ' to emerge from the testimony of his critique. Indeed, in the most instructive pages of the present book Mr Foakes discusses *The City of Dreadful Night*, noting indeed that there the Journey of Life leads nowhere (by pathetic contrast to the asserted goal reached in the vision from Snowdon in Bk. XIII of *The Prelude*) but noting many other things as well. In the book which we are positing Mr Foakes would have been forced to tackle the large questions which he evades in his Journeys and Visions. I pose them bluntly : is there or is there not a valid case against a great deal of Romantic poetry ? Are the principles on which these poems are based as valid as those which sustain *Valediction, Forbidding Mourning*? Is Allen Tate right or wrong when he alleges that Romantic poetry ' represents a decline in insight and in imaginative and moral power ', that between Donne and Yeats ' there was evidently a shrinkage in the range and depth of Western man's experience as that experience was expressed in works of the imagination ' ? I cannot agree that we dispose of these issues by noting several kinds of Journeys and Visions or by remarking the tendency of the great Romantic poets to *assert* that ' what is noble in humanity will endure, and the evil (will) be purged away '. A final point : if Mr Foakes had economized a little on his thesis, he would have had something to spare for a few chapters on Hopkins, Emily Dickinson, and—a crucial case of Romantic assertion—Whitman.

Denis Donoghue

BAUDELAIRE. By Enid Starkie. London : Faber and Faber. 1957. Pp. 622. 50s.

The illustrations in Miss Starkie's useful, long and readable book are a biography in themselves. The unforgettable face of Baudelaire looks out at us in all stages of its development and decline. Boyhood faces are conventional, meaningless miniatures, and the death-mask of unbelievable tranquillity strives, I think, a little too piously to say nothing but good of the dead. But the rest repay study. A good drawing at the golden age of twenty and Deroy's splendid portrait of the gorgeous young dandy at the Hôtel Lauzun show us a brow, eyes and mouth of grand intelligence and suggest the kind of man Baudelaire might have been if he had not spoiled. According to a Nadar caricature the terrible ravaging had begun in 1855. The later harrowing pictures show us the Baudelaire we know. At the best the eyes are hard and defiant ; at the worst bitter and, in the well known photograph of 1860, full of dog-like, self-pitying suffering. But it is, as Claudel said, *cette grande bouche amère* that holds our attention. Claudel was fascinated by the mouth which, he said, was that of a barrister or an actor with (a disconcerting addition) the sensitive lower lip that makes the French the greatest clarinet players in the world ! Any account of how that terrible face was acquired is bound to be interesting. Miss Starkie's biography is interesting but unsatisfactory because she writes to a thesis and wishes to remake Baudelaire in the image of her ideal.

Whitewashing is a hazardous and, nowadays, quite unnecessary operation. This book is always on the defensive and has the effect of making Baudelaire less lovable than he need be. Miss Starkie has rewritten an earlier study without having to change many of her first ideas which, she now finds, agree with the modern attitude to Baudelaire. She admits her debt to Marcel Ruffs' *L'Esprit du Mal et L'Esthétique Baudelairienne* according to which Baudelaire is 'an austere moralist preoccupied chiefly with the problem of sin and temptation'. This is the popular theory at the moment and there is no need to protest so vigorously in its defence. Few modern readers are likely to find the condemned poems in *Les Fleurs du Mal* either obscene or very shocking. So much has happened since 1857 and we are much tougher now. Now the time has come when, although we can take it for granted that Baudelaire was, or thought he was, on the side of the angels (the famous 'plan' of *Les Fleurs* was surely not present to him from the beginning), we must take a much harder look at the man and even at the poet. He will not abide our question so we must take him as he is : a miserable man but a very great, although not an impeccable, poet. Miss Starkie has not been able to take that hard look at her subject. Her piety prevented her.

For example, implying that Baudelaire's fatal suffering began with his school days, Miss Starkie tells us that the pupils at Louis-le-Grand were not allowed to study the new Romantic poets. What hardship ! 'In the hot summer days, particularly, as they sat in their musty classrooms, leaning their weary and bored heads on their hands, as they tried to fix their attention on the old classical texts which their teacher was discussing and which seemed to them little more than a skeleton devoid of life, their bondage seemed more than ever irksome.' The tendentious adjectives mean that we really are expected to pity the little beggars. This kind of writing (the example is trivial and would not matter by itself) is too frequent in Miss Starkie's book. She tries too hard to jerk our tears.

Three influences, apart from his own psychasthenia, wrecked Baudelaire as a man and partially as a poet : his relationship with his mother, his debts and his irregular life. Miss Starkie gives a long and factual account of all this but, because she is so unwilling to condemn, her interpretation of the facts tends to be special pleading.

François Baudelaire, the father, an ex-priest with a cynical genius for compromise and political coat-turning, died when his son was quite young. The poet's mother, Caroline Dufays, lavished all her unexpended, jealous and passionate love on her small son and brought him on rounds of the fashionable, perfumed boudoirs of Paris. 'It is unnecessary', writes Miss Starkie 'to look here for signs of precocious depravity, or to mention the Oedipus Complex.' True ! But the Proustian pilgrimage cannot have been very good for the little boy. And, without mentioning Freud, it is necessary to say that Baudelaire's relationship with his mother was, from beginning to end, abnormal and unhealthy. Even after his forthieth year he was dependent on her to an exaggerated degree. She was, it appears, fiercely and destructively possessive. Miss Starkie is too prompt to dismiss, in the most cavalier manner, anything the psychiatrists have put forward to explain Baudelaire's lack of balance. His was certainly an unbalanced personality on which modern

psychology might be expected to throw some light. He was, for instance, singularly lacking in responsibility and a sense of reality. When a man of his stamp makes an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, one must wonder whether he meant to take his life or merely to attract attention. He was very inhibited in most things and especially in his power to work. He could, in a desperate moment of crisis, occupy Asselineau's hospitable room all night, consume his friend's wine and cigars without once, despite all his protestations of good will, putting borrowed pen to borrowed paper. If this happens now and then it is amiable but, occurring constantly, it becomes grotesque and pathetic and means the writer has become an editor's bane. Whether Baudelaire's jealousy of Caroline's second husband (with whom she was, for the first time, genuinely and deeply in love) was normal or not is a moot point.

It was while living in the Hôtel Lauzun, exquisite co-tenant with the exquisites Fernand Boissard and Roger de Beauvoir, that Baudelaire accumulated the debts he was never able to pay. He kept a sense of style, a love of cleanliness and neatness to the end of his life but now he was the complete dandy. His clothes were fabulous and innumerable. He had expensive furniture. In his apartment were elegant hock-glasses, rare well-bound French and Latin poets, the dreadfully decadent red-and-black striped wall-paper, scent for spraying his guests, cheap hashish-smoking and parties that ended, as is the way with young men's parties, in puppyish rowdiness. These were expensive toys, tired of before they were paid for, and Baudelaire's unearthly lack of money-sense left him badly in debt. How badly in debt it is not easy to gather from Miss Starkie's account. It is never clear enough how the figures are computed. Certainly his family's decision to place the young spendthrift under a *conseil judiciaire,* taking the free use of his money out of his own hands, was disastrous. Not merely was he never allowed to use enough of his capital to pay his creditors (Miss Starkie's just condemnation of the family plan) but his congenital irresponsibility was encouraged and he was condemned to remain an external adolescent whose money was doled out by the family solicitor. This family solicitor, Ancelle, a man with the small, tight, humourless mouth of the prudent fool, was the worst possible administrator that could have been chosen. If the poet had not been constitutionally incapable of decisive action, he must surely have murdered this little, cautious man, with or without the pretext of a duel.

Miss Starkie's account of the wickedness of Baudelaire's life is rather equivocal but, then, the poet was wont to throw a smoke-screen of equivocation over his actions : praising his virtues and lauding his vices beyond the deserts of either. She is surely right in saying that he was no satanist because, if he had been an initiate, his name would have been connected with an infamous Black Mass in Paris. The argument from silence is a weak one but Baudelaire was too fearful a man to be capable of the frightful thing true satanism is. The much more rash and dashing Gilles de Raiz, once Joan of Arc's squire, drew back in terror from ratifying the ultimate dreadful pact with Lucifer. There is something bogus about Baudelaire's other vices too. He smoked hashish and probably opium as well. But he never seems to have had any difficulty in breaking with the practice, which indicates that he was not an addict. When he wrote *Les Paradis Artificiels* he merely translated

De Quincey for his account of the opium experience. Still, it is possible that his inability to work was at least fostered by his drug-taking. By his own account he had syphilis from an early age. However, in his three great love affairs he seems to have been a *voyeur*. Jeanne Duval, the tall negress, laughed at him and was cruel to him. Yet the best thing in Baudelaire's miserable life was the way in which he endeavoured to look after her when she was crippled, poor and abandoned. He provided for her in his will but his executors ignored his wishes and Jeanne was last seen in 1870 disappearing down a Parisian side street on crutches. He parted from Mme Sabatier, whom he adored from a distance, and from Marie Daubrun with calmness and some dignity but these ladies were frankly puzzled by him. By the time he met them he was so deeply involved with his self-pitying ego that he must have been psychologically incapable of love.

A poet's poems are the most interesting and important fact in his biography. Miss Starkie quotes copiously from *Les Fleurs du Mal* but her comment is too slight and uncritical. Here again she is overcome by kindness for and admiration of her subject. Baudelaire's greatness as a poet can now be taken for granted and the time has surely come when the poems must be examined by an exigent criticism. Miss Starkie merely suggests, rather apologetically, that Baudelaire was limited by the restrictions of French prosody. But difficulty with form is not his weakness at all and I shall risk saying that all his lines scan if one pays rigorous attention to the unobtrusive and elusive *e* mutes. He bewitches us when he writes :

Que diras-tu ce soir, pauvre, âme solitaire,
Que diras-tu mon coeur, coeur autrefois fletri,
A la très-belle, à la très-bonne, à la très-chére . . .
(*Le Flambeau Vivant*)
Vous êtes un beau ciel d'automne, clair et rose . . .
(*Causerie*)
Dis-le, belle sorcière, oh ! dis, si tu le sais . . .
(*L'Irréparable*)

We are back with the *Pléiade* or Charles d'Orleans and the exquisite, authentic wood-wind music of French verse. It is enchanting. Nevertheless he is not entirely free from the poetic vices of preceding ages and he has invented some faults of his own. In my first quotation we see the kind of blemish *pauvre* is when we read further on that his beloved's skin '*a le parfum des Anges*' and realize that we are not quite out of the conventional Romantic wood. In *Causerie* he can write :

Mon coeur est un palais flétri par la cohue ;
On s'y soûle, on s'y tue, on s'y prend aux cheveux . . .

French school children like to think they can laugh at the unlikely sequence of events in the second line. Finally, in *Le Chat* Baudelaire writes of Marie Daubrun :

Tes bras, qui se joueraient des précoces hercules,
Sont des boas luisants les solides émules . . .

This is far too like a snake-pit. *Solides émules* is pure eighteenth-century and the whole conceit is down-right bad. Again in *Causerie* the images are a curious jumble (as in Shelley's unaccountable *Skylark*) : *ciel, mer, limon, lieu saccagé,*

griffe, palais flétri, parfum, fléau, feu, lambeaux. Sometimes there are no images but only capital letters. These are small things but they must be taken into account. Baudelaire is too great a poet to brook uncritical idolization : we must take him, to say it once more, as he is. Perhaps his best and most original poems are not to be found in the rather miserable hankering of the spiritual love poems to Mme Sabatier but in the so-called ' erotic ' poems and in the poems of *Spleen* where he spits out his hatred of life and love as he found them and lashes out in self-disgust :

Où tout te dira : Meurs, vieux lâche, il est trop tard . . .

But the kind of criticism required needs a French sensibility and a French ear.

Miss Starkie quotes at length from Baudelaire's letters (they seem to have a different and less pleasing flavour in her translations than they have in French) but not nearly enough from the criticism. A biographer who wants us to like Baudelaire would do well to begin with the *Salons* and the essay on Constantin Guys. It is here that we see Baudelaire's great intelligence and not in his exposition of the Swedenborgian aesthetic. *On trouve,* he wrote under Swedenborg's influence, *dans la couleur l'harmonie, la mélodie et le contrepoint.* Of course one finds no such thing. But when one thinks that Baudelaire, against public opinion, championed Delacroix, Manet and Wagner (although his description of music is not as well informed as his art criticism) one sees that his insight was unusually acute for his age which was, after all, the age of Sainte-Beuve. Writing of Constantin Guys, Baudelaire says—*Réduisons-le á la condition du pur moraliste pittoresque, comme La Bruyère.* As François Léon-Daudet pointed out, that sentence tells us as much about La Bruyère as many commentaries. One is constantly surprised by the contrast between great poet, intelligent critic and the inefficacious wretch that Baudelaire managed to be at the same time. If Miss Starkie had done for him what D. B. Wyndham-Lewis did for François Villon, that is if she had called the man by the names he had earned, she might not have solved the problem of his personality but she would have written a more satisfactory and also, paradoxically, a kinder book.

John C. Kelly

THE THOUGHT AND CULTURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE. An Anthology of Tudor Prose 1481–1555. Edited by Elizabeth M. Nugent, with Introductions by Douglas Bush, E. L. Pafort, W. G. Zeeveld, Gertrude Annan, W. E. Campbell, F. S. Boas, and H. S. Bennett. Cambridge University Press. 1958. 37s. 6d.

Miss Nugent's anthology, which most students of intellectual history will welcome, is based on the view that the Middle Ages and the Renaissance exhibit a higher degree of continuity than of severance. This interpretation has been strengthened by scholarly research during the past ten or fifteen years, and, on the whole, the version of Western intellectual history which it posits is more accurate than its predecessor. (In passing : the real history of Ideas and Motives is never as streamlined as scholars sometimes imply. In fact, the best the scholars can do is to offer persuasive simplifications, valid if

they are not too *simpliste* and if they can be used to clarify the text, the poem itself. It is in this spirit that students of literature welcome such works as Perry Miller's *The New England Mind* and *From Colony to Province*.) We have in mind—from works in the same direction as Miss Nugent's—L. G. Salingar's essays on the relation between Shakespearean drama and certain medieval conceptions of experience ; Williard Farnham's *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy ;* Samuel Chew's *The Four Daughters of God.* It is respectable scholarship.

And yet is it not, in the last analysis, *simpliste* ? Father Ong has shown that a Renaissance humanist habitually defined himself by opposition to scholastic philosophy, citing St Thomas More's brisk treatment of the *Summulae Logicales* of Peter of Spain. Miss Nugent is not too generous with facts of this kind ; she tends to seek images of piety and continuity. Of course every anthologist plays with loaded dice ; the reader who sits in on the game knows the risk.

Working in toward the centre, the present book is divided into seven sections : Tudor Humanists ; Tudor Grammars ; The Political and Social Order ; Tradition and Early Tudor Medicine ; Sermons and Religious Treatises ; Chronicles and Histories ; Romances and Tales. The book ranges widely, but it does not bear down strongly enough on the central issue—as it seems to the present reviewer—the question of Language and Education. Surely a crucial fact to note about the humanists—and here again Fr Ong's essays are relevant—is that their primary aim was the formation of a man skilled in the human use of words, a rhetorician rather than a philosopher or scientist. This is the central point from which every other emphasis in humanist thought might be shown to develop. But it does not emerge clearly enough from Miss Nugent's anthology, although she picks many of the cogent texts, notably Sir Thomas Elyot on Eloquence. Grammar is important, and Miss Nugent has plenty of this, but I would still direct a student toward Richard Foster Jones's *The Triumph of the English Language* for the most illuminating account of this matter in its bearing on the repute of the English language as an expressive medium. Of Rhetoric there is very little, and that distorted. A student of English prose, working back from *Euphues* or *The Unfortunate Traveller,* would hardly be satisfied by the superficial references to Renaissance Rhetoric ; nor would he be adequately informed by the meagre excerpts from Leonard Cox's *The Arte* or *Crafte of Rhethoryke* or from *The Governour.* We could have spared the section on Medicine, and perhaps a few of the Romances, to make room for a focussed presentation of that great subject.

A defect of focus ; this is what mars Miss Nugent's anthology. Even when she selects the right texts, she rarely tells the reader the significant facts. We have mentioned Cox : Miss Nugent's book tells us that he was ' the precursor of the Elizabethan rhetoricians, Roger Ascham, George Puttenham, and Sir Philip Sidney '. But this is misleading ; Sister Miriam Joseph has found it necessary to divide Elizabethan rhetoricians into three groups, the Traditionalists (Cox, Wilson, Rainolde), the Ramists (Fenner, Fraunce, Hoskyns), and the Figurists (Peacham, Sherry, Day, and Puttenham). This kind of clarity is precisely what a student needs ; anything less is merely confusing. Furthermore, the same scholar also remarks that Cox's *Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke* is ' mostly a translation of that part of Melanchthon's which treats of invention ' ; we have not verified

this observation, but Miss Nugent might at least have examined an assertion so fundamental.

What remains ? Plenty. The best way to use Miss Nugent's anthology—if there are any Common Readers in the audience—is to dip more or less at random, reading until some new configuration of insight suddenly emerges ; and then reading at large in that author. It might happen in More, Elyot, Colet, Fox, Erasmus, Tyndale, in Vives on dirty books, or in Lupset exhorting young men :

> More particularly in writings, you shall learn this lesson, if you would sometime take in your hands the New Testament, and read it with a due reverence. For I would not have you in that book forget with whom you talk. It is God that there speaketh ; it is you, poor creature of God, that readeth. Consider the match, and meek down your wits.

It could happen at any moment in this literature.

DENIS DONOGHUE

CRITICAL APPROACHES TO LITERATURE. By David Daiches. London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1958. Pp. 300 25s.

PERHAPS the best way to describe this book is by describing the reader Dr Daiches seems to have in mind. Probably a university student, good but not brilliant : he will be glad of an easy introduction to the important issues in literary study, or to the issues which at various times have been considered important. He will want a brisk indication of the attitudes which the academic profession associates with such critics as Aristotle, Dryden, Longinus, Sidney, and Ransom. This putative reader will find Dr Daiches's book very useful.

Dr Daiches is eminently a ' professional ', which means that he knows what his readers want, and he is prepared to supply the goods in great quantities. He is highly competent, suave, knowledgeable ; he knows the stage at which critical writing becomes ' difficult ' for most university students, and he is happy enough not to insist. I do not think any of his writing could be called profound ; he is not a strikingly original thinker ; but there is a respectable place for his work on the shelves of any university library.

Critical Approaches to Literature, then, is designed to be useful to the many rather than profoundly suggestive to the few. It is not, of course, a specialist study : if the reader wants something more strenuous, he might look at Harry Levin's *Contexts of Criticism* or Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism.* In the meantime Dr Daiches's reader should take the book in a suitably alert and critical spirit, making due allowance for its wide range of interests, but expecting to find several anomalies and uncertainties. I would mention a few. There is not enough on generic criticism ; the chapters on Literary Criticism and Related Disciplines (e.g. Criticism and Psychology) are superficial ; only the most hackneyed observations are made on Longinus : the range of ' related disciplines ' is too narrow ; most students will need some help on the relation between Criticism and Linguistics, especially if they happen to encounter the work of Leo Spitzer; they might also wish to know what they can learn from the semanticist. I should not like to give the impression that this list of omissions or

uncertainties could be extended for several paragraphs ; Dr Daiches has succeeded in covering a great number of the essential topics with less sacrifice of accuracy than one might have feared. But much of his exposition is somewhat inert and evasive ; in considering the relation between Criticism and Sociology for instance, the author examines passages from F. W. Bateson, J. F. Danby, and the late Humphry House, three distinguished teachers but hardly the crucial men in this particular issue. Orwell on *Gulliver's Travels* would have been more to the point, and much more likely to yield a pungent report on the question in hand.

Denis Donoghue

RELIGION AND SCIENCE

THE CHURCH AND MODERN SCIENCE. By P. J. McLaughlin, D.Sc. Dublin. Clonmore and Reynolds. 1957. Pp. 374. 30s.

During the nineteen years of his pontificate Pope Pius XII has frequently received groups of scientists, either during international congresses meeting in Rome or at meetings of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences. The addresses delivered on these occasions deal with many branches of science and technology and touch many aspects of the role and the duty of the scientist.

These pronouncements by the Head of the Church portray the attitude of the Church to modern science and are obviously of the greatest importance. Many thoughtful people, scientists and laymen, whether Catholic or not, who have been impressed by reports of these speeches, have felt the need of an English edition of these discourses. This work by Dr McLaughlin, scientist and theologian and former professor of experimental physics at Maynooth, provides just what was wanted. Such of the Pope's addresses as are concerned with science are grouped under certain general headings—the physical sciences, biological sciences, science and philosophy, science and morality, medical ethics—and are arranged, with the aid of introductions and comments, in such a way as to present a clear idea of the Pope's teaching on these various topics. The translation is very good and reads easily. When a new edition is called for, a minor mistake can be corrected. Several addresses, e.g., to the Pontifical Academy, are stated by the author to have been delivered in Italian, and they are quoted by Italian titles. In fact, Pope Pius XII invariably addresses international gatherings in French, which is still the international language of diplomacy, and the French text of these discourses is the authentic text.

Dr McLaughlin's book is really two books in one, for the collection of the Pope's scientific discourses is preceded by a lengthy treatise on the theory of science and on science and philosophy, which will be read with interest by both scientists and philosophers. Even in this first part of the book the author has included some important addresses delivered by Pius XII to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences : on Natural Law ; on Science and Philosophy ; on the Proofs for the Existence of God in the Light of Modern Science.

Scientists of all kinds will be struck when reading the Pope's discourses by the profound understanding and deep sympathy he has for the task of the

scientist and for his mode of thought and way of life. This is illustrated, for example, by the following passage, taken from the Pope's address to the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics in September 1954 : ' . . . scientific progress . . . depends more expecially, not on machines or societies, but on such factors as human endeavour, and the personal initiative and persevering courage of the individual. Is it not touching . . . to see with what steadfastness a scientist in a distant and lonely station, will, in the absence of competent replacement, remain at his post, day and night, for months or years, in order to ensure the proper working of the apparatus entrusted to his care ? It is thanks to him that there is no gap in the records, and it is thanks to him that satisfactory data for statistical and comparative studies are collected. One must also refer to the explorer who with fortitude investigates harsh and almost inaccessible regions of the earth, braving cold and heat as well as isolation from his fellows and unforeseen dangers: he sometimes runs the risk of losing his life in campaigns demanding great self-denial and self-sacrifice, and a successful conclusion is often as much a tribute to his character and resoluteness as to his scientific ability.' The Pope had just referred to the preparations being made at this Congress for the International Geophysical Year, and in particular to the researches which were to be carried out in the polar regions, and it would seem that he had especially this work in mind in the passage quoted above.

This book will be welcomed not only by scientists, technologists and philosophers, but also by everyone who is interested in the impact of science on the world and who is concerned with the need for preserving and promoting the moral and material welfare of the human race in the midst of the manifold dangers and opportunities that result from the extremely rapid advance of science. For you will find here authoritative statements on such up-to-date and diverse topics as the use of atomic energy, evolution, modern cosmology, space travel, television, as well as on moral and ethical problems arising from recent developments in medicine, surgery, psychiatry.

A valuable article by Cardinal Ottaviani on the Church's attitude to miracles (chiefly intended as a warning against false miracles and popular credulity) is given in an appendix. The book is very well printed and produced and is provided with good indices.

DANIEL O'CONNELL

CAUSES OF CRIME

CAUSES OF CRIME. By Lord Pakenham, assisted by Roger Opie. London : Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1958. 198 pages. 21 s.

The Lord Chief Justice of England was last July reported as declaring : ' The causes of crime today are the same as they were in the days of the Old Testament—greed, love of easy money, jealousy, lust and cruelty '. (' Sunday Times ', 13th July 1958) On the other hand, the most striking conclusion of the painstaking inquiry which Lord Pakenham records in the present book is that there is much ignorance, even in official quarters, concerning the causes

of crime in England today. It is not impossible to harmonize these two authoritative opinions, as the reader of ' Causes of Crime ' will discover.

Lord Pakenham was Beveridge's personal secretary when the famous 'Report' was in preparation. He is himself a firm believer in the Welfare State. It was therefore with perplexity and some dismay that he was forced to recognize in 1952 a notable increase of crime in Britain since 1938, during the very years when the Welfare State was coming into being and beginning to function. ' I became imbued with the desire to discover the reason why the increase had occurred, and if possible to solve what at first sight seemed the paradox of a declining moral standard against a background of material improvement.'

Providentially, in 1953 the Nuffield Foundation gave Lord Pakenham his opportunity when it commissioned him to undertake a ' critical appraisal of current views—as disclosed by actions and writings—of the causes of crime and the reasons for the increase in crime in recent years '. For more than a year he applied himself with evident enthusiasm to this task. Aided by four expert assessors, he took evidence from leading authorities in criminology, psychology and sociology, from magistrates and prison administrators ; he visited a great many prisons, interviewed prisoners and prison doctors, held discussions, formal and informal, issued questionaires, invited and received valuable reports from religious and social organizations. It is impressive to observe the range of his investigations and the amount of evidence submitted, as described in the Preface. When, however, early in the second year of the Inquiry, he was offered a public appointment, the Nuffield Foundation agreed to the premature termination of his commission. Since the work was incomplete, the Trustees did not issue a report. Lord Pakenham, however, felt that it would be useful to publish his impressions, imperfectly informed though these were. That is what the present book gives. Roger Opie, one of his most competent collaborators, contributes a lengthy Supplement, appraizing the results of eight recent investigations by individuals into juvenile, adolescent and adult delinquency.

Lord Pakenham's philosophical assumptions regarding crime and punishment are irreproachable. He firmly rejects the determinism, so common amongst criminologists and psychologists, which denies free-will and responsibility. (And it is interesting to note how emphatically the expert testimony confirms his position.) Yet he is sympathically alive to the many influences making for diminished responsibility which modern psychiatry has revealed. His whole approach is permeated with an urgent and realistic charity. Chapter Seven : ' A New Approach to Crime ' is as spiritually bracing as a good retreat lecture.

Nevertheless, a first reading of ' Causes of Crime ' produces a feeling of disappointment. Where there is so much ability, good will and accumulation of valuable evidence, one expects firm conclusions regarding the factors influencing delinquency. These are not forthcoming. The main pre-disposing causes (e.g., heredity, defective family life, mental deficiency, decline of religion, etc.) are examined in turn, with a view to determining which are predominant and what is the causal nexus between them. And in one case after another, a verdict of ' not proven ' is recorded. Even the problem, so intriguing to Lord Pakenham, of the influence of the Welfare State on delinquency, goes unresolved.

Why this inconclusiveness? Because official statistics of crime are very imperfect. Hence Lord Pakenham's first practical conclusion is that public resources should be more generously devoted to the collection and interpretation of criminal statistics, before public policy can be effectively guided towards diminution of criminality. It must have been reassuring for him to find this rather prosaic conclusion emphatically corroborated in a remarkable address by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons, March 1957. A letter, printed here as an appendix, from the Statistical Adviser to the Home Office, concerning the interpretation of British statistics on crime, well illustrates the proverbial fallaciousness of statistics to the uninitiated.

Amid the conflicting opinions and uncertainty which this Inquiry revealed, it was striking to note the unanimity of so many competent witnesses on the importance of sound family life. Divorce, broken homes, parental neglect, lack of mother-love during the tender years of childhood—these, it is agreed, are amongst the most potent factors tending to the increase of crime. This conclusion, taken in conjunction with the findings of the Royal Commission on Divorce (1956), underlines the pivotal importance attached by Catholic social teaching to family well-being as a guiding principle of social policy.

Some Catholics have found Lord Pakenham's treatment of the relation between irreligion and crime a bit unsatisfactory. Unwarrantedly, I think. He is far from denying that religious practice is a potent influence in curbing crime. But he finds that statistics do not enable him to judge whether or not there was a decline in religious practice between 1938 and 1952 and, therefore, he cannot confidently relate the increase in crime which occurred in those years to any waning in religion. Let it be said too that while this incomplete Inquiry has not been conspicuously successful in revealing the relative importance of the factors which influence criminality in the community generally, it has thrown much light on the methods of treating individual delinquents. To anyone who has been following the many pronouncements of the present Pope on problems of civil punishment and the rehabilitation of wrongdoers Lord Pakenham's book provides valuable commentary.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

RELIGION

THE TRUE RELIGION. By Monsignor G. Van Noort, S.T.D. From the fifth edition edited by J. P. Verhaar, S.T.D. Translated and revised by John J. Castelot, S.S., S.T.D., S.S.L., and William R. Murphy, S.S., S.T.D. Cork: The Mercier Press Ltd. 1957, lvii and Pp. 324. 30s.

CHRIST'S CHURCH. By the same. xxviii and Pp. 428. 30s.

REVELATION IN CHRIST. By William Nicholls, Chaplain to Anglican Students in Edinburgh. London: Student Christian Movement Press. 1958. Pp. 158. 15s.

SINCE Blondel published *L'Action* in 1893, Catholic apologetics has often favoured the 'immanentist' approach. This discarded, or at least prescinded from, the standard 'historical' method, which went from the existence of God to the

credibility of the New Testament. The immanentist method was more humanistic. It offered an analysis of the trends and exigencies of human action, a demonstration of the inability of man to fulfil his innate tendencies, and a presentation of the Christian religion as the necessary complement of light and grace which human action demanded. Having pointed out a built-in gap in human knowledge and striving, the argument ended, more or less, as, ' I believe in Jesus Christ because he is the truth which fulfills and surpasses all the exigencies of the human spirit ; because he alone is capable of saving the true values of life '.

Mr Nicholls not only rejects this effort to link nature and grace : ' The multiplicity of man's religious ideas makes it seem *a priori* unlikely that they are well-founded, and the prevalence of unbelief amongst intelligent and decent-living people makes it impossible to use the argument that everyone must have a religion and so there must be in man a need for God which only a religion can satisfy '. He also rejects any approach to faith *via* pure reason : ' Critical philosophy from Kant onwards has revealed such flaws in the arguments that purported to demonstrate God's existence that it is doubtful if they can ever again receive wide acceptance, while logical positivism has tried to show that the claim that God exists is without meaning '. Abandoning human nature and human reason, he turns to the Bible. God has taken the initiative, irrupted into history, and given blind and helpless man knowledge of the divine, especially through the person and resurrection of Christ.

' Faith depends on certain contingent historical propositions, and it is the task of the Christian historian and apologist to consider the grounds on which we may rationally believe in the resurrection.' The believer knows that Christ was raised from the dead, and that the other basic facts of Christianity happened, as outlined in the Creeds, 'for the same reason as St Paul : because of the testimony of apostolic eyewitnesses to the risen Christ, and because when he believes in the risen Christ he does find himself delivered from sin '. With this—apart from the last proviso, which suggests that a feeling of ' being saved ' is part of the preambles of faith—Mr Nicholls has opted for the classical form of apologetics, to some extent. As his essay takes in the Church as the permanent vehicle of revelation to the world, he coincides substantially with the ' True Religion ' and ' Christ's Church ' of Van Noort.

These volumes represent the standard teaching of apologetics in Catholic seminaries. First edited some fifty years ago, successive editors and especially the American translators have revised them extensively. A notable modern addition is the section on Church and State, which draws on the latest documents, including the Irish Constitution, apparently to provide American Catholics with answers to the charges of papal aggression which they must still face. They cover the whole field of apologetics very completely and clearly, and the translator-revisors have done excellent work, though they could have been more courageous. Van Noort's treatment of the Messianic prophecies, for instance, needs to be radically re-adjusted if it is to profit by progress in exegesis.

The Catholic writers agree with the Anglican in holding the ' immanentist ' approach to be insufficient. They agree also in pre-supposing (i.e., leaving to another discipline) the value of the New Testament. But they disagree with Mr Nicholls's attitude to philosophy. They hold ' that we can have objectively

valid knowledge of metaphysical realities, and demonstrate the existence of One God who is Creator and Lord '. This they suppose proved in a previous course of philosophy, while Mr Nicholls thinks it can be dispensed with entirely. Is Mr Nicholls's ' purely biblical ' approach valid ?

As we have seen, he more or less accepts Kant's objections to the proofs of the existence of God, and all efforts to circumvent them by a humanist rather than metaphysical approach. His attitude is that we cannot prove God exists, but we can prove that He has intervened in history. The American writers call this ' a bald lack of logic ' and one fears that they are right. If one admits the critical principles of Kant, all causality is reduced to a subjective classification of phenomena, whose relation to any objective reality remains strictly unintelligible. If we cannot validly attribute any event to natural causes, *a fortiori* we cannot attribute an event to supernatural causes. In fact, divine causality, which is involved in the Resurrection, would be something for which the mind simply had no categories at all. Logically, as Kantians, we would have to reject the Gospels *a priori*, and, like Bultmann and modern criticism in general, simply try to explain why certain myths had arisen. Mr Nicholls expressly denies that he is a Bultmannite. But as the theologian Billot said in another connection, he escapes heresy only by a happy illogicality. When he refuses to seek God at the end of a metaphysical argument and claims to find him at the end of an historical one, he is trying to find God at the end of a telescope. There is no transition from history to God, any more than there is from astronomy, without the aid of metaphysics. But Mr Nicholls's book will be of use in reminding apologists that they must adapt the language of metaphysics to the needs of contemporary dialogue. To many readers, who will remain convinced that metaphysics is irrelevant anyway, his affirmation of loyalty to the Bible and the Church will be encouraging.

KEVIN SMYTH

OUR LADY OF LOURDES By Joseph Deery. With a foreword by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. Browne & Nolan. 1958. 18s.

ONE OF the most striking and heartening features of this commemorative year of the Apparitions has been the considerable publicity and the heightened tone of respect accorded to the shrine of Lourdes in influential British Journals. *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* both ran features on the centenary. *The Observer* commissioned an English Dominican to write an article, in which the main message of the shrine— the command to prayer and penance—was strikingly emphasized. *The Sunday Times* sent one of its non-Catholic reporters on a typical pilgrimage, and serialized his reactions. Even the *New Statesman*, in a review of one of the commemorative volumes, could refer to ' the quite extraordinary happenings at the shrine '. There has also been television coverage, in which His Lordship the Bishop of Leeds made a notable impression.

This is a solid gain—a few years ago these same organs might have maintained a more sceptical attitude or at best an embarrassed silence—and we must attribute this in particular to the carefully documented studies of authenticated cures, most recently *Les guérisons miraculeuses modernes* by F. Leuret and H. Bon, now translated into English under the title *Modern Miraculous Cures*.

Mgr Deery's book does not of course claim any such originality of documentation. It is a compendious history of the events at Lourdes from the Apparitions to the present day. As such it has three conspicuous merits. First, careful use has been made of the best French authorities, including Trochu's fine biography of Bernadette (now available in English), the volume on the cures by Leuret and Bon, and the *Annales* and the *Journal* from Lourdes itself. Secondly, the author's intimate knowledge of Lourdes and his devotion to Our Lady make this popularization into an impelling personal witness. Finally, the narrative is admirably incisive, avoiding the excesses of rhetoric to which works of piety too often lend themselves.

The central difficulty confronting an author on this topic is the nice balance to be struck between theological interpretation and coldly factual analysis. If the book has a fault, it is the over-insistence at some points on theological exposition, which seems to me to impair the effect of the apologetic. In the account of the fraudulent manifestations following upon the Apparitions, Mgr Deery uses such expressions as 'the devil did not neglect to intervene personally', 'the powers of Hell could not restrain themselves'. But it is a frequent phenomenon that the report of a supernatural occurrence provokes a psychotic rash of similar claims. I speak as an ignoramus, but is it possible that this was not *direct* diabolical intervention? (The distinction might not trouble a Catholic unduly, but a non-Catholic might dig in his heels.) Or again, when explaining that the new Bordeaux-Toulouse railway was adjusted to pass through Lourdes because a certain M. Fould was motivated by prospects of land-development, Mgr Deery remarks: 'Thus divine providence bent human self-interest to ensure easy access to the shrine'. On these and a few kindred points one feels that factual statement would be more persuasive than glosses of this type.

Such criticism is concerned only with a short section of the book; and Mgr Deery might well reply that his book is intended for a Catholic audience. Certainly no more informative aid can be imagined for those intending to make the pilgrimage, and especially for those (like myself) who will be visiting Lourdes for the first time.

P. G. Walsh

THE EXCAVATIONS AT QUMRAN. A Survey of the Judaean Brotherhood and its Ideas. By J. van der Ploeg, O.P. Translated by Kevin Smyth, S. J. London: Longmans Green and Co. Ltd. 1958. xi and 233 pp., with plan of buildings and 14 plates. 16s. 6d.

THE SCROLLS AND THE NEW TESTAMENT, edited by Krister Stendahl London: SCM Press Ltd., 1958. ix and 303 pp. 35s.

Specialist periodicals offer a suitable platform to scholars who wish to try out more or less speculative hypotheses. The reactions of their learned readers can help the writer and further research. But one wonders why, as in the second book under review, fourteen papers taken from such periodicals should have been re-printed for the general public. The question is more acute when one finds that many of them are tentative in the extreme, and that they often contradict one another.

The opening essay, K. Stendahl's ' Introduction and Perspective ' suggests that the Teacher of Righteousness mentioned a few times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, was a key figure in the connection between Qumran and the Church. But in the next essay, on ' The Beginnings of Christianity ', O. Cullmann denies this, and reduces contacts to some points of doctrine and organization. Then W. H. Brownlee calls his ' John the Baptist ' a ' critical reconstruction '. It is a brilliant and fascinating piece of construction, to be sure, but it confesses explicitly to ' may be ', ' probably ', ' not at all improbably ' and the like, up to thirty times in twenty pages. Its main purpose seems to be to rehabilitate the Fourth Gospel against modern scepticism, but so much confessed (and tacit) conjecture may baffle more than it convinces. K. G. Kuhn's ' Two Messiahs ' disagrees with Brownlee. His ' Communal Meal at Qumran ' institutes a comparison with the Christian Eucharist, which the author admits is valid only if one may exclude sacramental and cultic significance from the original Lord's Supper. In ' Temptation, Sin and Flesh ' he maintains that St. Paul was influenced by the Essenes, while W. D. Davies in ' Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls ' rejects such influences. J. A. Fitzmeyer, S.J., in an excellent detailed study of ' The Ebionites ' denies that this Jewish-Christian sect had absorbed the remnants of Qumran, a notion proposed, with certain rather elusive qualifications, by O. Cullmann. The other essays are : ' Luke 2:14 ' by E. Vogt, S.J., ' The Sermon on the Mount ' by K. Schubert, ' The Jerusalem Church of Acts ' by Sherman E. Johnson, ' The Constitution of the Primitive Church ' by Bo Reicke, ' The Johannine Gospel and Epistles ' by R. E. Brown, S.S., ' Hillel the Elder ' by N. N. Glatzer.

The editor's introductory essay will not help the reader to reduce the contents of the book to any unity, as it does not take account of the other essays. It also suffers from over-much conjecture, offers no proof-texts at crucial points, and is not only contradicted by other places in the book : it contradicts itself. Stendahl states bluntly that the men of Qumran expected their Teacher to return after death. Brownlee says that this is uncertain and unproven. One may find such conflicting view-points in the same book refreshing. But when Stendahl has recognized that ' the men of Qumran did not attempt to say that their Teacher is or was the Messiah ' one is surprised to find him talking later of the same person as ' their martyred Messiah '. One feels that the editor has succeeded only in blurring the perspective.

Father van der Ploeg's book, on the other hand, was written as a popular survey, and is distinguished by a proper and careful demarcation of what is conjecture and what is certainty. The author, the first scholar to see and identify any of the scrolls, has made them his special study for years. He was the first to publish a translation of one of the scrolls, and scholars have been indebted to him for a series of bibliographies and other studies on the subject. In this book, which first appeared as a paper-back in Dutch, he has given a comprehensive view of the finds, with an adequate introduction to each aspect of their study, archaeological, historical and theological. His ' Excavations at Qumran ' is perhaps the best popular book on the subject, full of first-hand information, especially about the early adventures of the scrolls, methodical in exposition, and judicious in comment.

One particular merit of Fr van der Ploeg's book is the richness of quotation

from the scrolls with which each argument is carried forward, and here at last one finds adequately represented the famous Persian parallels of which so many popular books have spoken. His description of the unrolling of the Isaias scroll in the parlour of St Mark's Monastery at Jerusalem is a memorable record of an historic event, while his personal acquaintance with the Palestine of the ending of the British mandate, when the scrolls were being found, enables him to give a vivid picture of the conditions which added so much excitement to a story in itself romantic enough. The reader will be grateful to Fr van der Ploeg not only for his adequate treatment of all the main topics which have arisen apropos of the scrolls, but for the background information which he has added for the benefit of those who have not the history of Palestine and the Old Testament at their finger-tips. There is very little with which one might quarrel. The dating of the Teacher of Righteousness under Jannai, 103–76 B.C., is perhaps fifty years too late. But here, as elswhere, Fr van der Ploeg gives all the arguments, for and against, and his own view is not aggressively stated. There is in fact the minimum of polemic, even in the concluding section, on the relation between the scrolls and Christianity, where the author is inclined to think that no direct relationship has been proved. He allows for certain resemblances in thought and expression, chiefly affecting St John and St Paul, but attributes them to the ' sharing of a common spiritual atmosphere ' with the Dead Sea Scrolls. One will not easily find a better general account of the scrolls than that which Fr van der Ploeg has given in this book.

LITURGY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH. By Archdale A. King. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1957. Pp. 476. £2 2s.

LITURGIES OF THE PRIMATIAL SEES. By Archdale A. King. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1957. Pp. 656. £3 10s.

Mr Archdale King, formerly an Anglican clergyman but received into the Catholic Church in 1937, will be known to some readers already from his large and scholarly work, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, published in 1955. It was the first in a series which he entitles *Rites of Western Christendom* and in it he studied the rites of five great Religious Orders of the Western Church : Carthusians, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carmelites and Dominicans. The present two books are the second and third volumes, respectively, in this same series.

The first book, *Liturgy of the Roman Church*, deals with the Roman Rite, which is now the rite of practically the whole of the Western or Latin Church. The author himself sums up the book very well he says in the Preface ; ' The purpose of this book, which gives a summary of the history of the Roman Liturgy and a more or less detailed account of the hieratic languages, ornaments of the church and ministers, liturgical year, and, finally, of the Mass itself, is to make the faithful, clergy as well as laity, ever more conscious and grateful for our precious heritage.' Following this plan, the book is divided into three Parts. Part I is a brief historical summary of the development of the Roman Liturgy from the earliest times to the present day : the ' Primitive Liturgy ' of the first three centuries, the ' Formation of the Liturgy ' from the fourth to the eight century, the ' Enrichment of the Liturgy ' from the eight to the fourteenth century, the ' Decline of the Liturgy ' in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries, finally the ' Reform of the Liturgy ' from the time of the Council of Trent onwards. Part II (the longest of the three parts) deals with the history of a variety of liturgical matters connected with the Roman Liturgy : the language of the Mass, churches, altars and church furnishings, vestments, the use of incense, the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, the liturgical books, the liturgical year, liturgical chant, etc. Part III deals with the ' Mass of the Roman Rite ' ; it follows the order of the Mass and gives a clear account of the historical origin and development of each of the ceremonies and prayers. Finally, there is an Appendix, or, rather, ten ' Appendices ' : notes on various topics which could not be fully treated in the body of the book. Amongst these we might single out, perhaps, as being of special interest those on ' The Restored Order of Holy Week ', on ' The Solemn Easter Vigil ', and on ' The Silent Canon '—that momentous change which came into our Western Mass about the eighth century, when the Canon ceased to be said aloud.

We can sincerely recommend *Liturgy of the Roman Church* to every one who has a serious interest in the history of the liturgy. The author has fitted into it an amazing amount of information about the Roman rite and has set it all out with remarkable clarity and precision and with full documentation. A glance at his footnotes and bibliography is enough to show that he is familiar with the work of the best modern liturgical scholars and that he has incorporated the results of their research into his book. At the same time *Liturgy of the Roman Church* is not a work merely for expert and scholars. It is so well arranged and clearly written that it should prove of great interest to the less specialized reader too. In particular, priests will find it a source of considerable enlightenment and an invaluable and reliable reference book from which they can draw when explaining the liturgy to the faithful.

Though the Roman Rite has for long been the only one in use in almost the whole of the Western Church, this was not always so. Even up to the second half of the sixteenth century there was much variation in liturgical practice and a number of other rites, some of which continue to exist in certain places down to the present day, were in use in Europe. In the second book under review, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*—so called, the Preface says, ' for want of a more exact title '—Mr King deals with the history of four of these : the Rite of Lyons in France, the Rite of Braga in Portugal, the Ambrosian Rite at Milan in Italy and the Mozarabic Rite at Toledo in Spain. In each case he treats of the origin and development of the rite, its calendar or liturgical year, its churches and church furnishings and the ceremonies of its Mass. Mr King writes with first-hand knowledge because he has visited the places of which he writes and studied their liturgies on the spot and discussed them with experts. Moreover, he worked on texts of these liturgies in the municipal liberaries of Lyons and Braga, in the Ambrosian Library in Milan and, for the Mozarabic Rite, in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Silos in Spain. The result is that in this volume a vast amount of detailed information about these rites has been assembled and Mr King has succeeded in setting it out in his usual clear and orderly way and with full documentation. *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees* is more a specialists' book but it will certainly find a place among the standard works of reference on these non-Roman Western Rites.

Both books are illustrated with photographs and are fully indexed.

P. C. Barry

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Pope Pius XII looks through the new Schmidt telescope (which he had just blessed) in the Vatican Observatory at Castel Gandolfo on 12 November 1957. The author, the Director of the Observatory, is with him, adjusting the instrument.

Pius XII

RECOLLECTIONS AND IMPRESSIONS

by D. J. K. O'CONNELL

MANY years must pass before a definitive life of Pope Pius XII can be written. The study of the vast mass of documents relating to his pontificate already published is itself a major work ; an even greater quantity, now deposited in archives, will not become available to students for many years to come. Until a long period has elapsed the historian will lack the perspective needed to form a just and balanced assessment of the personality and achievements of Pius XII. This much at least we may assert with confidence : the early morning hours of 9th October, 1958, saw the end of a great pontificate. The reactions caused in the whole world by the news of the Pope's death are in themselves sufficient to demonstrate this : articles in the press of nearly every country, statements and messages from heads of States, from leaders of religious bodies, from persons in every walk of life, testify to the great impress that Pius XII made on our time, on people of every race and religion.

The best and most authoritative account of Pope Pius XII that has yet appeared comes from the pen of one who was very closely and intimately associated with Eugenio Pacelli, as Nuncio, Cardinal Secretary of State and Pontiff, uninterruptedly for more than thirty years.[1] The author has the further invaluable qualification of being a professor of church history and, in particular, an authority on the lives of the Popes. All that I offer in this brief article are some recollections and impressions, formed during the much fewer years which I was privileged to spend in the Pope's service.

What were the sources of the undoubtedly great influence exerted by Pope Pius XII on our generation ? I should classify them under three heads : (i) his deeds—his ceaseless efforts to promote peace in the world ; the work done by him during and after the war to succour refugees and to mitigate the sufferings and distress of prisoners and their relatives ; the great expenditure of labour and money to help the victims of war and of other calamities ; (ii) his many speeches and writings ; (iii) the impact of his personality on those who came in contact with him. A brief account of his deeds may be found in the article by Fr Leiber already mentioned. I shall say something about the other two points.

[1]Robert Leiber, S.J. : Pius XII. *Stimmen der Zeit,* November 1958, Band 163, pp. 81-100. Freiburg : Herder

No other Pope has left such a mass of writings and addresses, on such a manifold variety of topics. Pius XII has been criticized for this : some think that his time could have been better employed. It is undoubtedly true that this work entailed a great drain on his time and energy, even though he was always extremely methodical and most meticulous in utilizing every minute of the day—and much of the night. Yet he himself felt that the spoken and the written word were an essential part of his apostolate. He wished to reach as many different circles, and as many people, as possible, to put before them the eternal truths.

The great encyclicals, the Pope's teaching on dogmatic and moral and social subjects, I leave to those who are authorities on these matters. I can, however, say something about his discourses on scientific topics. Here again he has been criticized for going into too much technical detail in these addresses, as if he were trying to teach the experts their own business. That was certainly not his aim. He wished his listeners to feel that he was interested in their problems and sympathized with their difficulties. Then he invariably used this technical introduction to lead up to religious and moral considerations appropriate to the subject and to the audience.

In parenthesis it might be well to correct certain misapprehensions. Many have wondered how the Pope could speak so learnedly on such a great variety of topics. Some indeed have asserted that he prepared all his addresses himself, alone and unaided ; others have even gone so far as to suggest that all this knowledge was infused by special divine inspiration. Both notions are incorrect. Pope Pius XII was indeed an ardent student all his life (he had, for instance, a life-long interest in astronomy), but he was far too conscientious and too intelligent to attempt to pose as an authority *de omni re scibili*. He was fully conscious of the obligation, imposed on him by his high position, of weighing his every word. This reinforced his natural passion for exactness and precision, so that he took every care to avoid making any kind of incorrect statement. Thus, when necessary, he called to his aid an expert (sometimes more than one) in the field he intended to discuss. He studied very carefully the technical material presented to him and made it his own, and moulded it so as to drive home the religious or ethical considerations he wished to put before his audience.

I shall take some examples of his method. His last address on astronomy was delivered on 20 May 1957, when inaugurating, in Solemn Audience, the *Semaine d'Étude* on Stellar Populations organized by the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the Vatican Observatory. The Pope was addressing the Cardinals, the Academy, the Diplomatic Corps, as well as the astronomers taking part in the conference. He

commenced by describing in some detail the topics which were to be debated during the *Semaine*. He then proceeded :[1]

> The tireless search for precise facts, the development of theories to explain the facts, the verification of theory by new observations, the modification of a theory when necessary, its replacement by another more perfect theory which fits better the data acquired, such is the incessant labour of the astronomer, a labour which appears titanic even to the uninitiated. Whatever stage the astronomer has reached by his researches, he cannot dispense with a general picture of that universe, whose minutest details he is scrutinizing. Even if awkward gaps in his knowledge cause some of his constructions to break down, he cannot lose the exciting conviction that by thought he is lord of the cosmos, and will sooner or later tear from it new secrets.
>
> But, even when he holds in his hands the keys which will open to him doors yet closed, his task will still be far from finished ; not only because the evolution of stellar worlds constantly renews the object of his interest, but also because the truth which will satisfy his urge is in reality on a higher plane than that of scientific research. The knowledge of the physical universe, from the infinitely small to the infinitely great, intoxicates the mind of man by its tantalizing, but alluring, riddles ; yet it does not free him from his unease. Like all other scientists, like the engineer at grips with modern applications of electronics or of nuclear energy, but also like the humblest of intellectual or manual workers, the astronomer seeks a truth which far surpasses that of mathematics, or of general laws of physics, or of material objects which he can measure, move, or control. What would the immensity of the cosmos, its splendour, its organization be, without the intelligence which discovers itself in contemplating the cosmos and which sees in it as it were its own image ? Is not what man reads in the stars a symbol of his own greatness, a symbol which invites him to mount higher, to seek elsewhere the meaning of his existence ? Contemporary scientific thought is accustomed not to retreat before any problem, and that is legitimate so long as it remains within its own domain. But, since the moral universe transcends the physical world, every gain made by science is on a lower plane than that of man's personal destiny—the ultimate aim and purpose of his existence—and of the relations which unite him to God. Scientific truth becomes a decoy from the moment when it is considered adequate to explain everything, without being linked up with other truths and above all with subsistent truth, which is a living and freely creative Being. The labour of the scientist, however disinterested and courageous, loses its ultimate motive if he refuses to see, beyond purely intellectual ends, those proposed to him by conscience, the decisive choice between good and evil, the profound orientation of his life towards the acquisition of spiritual values, of justice and of charity, above all of that charity

[1]All the addresses quoted here were delivered in French, as was the Pope's invariable custom when speaking to an international gathering. The English translation frequently fails to do justice to the beauty of the original text.

which is not merely philanthropy or a feeling of human solidarity, but which proceeds from a divine source, from the revelation of Jesus Christ.

Happy is he who can read in the stars the message which they contain, a message worthy of its author, and capable of recompensing the seeker for his tenacity and his ability, but inviting him also to recognize Him who gives truth and life and who establishes His dwelling in the hearts of those who adore and love Him.

In an address to the Pontifical Academy on the occasion of a previous *Semaine d'Étude* (24 April 1955) the Pope, addressing scientists in general, said :

The mission confided to you therefore ranks among the most noble, for you should be, in a sense, the discoverers of the intentions of God. It pertains to you to interpret the book of nature, to describe its contents, and to draw the consequences therefrom for the good of all.

First of all, you are the interpreters of the book of nature. It is, then, necessary that you fix your gaze on each line in it, and be ever most careful not to pass over any detail thereof. Set aside all personal bias, and accommodate yourselves with docility to every indication of truth which there comes to light . . . .

Authorized interpreters of nature, be you also the guides who explain to their brothers the wonders which are unfolded in the universe, and which, better than others, you see assembled as in a single book. Indeed, the majority of men can scarcely devote themselves to the contemplation of nature ; they deduce from the facts they perceive only superficial impressions. You who interpret creation, should be teachers eager to reveal its beauty, its power and its perfection so that they may be enjoyed by others . . . .

Teach others to behold, to understand and to love the created world so that the admiration of splendours so sublime may cause the knee to bend and invite the minds of men to adoration.

Never betray these aspirations, this trust. Woe to them who make use of falsely taught science to make men leave the right path ! They are likened to stones placed out of malice on the road of the human race ; they are obstacles on which men stumble in their search of truth.

You have in your hands a powerful instrument with which to do good. Take into account the unutterable happiness that you procure for others when you disclose to them the mysteries of nature and bring them to understand its harmonious secrets. The hearts and the gaze of those who listen to you are, as it were, hanging on your every word ready to chant a hymn of praise and thanksgiving.

When the 10th General Assembly of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics met in Rome in 1954, the officials of the Union asked the Pope to receive the delegates (1200 of them) and to

address them. After speaking of the various researches carried on by the Union, the Pope concluded his address thus :

> What is most admirable in the universe known to science is not so much the marvellous harmony of the laws of nature, as the very power and force of the mind called upon to master the most difficult problems and to penetrate ever more deeply into the secrets of matter. This recognition of the power of the mind gives, no doubt, a legitimate satisfaction, but it is deceptive for one who stops at this stage and refuses to take a wider view. For the human mind, however brilliant, remains subject in its essence and in its activity to the supreme command of a Divine Creator. It must acknowledge God, for He is the Truth, apart from Whom nothing has any meaning. It must serve Him, for knowledge divorced from the rest of life becomes sterile, nay dangerous. The scientist is above all a man face to face with his destiny, and from him, more than from others, will be required an accounting for the good and the evil that he has done . . . .

In the same address the Pope spoke of the International Geophysical Year (1957-58) which was being organized at this meeting. The scientists afterwards expressed their great pleasure that the Pope had given his blessing to this great undertaking. The President and Secretary of the Union requested the Pope's permission to print his discourse in the official organ of the Union.

The Holy Father's addresses reached much wider audiences than those who were actually present. Many requests were received for copies of these speeches. The address on ' The Proofs for the Existence of God in the Light of Modern Science,' delivered to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences on 22 November 1951, at the inauguration of a *Semaine d'Étude* on Microseisms, had to be printed a number of times. University professors asked for copies to distribute to their students. Only a few days before the Pope's death there came a request of this kind. Many of these requests came from non-Catholics, some indeed from non-Christians, who had been deeply moved by the Pope's words. Not only were they delighted with his sympathetic understanding of their tasks and their problems, and impressed with the broad sweep of his interests and his familiarity with the most recent developments (even including artificial satellites and space travel), but, as they listened, new vistas opened before them. Some of them heard for the first time a clear exposition of the ultimate realities, of the meaning of existence.

Over the years several million people saw the Pope and heard him speak in private audiences or in the big general audiences that he granted so readily. Especially impressive, yet more intimate than the audiences in the Vatican or in St. Peter's, were those in the courtyard of his summer palace at Castel Gandolfo. Many will never forget the

tall slender figure in white, greeting them from the small balcony with graceful expressive gestures of the beautiful delicate hands. Men of all races and religions went away deeply moved. Many said or wrote afterwards that they felt they had been in the presence of a truly good man, overflowing with love for men and deeply concerned for their sorrows and sufferings.

This faculty of establishing friendly contacts with people of all types was all the more remarkable in one who was by nature extremely reserved and sensitive. His long career as a diplomat would certainly not have tended to lessen this reserve. Apart from the hours devoted daily to audiences, Pope Pius remained very much alone, in his study, at meals or during his regular afternoon walk. His predecessors used to have friends or officials with them during their walks or recreation, but Pius XII always walked alone—usually studying reports or state papers. These walks were always precisely timed : for instance, so many times up and down the Viale degli Elci in the gardens of the Villa Barberini at Castel Gandolfo. Precision and punctuality were marked traits of his character. It happened at times that, owing to pressing business, the Pope was forced to keep one waiting for an audience ; he would then apologize profusely. His exactness showed itself in his meticulous choice of words, his unfailing care to verify quotations, and in his beautiful, delicate handwriting, unchanged to the end of his life.

It was indeed only by precise apportioning of his time and by his methodical habits that he was able to get through such a vast amount of work. Typical of his systematic and persevering toil is the fact that every evening he practised English for a quarter of an hour (he mentioned this casually in conversation a couple of years ago). He spoke several languages fluently, French, German, Spanish, but he had taken up English rather late in life and, though he read it with ease, he wished to master the spoken language, for the benefit of his many English-speaking visitors.

Almost his only recreations were reading and music. He was very widely read. Dante was his favourite poet, always ready to hand. He knew much of Dante by heart and could always find an apt quotation from him. In the evening, or late at night, he would play over a favourite symphony.

In one of the audience halls at Castel Gandolfo on the morning of 29 September, just a week before his collapse, Pius XII heard his last concert. Our Lady's Choral Society of Dublin, conducted by Sir John Barbirolli, performed portion of Elgar's ' Dream of Gerontius '. The Pope, though already very tired, appreciated the performance highly, as he made clear in a graceful speech of thanks (and in private comment later).

Pausing for a moment in his speech to find the appropriate word, he chose the word ' sublime ' to describe the singing. To at least one of those present it seemed afterwards as if Pope Pius had been listening to his own requiem.

For many years he worked into the early hours of the morning ; only after his serious illness in 1954 could the doctors persuade him to get to bed by midnight. He rose early in the morning to say his prayers and celebrate Mass and then get to work betimes.

Pius XII worked all out up to the end. When urged to rest a bit or take a holiday, he would say : ' The Pope cannot take holidays.' During the last couple of months he drove himself, if possible, harder than ever, almost as if he felt that the end was not far off and he wanted to complete as much as he could before the night came. Day after day he would deliver one, or even two addresses, some of them long and very important. To those near him it was evident that he was steadily getting weaker. A short time before his collapse he was begged to cancel audiences for a time and to take some rest. He refused. ' Do not worry,' he said, ' I will take all responsibility on myself.' As usual, congresses and organizations were pressing him to address them. He hated to disappoint people. And there were at times errors that he felt he must correct as soon as possible.

On Monday, 29 September, the distressing hiccoughs, the prelude to his grave illness in 1954, returned. He was not able to speak at the usual General Audience on the following Wednesday evening, but appeared several times to greet and bless the multitudes that crowded the courtyard of the Palace, and the Piazza in front, in spite of storm and torrential rain. On Friday morning he spoke to a large American pilgrimage. Next morning he received a congress of plastic surgeons and delivered a beautiful and impressive address, even though he was struggling all the time with attacks of hiccoughs. On Sunday morning he addressed a congress of notaries. Each evening he also came to the balcony to bless the crowds, the last time being on Sunday evening, 5 October. Early the next morning he had his first stroke, followed by a second one on the Wednesday morning. At 3.52 a.m. on the morning of Thursday, 9 October, he died.

He gave a perfect example of the most complete and selfless devotion to duty, working up to the last possible moment, as he had wished. So strongly did he feel that the Pope must always be fit to cope with the arduous duties of his high office (' The Pope cannot be sick,' he used to say) that there is reason to think that he would have abdicated if ever he felt himself incapacitated. He had indeed a particular veneration for his predecessor, Pope St Celestine V, who abdicated in 1294 after a reign of only a few months, and he would certainly not

endorse Dante's condemnation of *il gran rifiuto*. Eugenio Pacelli, scholar and diplomat and great world figure, and Pietro di Murrone, the thirteenth century hermit—it would be hard to find two Popes who differed more in background and training and temperament. Yet they had this much in common : a profound understanding of the duties incumbent on a Pope and of the very heavy burdens they entail.

The Anglican Conference at Lambeth, 1958

by KEVIN SMYTH

WHEN the election of His Holiness, Pope John XXIII was announced on 28th October, the Queen of England sent at once the following message : ' I should like to express to your Holiness my warm congratulations on your election and to send you my best wishes for your health and welfare in the discharge of the exalted duties to which you have been called.' This courteous and friendly gesture may be taken as a sign of a new sense of solidarity with what an Anglican spokesman called ' the great Church of the West', a solidarity which had been manifested particularly during the last illness of Pope Pius XII and the subsequent events in the Catholic Church. The personal contacts between the late sovereign Pontiff and Christians of various denominations explain to some extent the interest which the affairs of the Papacy evoked. But there is undoubtedly a deeper and more durable reason, which is to be looked for in the general movement towards Christian unity manifest in many Christian groups, and not least in the Anglican community, over the last fifty years.

The meeting of three hundred and ten bishops of the Anglican communion, drawn from forty-six countries (including Ireland and the United States of America) gives us an opportunity for assessing this trend. When the pronouncements of this Conference are considered as a whole, it should be clear that the marks of interest given by Anglicans on the occasion of the change in the Papacy were no mere diplomatic exchanges, but the spontaneous expression of the deepest of all Christian sentiments, the urge towards union in the charity of Christ. It should also be clear that this desire for solidarity is not just a tactical effort to close the ranks against the militant enemies of the Christian name, but a movement inspired by well-considered and strongly held doctrinal principles. In the following pages we shall give as full an account as possible of the findings of the Conference on Church unity and other matters of general interest which engaged its attention.

The report of the Conference is published in three main sections : an encyclical letter, five sets of resolutions, and five corresponding committee reports. The encyclical is a survey of the resolutions, and may be taken as the definite views of the Conference, along with the resolutions formally adopted, after discussion, by the Conference as a whole. The annexed reports, however, are published ' as having

the authority only of the Committees by which they were respectively prepared and presented.' They have not therefore the authority of the Conference as a whole, but since they are commended to 'the careful study of our people' by the Anglican bishops, they may be taken as representing the principles on which the resolutions are based, and the ideals which the bishops urge on their people. We shall distinguish reports from resolutions in our discussion, and call attention where necessary to the different view-points they embody.

The encyclical letter centres on the notion of reconciliation which is said to be 'at the heart of the Christian gospel,' just as 'at the heart of the world's confusion is the failure of men to understand and accept the way God offers by which they may be reconciled to him'. If the first section of the letter is headed, 'The Word of Reconciliation', it is because the Conference regards the Bible as the instrument through which God has spoken his word of reconciliation. 'Questions have arisen in recent years about the nature of the authority of the Scriptures and the relevance of their message, which seem to many to have seriously weakened the position of esteem in which our forefathers held the Bible.' The modern, scientifically educated man is mystified by the pre-scientific language of the Bible, while those who love the Bible deeply may lack a general understanding of it and 'may fail to see the connection between the content of the Bible and the faith of the Church.' To remedy this obscurity, 'the Conference affirms that our Lord Jesus Christ is God's final Word to man, and that in his light all Holy Scripture must be seen and interpreted, the Old Testament in terms of Promise and the New Testament in terms of Fulfilment.' This, we may note, supposes that one *brings* to the Bible a certain attitude to Jesus Christ: one first has faith in and knowledge of Christ, and with this fixed presupposition, one interprets the Bible—an attitude that no Catholic will quarrel with. Nor does the Conference leave to 'private interpretation,' or individual taste, the picture of Jesus Christ which is to dominate Bible reading. 'The Conference affirms that Jesus Christ lives in his Church through the Holy Spirit according to his promise, and that the Church is therefore both guardian and interpreter of Holy Scripture.' This affirmation is in keeping with the 'Anglican' as contrasted with the 'Protestant' position, but as an express affirmation, echoing in fact the Council of Trent, it is somewhat of a novelty and a welcome mark of progress. The next phrase, 'nevertheless the Church may teach nothing as necessary for eternal salvation but what may be concluded and proved by the Scripture' sounds like a return to the slogan of old-fashioned Protestantism, 'the Bible alone'. However, it may simply mean that Anglicans, feeling themselves without an authoritative organ whereby 'Jesus Christ living in his Church by his Spirit' may speak, take in fact the Bible as a

practical norm. And no doubt, the decision on ' what may be concluded and proved by the Scripture ' belongs no longer to the individual but to . . . . such groups as the Lambeth Conference? However, we must not press for a precision which the Conference did not intend.

Along with the formal resolutions on the Bible goes a Committee Report, which while not formally endorsed by the Conference, is ' commended to the careful study of our people '. It describes, as elements of the primitive tradition inspired by the Holy Spirit, the growth of the Creeds, the formation of the Canon of Scriptures and the establishment of the episcopate. ' Neither Bible nor Church is understood apart from the other,' and ' the Church as witness and keeper of Holy Writ, is charged to interpret it and expound it by the aid of the Spirit of truth which is in the Church.' The report affirms on the other hand that the process of canonization did not confer authority on the books but was a process ' whereby the Church acknowledged them to possess authority '. This, we may recall, had already been taught by the Vatican Council. But whereas the Council went on to say that the sacred and canonical character of the books derived from the fact that ' being written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their author ', the report assigns what is, at first sight, a different reason. ' The books were recognized as giving the witness of the Apostles to the life, teaching, death and resurrection of the Lord and the interpretation by the Apostles of these events. To that apostolic authority the Church must ever bow.' This may be unsatisfactory as a definition of inspiration, but in so far as it points to the apostolic tradition as the depository of revelation, it may represent an approximation to the belief of Catholics with regard to the source and transmission of authoritative teaching.

The second set of Resolutions incorporated into the Encyclical treat of ' Church Unity and the Church Universal '. They begin with a general Statement on Christian Unity, which must be quoted at least in part, if the temper and tendency of the Conference is to be rightly appreciated. ' Conscious of the calling of the Church to be one family in Christ, we declare our ardent longing for the healing of our divisions, and for the recovery and manifestation to the world of that unity of the Body of Christ for which he prayed and continues to make intercession.' Referring to the work of the World Council of Churches and the development of closer relations between the Anglican bodies and those of South India and the like, the resolution says that ' much has been accomplished but far more remains to be done '. The demands of unity are so urgent that to further negotiations, the Conference feels impelled ' to put forth in penitence and hope this fresh statement of our convictions : We believe in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, which takes its origin not in the will of man

but in the will of our Lord Jesus Christ. All those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and have been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity are incorporated into the Body of Christ and are members of the Church. Here is a unity already given.'

Not every form of unity however is adequate to the will of Christ, and the Conference recognizes that the restricted unity which it has described is not enough :

> In obedience to the mission of the Church, we must continually work and pray for the visible unity of all Christian believers of all races and nations in a living Christian fellowship of faith and sacrament, of love and prayer, witness and service . . . . There can be no limit to the range of such unity. We are working for unity with the non-episcopal Churches in our own countries and elsewhere. We continue to seek for such complete harmony of spirit and agreement in doctrine as would bring unity with the Eastern Orthodox Church and other ancient Churches. We must hope and pray for such eventual agreement in faith and order as shall lead to the healing of the breach between ourselves and the Church of Rome.

The visible unity in question, according to the Conference, involves the acceptance not only of unity of faith and of sacraments, but also a unity of government (what Catholic theologians call *unitas regiminis*) : ' a ministry acknowledged as possessing the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body '. This however ' can only be attained through the historic episcopate . . . . with its traditional functions of pastoral care and oversight, ordination, leadership in worship and teaching.' ' Leadership ' means perhaps the same thing as ' authority ', a word used in the same context of the commission given by Christ to the ministry, and would certainly mean it if the Report on the Bible is to be taken as indicating the tendency, if not the final decision, of the Conference. Apropos of the moral teaching of the Bible, which is ' sometimes agonizingly difficult to use in the right way ', the Committee report says : ' From time to time the Church itself uses its power of " binding and loosing " in the making of decisions about the duty of its members, and where it does so its members ought loyally to respect its authority '. The desired unity of faith and sacraments is therefore to be completed by the bond of the historic episcopate—which has authority. This unity is a ' vision which we set before ourselves and our own people ', as a matter of the greatest urgency, to be worked for and prayed for. The Statement ends :

> . . . . with an appeal to all our people to show a spirit of charity in their dealings with other Christians wherever they may be, to respect other Christian Churches, to refrain from harsh or unkind words about them, whether in speech or in writing, and to seek to understand both their life and their doctrine by common study and by personal contacts.

This last appeal is in marked contrast to the utterances of the six Lambeth Conferences from 1867 to 1920, whose haughtiness reflected rather the imperial grandeur of Victorian times than the truly religious feelings of Anglicans. These find a more adequate expression, e.g. in Resolution 38, on 'The Roman Catholic Church':

> The Conference welcomes the permission given by Roman Catholic authority for contacts, discussions and co-operation between Roman Catholics and other Christians, as contained in the document, *Instruction to Local Ordinaries on the Oecumenical Movement,* issued by the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office in December 1949; and expresses the hope, first, that these permissions may be more widely and generously used, secondly, that they may be further extended in the interests of Christian fellowship and understanding, and thirdly, that Anglicans will make full use of these and all other available opportunities for promoting charitable understanding.

The Committee Report, not formally endorsed on this point by the Encyclical or the Resolutions, notes that 'the Roman Catholic Church retains its conviction that the only goal of re-union must be submission to the Papacy.' This seems to be said regretfully, but without any sign of disrespect for the conscientious convictions of Catholics. But Anglicans have every reason for respecting, as they do, the attitude of Catholics to the Pope as Vicar of Christ because they are themselves equally exigent and intransigent on the standing of bishops. This is evident at least in the Committee Report, which echoes the general misgivings of Anglicans at permission being given to 'non-episcopally ordained ministers to celebrate the Holy Communion' even in bodies not in full communion with Canterbury. The Report comments on relations with Presbyterians as follows:

> It must be recognized as a fact that Anglicans conscientiously hold that the celebrant of the Eucharist should have been ordained by a bishop standing in the historic succession, and generally believe it their duty to bear witness to this principle by receiving Holy Communion only from those who have thus been ordained. The existence of this conviction as a view held among Anglicans clearly makes it in practice impossible to envisage the establishment of fully reciprocal intercommunion at any stage short of the adoption of episcopacy by the Churches of Presbyterian Order.

One may well feel that this insistence on a traditional principle, the episcopacy, even to the extent of demanding sacrifices from Presbyterians, is one of the happiest features of the Lambeth Conference. It points the way to sacrifices for Christian unity.

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The third set of Resolutions deals with 'Progress in the Anglican Communion'. The Conference notes 'encouraging reports of the growth

of the Anglican Communion in spiritual power and numerical strength' and 'calls on every Church member, clergy and laity alike, to take an active part' in the missionary effort throughout the whole world, which is to be directed by an 'Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy'. Migrants and immigrants are to be effectively assisted, and 'Church people are recalled to the duty and privilege of stewardship, of which sacrificial, planned and systematic giving is a part.' One of the fields particularly envisaged in South America, of which the Committee Report says: 'Vast masses owe no definite allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church and are a prey to materialism or to distorted forms of the Christian faith.' The Conference feels that its expansion is hemmed in by more than such enemies as Communism:

> [It is] deeply concerned by restrictions upon religious freedom in many areas, imposed in some cases by the state alone, and in others by the state influenced by a dominant religious group. To those who suffer under these conditions the Conference extends the assurance of its sympathy and support. It affirms its conviction that freedom of religion includes not only freedom to worship but also freedom to propagate and to teach, as essential parts of the Christian faith.

There may be a slight lack of proportion here, inasmuch as the Conference links the persecution of the Church in China with the restrictions laid upon proselytizing in certain countries where the Catholic Church is state-established, and traditionally suspicious of a Protestantism which is unfortunately associated in people's minds with persecution and bitter denunciation of 'worship of the Virgin' and 'the blasphemous fables' of the Mass.

On the latter point, the Conference has left the Thirty-Nine Articles far behind. The Encyclical states that 'the Christ who feeds us with himself in the Eucharist speaks to us through his own Word in the Gospel.' This point is not developed in the encyclical or the resolutions. But it is commented upon in the Committee Report:

> In the Holy Communion, Epistle and Gospel and sermon proclaim the Word of Christ to the people, just before Christ living and contemporary—feeds them with his Body and Blood. Thus the Word in the Scriptures is the more vivid on account of the nearness of Jesus who is the Word in the sacramental presence and gift.

Another section of the report is headed, 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice' and seems to assume that there *is* such a sacrifice, the only difficulty being the precise relation of it to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. The section ends:

> Accordingly, the Committee endorses the words of Dr A. G. Herbert, S.S.M.: 'The eucharistic Sacrifice, that storm-centre of controversy,

> is finding in our day a truly evangelical expression from the 'catholic' side, when it is insisted that the sacrificial action is not any sort of re-immolation of Christ, nor a sacrifice additional to His one Sacrifice, but a participation in it. The true celebrant is Christ the High-Priest, and the Christian people are assembled as members of His Body to present before God His Sacrifice, and to be themselves offered up in Sacrifice through their union with Him.

There follows a repudiation of ' certain medieval developments ', but the thought remains astonishingly close to that of the Council of Trent, and every Catholic concurs with the final words: 'We offer it only because He has offered the one Sacrifice, once for all, in which we need to participate.' The other resolutions in this section include such questions as the revision of the Prayer Book, and of the Kalendar of Saints and Heroes of the Christian Church who are to be commemorated in the Anglican Communion. The resolutions on ministries and man-power call for adequate staffing and training in the theological colleges, and comment on the value of the ' special form of vocation evident in Religious Orders and Communities '. The Committee Report develops many interesting points, among which may be noted that it recommends for inclusion in the Prayer Book, under the head of ' Ministry to the Sick ', a form of Anointing and a form for Confession and Absolution of the Sick. Under the heading, ' Prayers for the Departed ', the Committee notes the objections raised by ' the more conservative Evangelical tradition ' but continues :

> On the other hand, the vast majority of people in the Anglican Communion, while rejecting the crudities of the medieval conceptions of purgatory, are quite sure that the fact of death does not remove the need for and the appropriateness of praying for the departed that God will fulfil his perfect will in them ; and that such prayer is both natural and right.

The report recommends that such prayer be made permissive in future Prayer Book revision.

* * * *

The fourth set of Resolutions is entitled ' The reconciling of conflicts between and within nations '. The main points are as follows : The work of reconciliation must begin with the parish, where Christians are to be taught ' to understand more deeply the meaning of God's providence in history and the ground of Christian hope, as distinct from a belief in automatic social progress.' There is need for persistent prayer on behalf of men and nations, for an awareness of the disastrous effect on the common life of those who come to the Lord's Table unreconciled to their neighbours, for the individual's life to bear ' the

marks of the Cross and the fruits of the Spirit'. Only after laying this foundation does the Conference turn to the social, national and international responsibilities of Christians. Notable here is the call to the Christians of more favoured lands to share their material and technical resources with those in need, a condemnation of war as a method of settling international disputes and a call for the abolition of nuclear bombs 'as repugnant to the Christian conscience'. It ends, after affirming the need for strengthening the United Nations, with a condemnation of racial discrimination. The Committee Report on this section is signed by Dr Joost (of Cape Town) as chairman, and is therefore of great interest when it treats, as it does in detail, of the racial conflicts, acute or threatening, in Africa, the United States and Great Britain. This whole section and the report on which it is based is most instructive and very solid.

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The last set of Resolutions is on 'The Family in Contemporary Society'. From the survey of them given in the Encyclical we quote:

> The family, which is the basic unit of human society, is today subjected to pressures from without and from within. We believe that the Christian faith has something unique which must be said both on the idea of the human family as rooted in the God-head and on its creative possibilities under God. It has long been held that a primary obligation of Christian marriage is that children may be born within the supporting framework of parental love and family concern . . . . Yet . . . . the procreation of children is not the sole purpose of Christian marriage. Implicit within the bond between husband and wife is the relationship of love with its sacramental expression in physical union . . . . Family planning, in such ways as are mutually acceptable to husband and wife in Christian conscience, and secure from the corruptions of sensuality and selfishness, is a right and important factor in Christian family life . . . . We affirm the permanence of the marriage bond . . . . The clergy should provide pre-marital instruction based on Christian principles, so that young couples can marry with a clear understanding of their imperative duties and high responsibilities. A home based on family prayers and worship wherein mutual self-sacrifice is practised, gives its young people their sure foundations . . . . We urge that the organization of industry should be so modified that a worker is not prevented from enjoying the wholeness of life and from fulfilling his duties, both as a man and a citizen. There are many lands to-day where population is increasing so fast that the survival of young and old is threatened. In such countries population control has become a necessity. Abortion and infanticide are to be condemned, but methods of control, medically endorsed and morally acceptable, may help the people of these lands so to plan family life that children may be born without a likelihood of starvation.

Two points remain vague here, and are not cleared up in the Resolutions : the permanence of marriage and family planning. Permanence is not indissolubility, and the Resolutions seem to envisage divorce in certain break-downs of marriage : ' no husband or wife has the right to contemplate even legal separation until every opportunity of reconciliation and forgiveness has been exhausted.' This suggests that in dire circumstances divorce itself may be contemplated. Another Resolution states that ' divorce is granted in many lands on grounds which the Church cannot acknowledge ', as if there were grounds for divorce which the Church can acknowledge. The Conference rightly distinguishes a declaration of nullity, where no marital bond had existed, from divorce. And it maintains that :

> the Resolutions of the 1948 Lambeth Conference concerning marriage discipline have been of great value as witnessing to Christ's teaching about the life-long nature of marriage, and urges that these Resolutions, and their implications, should continue to be studied in every Province.

The implications of the discipline in question, which forbids clergymen to bless in church a marriage involving divorced persons, are stated with all desirable clarity and emphasis in the Committee Report :

> Christ's teaching about marriage deals directly . . . . with the personal relationships between husband and wife. Here, in response to a question about the Jewish law of divorce—a question designed to discover what school of rabbinical interpretation he favoured—he recalls his hearers to the true nature of marriage relationship as God created it. The tie between husband and wife is, by God's ordinance, a life-long one, not to be broken by any act of man. (This is) the essential truth about life as God has created it and therefore as it must be in the Kingdom of God on earth.

If one wonders why this divine law is less trenchantly expressed in the encyclical and resolutions, which alone are formally endorsed by the Conference, it must be remembered that up to the Lambeth Conference of 1920, divorce on the grounds of adultery was expressly permitted to Anglicans, and the Conference can only form the Christian conscience of its hearers with all deliberate speed.

On the other point, family planning, the use of ' such ways as are mutually acceptable to husband and wife ' are left to the ' Christian conscience ' and no guidance is offered to the formation of such a conscience. This is also a departure, though in a different direction, from earlier Conferences, which roundly condemned the use of artificial contraceptives. However, full weight must be given to the fact that nowhere is there a positive and explicit endorsement of their use, and also to the high religious ideals put forward for married life :

> The sins of self-indulgence and sensuality, born of a selfishness and a refusal to accept marriage as divine vocation, destroy its true nature

and depth. Christians need always to remember that sexual love is not an end in itself nor a means to self-gratification, and that self-discipline and restraint are essential conditions of the responsible freedom of marriage and family planning.

So the Resolutions. The Committee Report says :

> The Church holds as strongly as ever that continence, chastity and self-control are a positive and creative element in Christian living. They are indeed an ingredient in an heroic and sacrificial response of man to the costly redeeming love of God. If Christian living were to be so influenced by current hedonism as to allow free rein to biological and sexual urges, it would lose the dimension of holiness and its power to challenge ' the world '.

The Report's discussion of abortion, sterilization and the use of effective contraceptives is on the whole satisfactory. There are certain short-comings, but no one who reads it attentively could get the impression that the Anglican authorities make light of grave issues of conscience or envisage successful marriage except ' at the cost of self-discipline ' in every field of personal relations. One notes with regret that not every member of the committee agreed to condemn outright and finally ' any government policy of compulsory sterilization as a means of population control '. This is apparently proposed by the Madras government in India, ' for populations where poverty and illiteracy make any widespread use of contraceptive devices or techniques unlikely.' But the weight of opinion and the general trend of the Committee is clearly on the side of the view which finds that such policies are ' unacceptable to the Christian conscience '. The reasons given for the Committee's view are :

> Sterilization, now generally an irreversible process, limits the ability of the man or woman to meet changed circumstances (as in depriving a future spouse of the possibility of parenthood), and as such is a major and irrevocable abdication of an important area of responsible freedom. It has physiological and psychological consequences that are as yet unknown and unmeasured, and represents as well a violation of the human body, a body which is God's gift and trust, and only in a limited sense ours to do with as we wish.

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These are the main features of the resolutions adopted by the Lambeth Conference. The Committee Reports (which have been quoted rather fully) may be taken as the best commentary on them. In spite of such deficiencies as we have noted above, the encyclical, the resolutions and the reports form an inspiring and instructive body of religious doctrine which should be of immense help to the religious bodies to which it is addressed and can only further the cause of religious unity which we all have at heart.

The Unity of the Irish Economic Problem

by C. F. CARTER

SINCE the title of this article contains the dangerous word ' unity ', I had better start by saying where I stand. I am in favour of abolishing the Border ; indeed, I should like to see many of the barriers which separate the nation states of the world removed. There is, however, very little support in Ireland for *abolishing* the Border ; there is widespread support for *moving* it, so that it runs between Larne and Stranraer instead of between Newry and Dundalk. I am entirely opposed to this. It would establish a unity desired by one community only at the cost of breaking one which is greatly valued by another community. It seems to be very difficult for some people to realize that the Northern Protestant can think of himself without incongruity as both Irish and British : and that so far from the British connection being maintained by armed force, it is a reality in the minds and affections of a large number of people. No moving of borders can affect the spiritual disunity of Ireland ; and the breaking of the British connection would, in my view, bring economic ruin to Northern Ireland without any substantial compensating advantage to the Republic. Northern Ireland industries have been slowly fashioned over a long period to fit in to the British economy, and, they would be gravely weakened if they became to any degree 'foreign' to the British buyer.

But of course it is mere common sense for neighbours to help each other and to learn from each other—though it is a form of common sense greatly lacking in Ireland ; the last few years have seen the Border become a more serious barrier to the traffic of men, goods or ideas between North and South. The theme of this article is that the economic problems of the two parts of the country are much more similar than is usually realized, or than is usually admitted by politicians : that geography is stronger than politics : and that in consequence we have a great deal to learn from each other. A curious example of the isolation produced by the border is provided by the monumental *Economic Survey of Northern Ireland,* by my colleagues Professor K. S. Isles and Mr N. Cuthbert (Belfast : Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957, price 35s.). No doubt out of consideration for the susceptibilities of those to whom it was addressed, the Survey contains hardly any mention at all of the fact that Northern Ireland has a neighbour over the land frontier. This article therefore attempts to make a few of the comparisons which the Survey might have made.

The crude birth rate in England and Wales has in recent years been between 15 and 16 per thousand population : that in the Republic and in Northern Ireland around 21. The marriage rate in the North has since the war been almost exactly half way between that for England and Wales and that for the Republic ; this is partly because there are proportionately a few more people of marriageable age in the North, and partly because the usual age of marriage, though not as low as in England, is lower than in the South. For the age-group 25 to 34, for instance, the Republic has two single men to every married man, and married women do not greatly outnumber the single : Northern Ireland has more married men than single, and two married women to each spinster : while England and Wales has, in this age-group, more than four times as many married women as spinsters. If one takes *all* females (including children), one finds that in the Republic 30% were married at the time of the 1951 Census, in Northern Ireland 37%, and in England and Wales 49%.

The high birth rate in the Republic is therefore due to high fertility within marriage, modified by a tendency to remain single or to get married late ; the high birth rate in Northern Ireland arises from lower fertility within marriage, but marriage is more likely and is earlier. The crude death rate in the North tends to be somewhat below 11 per thousand population, while that in the South is around 12. The infant mortality rate seems to be falling faster in the North, and the tuberculosis death rate is considerably lower ; the cancer death rate appears to be much the same for men, but to be higher for women than in the South. With a birth rate of 21 and a death rate of 11 or 12, both populations have a rate of natural increase of about one per cent per year, the rate being a little *higher* in Northern Ireland than in the Republic, and in each area two and a half to three times the rate ruling across the water.

A rate of natural increase of one per cent per year would double the population in seventy years. In fact the rate of increase has of course been much less than this in Northern Ireland, while the population of the Republic has been falling. Both areas have kept their population problem in check by very substantial emigration, amounting in recent years to a net outflow of about 40,000 a year from the Republic and about 9,000 a year from Northern Ireland. A lower emigration rate from the Six Counties is a usual characteristic of the Irish scene, but whereas between 1880 and the Second World War the Six County emigration rate per thousand population was usually around two-thirds of the Twenty-Six County rate (though lower in the decade 1891–1901), since the beginning of the last war the ratio has been nearer a half. This is a real difference between the two countries, but even so it must be remembered that net emigration from Northern Ireland in the 1950's has been at the highest rate since the 1880's. It is believed that, whereas

recent emigration from the Republic has been mainly to Britain, Northern Ireland maintains a higher proportion of emigration to overseas countries ; but the statistics on this matter are difficult to interpret.

The two countries thus share an emigration problem, and both are concerned to multiply the opportunities of productive employment within their areas. In both countries this is made more onerous by the considerable release of workers from agriculture. In Northern Ireland the number of full-time male workers in agriculture, including owners of farms, was 105,000 in 1938, and in the ensuing twenty years this number has fallen by more than twenty thousand ; in the Republic the total number of males engaged in farm work was 522,000 as recently as 1945, but only 409,000 in 1956—a decline of over 20% in eleven years. The total labour force in agriculture, forestry and fishing fell by over a quarter in the twenty years 1936–56. A decline so rapid must clearly flatten out before long, and in fact the present rate of fall of the labour force appears to be less than that experienced a few years ago ; but no one seems confident that the fall is near its end. The Emigration Commission found that the output ' per person depending on agriculture for a livelihood ' was in the Republic in 1950–51 much the lowest in North-West Europe ; it was less than a third of that in the United Kingdom or Denmark, and about two-thirds of that in France. The Commission added : ' It is a reasonable conjecture that by European standards the present volume of output could be produced by about two-thirds the number of workers at present on farms ' (Majority Report, para. 101). This means, of course that agricultural incomes are low, and until productivity is increased the drift to better-paid jobs is liable to continue. The Isles report, while admitting that it might be possible to increase the number of workers engaged in agriculture, goes on :

> Given the way in which farming in Northern Ireland is carried on, measures designed to increase either the total volume of farm production or average productivity per head would be likely to cause not an increase in the industry's labour force but a decrease . . . . There is no reason to believe that the limit to the contraction has yet been reached. (p. 376)

It follows that both areas are faced with a need to increase very greatly the opportunities for employment in industry and services. There is a need for clear thinking on this point. In the Republic the policies of ' aid to industry ' and ' aid to agriculture ' are often set in opposition to each other, and public opinion swings from the support of one to the support of the other. Northern Ireland's population is only 40% rural, as against 60% for the Republic, and the North therefore naturally thinks of ' development ' as being industrial. But in fact in both areas new employment must for some time to come be provided mainly

in industry and services. It may be that a way of achieving this is to concentrate aid on agriculture, and let prosperity flow out from this basic industry to the rest of the economy, but this implies that helping agriculture is a *means* to industrial expansion, not an *alternative* to it.

Personally I think that the argument that ' the land must come first because it is Ireland's principal natural resource ' is economically a poor one. In the long run the pressure of world population seems bound to ensure prosperity to a country which can offer an agricultural surplus so close to great centres of industrial population. That prosperity will itself provide the conditions for increased efficiency. But the ' long run ' is a long time coming, and I am by no means persuaded that in the next ten or twenty years there will be an easy market for the products of Southern Irish agriculture. They have to sell over the barriers thrown up by nations insistent on protecting their own farmers. They have to sell in areas whose populations are not growing fast, and the stomachs of those populations are not growing at all. Of course everything in reason must be done to improve efficiency, to cut costs, to streamline marketing and so forth ; but I do not believe that action on these lines alone will so transform the situation that tens of thousands of new jobs will be created in industry and services every year. For that, vigorous action is needed on the industrial as well as the agricultural front. In Northern Ireland, agriculture is assured of a certain prosperity by the Union with Great Britain, but this is even more clearly an insufficient basis for general expansion. The authors of the *Economic Survey* are, rightly, quite firm on this point :

> The policy of stimulating agricultural production and of helping farmers to improve their methods, although desirable on other grounds, cannot reasonably be expected to provide a means of overcoming the general problem of unemployment. Far from reducing unemployment it must be expected to do the opposite, except in so far as it indirectly stimulates employment in other industries through the expenditure of the resulting increase in agricultural income . . . . Employment policy . . . . must generally be concerned with the problem of increasing employment, at any rate initially, in manufacturing industries. (pp. 376-7)

In achieving an increase of employment in manufacturing industries, Northern Ireland has to contend with difficulties which do not exist in the Republic. Her third largest source of employment (after agriculture and the distributive trades) is the linen industry, and this has been declining since 1926 at least, and is likely to continue to decline. Another major industry is shipbuilding and marine engineering, whose competitive position does not seem to offer much prospect of lively expansion, and which may, indeed, contract ; another considerable employer is the

aircraft industry, whose fortunes are subject to violent fluctuation. Before the North can begin to talk about industrial expansion, she has to offset by new development the declines of her existing industries. This problem does not appear to be so serious in the South.

On the other hand, Northern Ireland has some considerable advantages in her access to the wealth of the United Kingdom Exchequer—or, to put the matter more accurately, in the fact that she pays very little towards the services (like defence and foreign representation) provided by the United Kingdom government, many of which the Republic has to provide from her own resources as an independent state. Northern Ireland also obtains an advantage, difficult to assess but none the less real, from her inclusion within the boundaries of a great industrial state. She receives an overflow from the generally high activity of Britain, which does not pass as readily to the Republic ; this is seen, for instance, in firms moving to Northern Ireland to escape local labour difficulties in England.

Yet another item to set in the balance is the fact that essential elements of economic policy for Northern Ireland, such as tax rates, are decided at Westminster on grounds much wider than the special needs of the Northern Ireland economy. The Republic cannot of course be wholly free from British influence, notably in monetary policy, but she has the great advantage of freedom to operate the main tools of economic policy to her own advantage.

But when one looks at the problem of industrial development in Ireland, North and South, these relative advantages and disadvantages fall into place as minor influences. In both areas, by far the most important problems in securing industrial development are shortage of ideas and shortage of business ability to carry them out. These problems are in my view much more serious than the shortage of finance, which is often a mere symptom of the lack of ideas and ability to be expected from credit-worthy borrowers. It is true that in the past both Northern Ireland and the Republic must have been substantial exporters of capital, since they have considerable foreign assets, and much ingenious thought has been spent on means of getting the exported capital back, or at least of stopping the outflow. In the Republic, much capital has in fact been repatriated since the war, though it has been used in part for current purposes (that is, to enable the country to ' live above its means ') and the strain has been taken by the external holdings of the banks and the Government. Nevertheless, the ' balance of payments ' estimates suggest (though they do not prove) the existence of a fair inflow of business capital in most years. Similarly, such estimates as can be made for Northern Ireland suggest that it may now be a capital-importing country.

But both countries, if they are to achieve a rate of economic development appropriate to their employment problem, will need a great deal

more industrial capital. No doubt a careful watch is needed, to make sure that there are no institutional barriers to the raising of money ; the *Economic Survey* gives much attention to the possible need for a finance company for Northern Ireland, while in the South it may be that a yet more liberal attitude to foreign capital and enterprise is needed. But the main barrier to a freer flow of capital is undoubtedly the fact that it can earn more profit with more safety if it is employed elsewhere than in Ireland. Foreign investors cannot be expected to invest money in Ireland for the sake of the smile in Irish eyes ; and there are narrow limits to the extent to which Irish investors should be expected to put patriotism before profit. No doubt a man with money to spare, and no one to think of but himself, is morally obliged to have regard to the needs of his own neighbours and his own country before his private profit. But the man who has only to think of himself is not a typical investor ; should a man impoverish his widow or endanger the future of his children by deliberately choosing a less safe or less remunerative investment ? Which of us, with widows or orphans to advise, would be able to resist the conclusion that their funds are rightly invested in London ?

The first need, therefore, is to show that investment in Ireland has promise of profit ; once this is shown, the problem of getting money will be largely solved. Now it is possible to make a case, of apparently overwhelming strength, for the assertion that investment in Ireland, North or South, will *never* be as profitable as that in neighbouring countries—raw materials are lacking, centres of population are far away, freight charges bear heavily, technical change and the trends of pricing systems favour industrial location close to large populations.

The general impression left by the *Economic Survey* is that it argues at length and convincingly on the difficulties of development in Northern Ireland, while it is briefer and far less convincing on what should be done about it. The authors state :

> . . . . It is wrong to infer as is sometimes done that, since industry in Northern Ireland in the nineteenth century grew rapidly without government assistance, its failure nowadays to grow fast enough to satisfy the social purpose of full employment in the province (the natural handicaps from lack of resources and situation being no greater than before) must denote a lack of enterprise on the part of present-day entrepreneurs. To draw such an inference is to overlook those fundamental changes which have made the profitable establishment of new industries in the province more difficult . . . . (p. 309)

If one accepts the pessimistic conclusion that investment in Ireland is necessarily relatively unprofitable, it follows either that industrial

development must be carried out despite the profit motive by Government action—and, as we shall see in a moment, this is hardly likely to work—or that it will not occur. If it does not occur, then emigration at a high rate is likely to continue, and unemployment will remain a serious problem. (Unemployment does not really have an independent significance in Ireland ; it is the pool of those who are unable or unwilling to emigrate, or who are about to emigrate.) In this unhappy condition, emigration is the means by which Ireland maintains a tolerable standard of living for those who remain ; without this outlet, standards of living in both parts of the country would fall.

To some, the pessimistic conclusion will simply prove that production for private profit does not work, and that the only solution lies in a Socialist policy of state enterprise which can afford to ignore the profit and loss account. I think it is probably true that a thorough-going socialist policy, involving the collectivization of agriculture and complete state direction of industry, could create in either part of Ireland a viable and expanding economy. But Mr Krushchev is hardly likely to be invited to Belfast or Dublin as an adviser ; and if one considers what the State can do within the framework of democracy and of an economy of small firms and small farms, the prospects are much more doubtful. The spending of money on projects which ' do not pay '—that is, which produce goods for which people at home or abroad are unwilling to pay the economic cost—will certainly create additional demand, though it may only do so at the cost of reducing demand elsewhere. But in so far as there is a genuine addition to demand, citizens of both parts of Ireland will spend the proceeds largely on goods from Great Britain and elsewhere (the ' marginal propensity to import ' being very high) ; and if the project fails to produce goods for which people overseas will pay the economic cost, there will not be a flow of exports to pay for these extra imports. In other words, unless there is very close regulation of foreign trade, State projects will cause trouble with overseas payments if they do not meet the rule of profitability. Socialists have to act like capitalists if they depend on trade with a capitalist world.

The alternative is to reject the pessimistic conclusion ; and this I do. There are many examples of profitable enterprise carried on in places which seem geographically unsuitable, and of communities which have offset natural disadvantages by energy and intelligence. Neither the narrow valleys of Switzerland nor the remoteness of New Zealand, nor the shortage of land in Japan have prevented economic development. It does not seen to me *impossible* that energetic enterprise could find plenty of opportunities for profit in either part of Ireland—and this is a case where private profit could mean public advantage. But the optimism is necessarily qualified ; both countries must overcome their shortage of ideas and of business ability. What are the prospects of this ?

Such a change involves either a change of attitude within the country, or the bringing in of enterprising people from outside. There is again no lack of pessimists to say 'You cannot change human nature', and to point to certain enduring characteristics of Irish people (such as a tendency to be easy-going and amiably inefficient) which make the country barren soil for the raising of business genius. Seen from Belfast, the business of Dublin is conducted with much pleasant talk and an abundance of good food and drink, coupled with a total lack of a sense of urgency. Seen from across the water, the business of Belfast, not so well lubricated by good talk and good food, also proceeds with a leisurely pace. There is, in fact, in both parts of the country a failure to realize that the fight against poverty and emigration will not be won without a wartime sense of urgency—a willingness to take forthright decisions quickly, to be incessantly active, ready to fail and make mistakes and then recover the ground lost.

The creation of such a sense of urgency is a function of national leadership ; and the pessimists have a point on their side if they suggest that the qualities expected of those who rise high in the Unionist Party or Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael are hardly those of outstanding leadership. The party politician makes his way according to the degree of his conformity to the party myth ; great leaders have often been regarded as dangerous non-conformists before they have been able to establish their ascendancy. Yet there are signs of new life stirring in the South ; the situation is not yet hopeless.

But if sufficient Irish enterprise does not appear, it must be brought from outside. There is nothing unusual or wrong about this ; the Huguenots brought new enterprise both to Britain and Ulster ; more recently the refugees from Nazi oppression have assisted in the founding of many a business ; while nations all over the world have been incalculably enriched by the business enthusiasm of the Jewish race. Both Northern Ireland and the Republic have already received considerable assistance from branches of foreign companies. But the public attitude in both countries still falls short of welcoming such developments ; the old belief, 'branch factories are first to close in a depression', is constantly repeated, and the advantages of buying knowledge and enterprise from outside are not sufficiently realized.

Let us therefore keep firmly before us the fact that, without new ideas and fresh business ability, Ireland, North and South, will stagnate ; the gap between her standard of living and that in neighbouring countries will widen, emigration will become yet more attractive, and frustration will eat at the foundations of democracy. In a paper to the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society in 1954, I suggested that national product or income per head was in Northern Ireland about 70% of that in the United Kingdom, and in the Republic about 50–55%. The *Economic Survey* implies (p. 457) that this disparity between North and

South may be of recent origin, since in 1938 Northern Ireland incomes per head were also around 55% of those for the United Kingdom : the product ratio would be similar. But in any case Dr Geary has pointed out that the product per head in the province of Leinster is very much the same as that in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland. The populations of the two areas are about the same ; each contains a great city which, with its suburbs, accounts for 40–45% of the population. The greater poverty shown in the *average* figures for the Republic is due to the much greater burden of the ' congested districts ' of the South and West upon her economy.

There is therefore little foundation for the pride which even enlightened people in Northern Ireland feel at her superiority to the poor and inefficient South. The economic problems of the two areas are much the same. Northern Ireland has some advantages from the British connection (notably in the wartime stimulation of agriculture), and has recently shown vigour and ingenuity in attracting industry. The Republic shows more signs of intelligent thinking about the problems of the future—notably, for instance, in the Department of Finance's recent ' Programme for Economic Expansion '. But we are both engaged in the same fight ; it will be long and hard, and common sense suggests that we can help each other. There is no need to think of the fight against poverty in terms appropriate to an incident two hundred and sixty-eight years ago at the Boyne.

The Future of Rural Ireland

by JEREMIAH NEWMAN

ON 5 April 1948 Mr Norton, then Minister for Social Welfare, appointed a Commission ' to investigate the causes and consequences of the present level and trend in population ; to examine in particular, the social and economic effects on birth, death, migration and marriage rates at present and their probable course in the near future ; to consider what measures, if any, should be taken in the national interest to influence the future trend in population ; generally to consider the desirability of formulating a national population policy '.

Six years afterwards, in March 1954, this Commission issued its *Report on Emigration and other Population Problems*. Within its terms of reference it had done a very good job. The Report contained an outline of the structure and trend of the population of the Irish Republic ; marriage rates and marriage patterns ; births, fertility and family size ; deaths ; the volume and rate of emigration ; the sex and age distribution of emigrants ; the economic background to employment, etc. In short, it provided a first class statistical and general survey of population problems. It had no intention of doing anything more. ' We wish to make it clear ', says the Introduction, ' that we considered ourselves to be specifically a Population Commission and not a Commission to inquire into the whole field of social and economic activities ' [1]. The report was therefore an inquiry into general demographic problems.

Despite this, the Report has come to be regarded (*a*) as a report on emigration, with a full analysis of its causes and cures and (*b*) as representing as complete a survey in relation to population as could be made and therefore one that provides sufficient information to guide us as regards this problem during the foreseeable future. Now in point of fact, it is none of these things. In the first place, it is not a report on emigration. Emigration, of course, figures largely in it as a specific population problem, but only as part of a much wider investigation. Indeed under the heading ' The Problem of Emigration ' the Report assigns only ten of its one hundred and ninety pages. It is true that much of the rest is related in some way to this problem, but largely by way of elaborate statistical excursus rather than of practical discussion of the question involved. In the second place, and this is something which follows from our first criticism, the Report does not provide a complete survey of the problem of depopulation, particularly from the social point of view. Under the heading ' The Social Environment ' it again assigns only ten pages.

[1] *Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems. Report,* p. 1

Notwithstanding their brevity, one would be satisfied if these two sections, on the problem of emigration and its social background, provided an adequate picture of the situations with which they deal. We believe, however, that they cannot be regarded as comprehensive and, in particular, that they do not provide us with sufficient information and guidance in the important matter of rural depopulation. As far as this goes, we feel that the Report fails to realize fully the gravity of the situation, fails to make an adequate survey of the causes, especially the social causes, of our rural depopulation and fails to provide an adequate programme in the way of meeting the problem.

As the Report sees things, it would seem that the problem of rural depopulation is peculiar to Ireland. It notes that in most other countries of Western Europe, while the population of the towns has increased out of all proportion to that of the countryside, the latter has maintained itself and even increased in some instances. Such comparative data as were available to the Commission suggested, it says, ' that in all rural parts of Ireland there existed some special factors making for rural depopulation which operated over the country as a whole '.[1] The Report discussed certain causes, mainly economic, for this peculiar rural depopulation in Ireland. But it seems to assume that this downward trend has reached its limit. This at least is suggested by the fact that it concentrates its attention on the question as to how the population of the country as a whole may be increased in the future. It maintains that this might be done by absorbing the natural increase in the population (due to a fairly high fertility rate) into the towns by way of more extensive industrial development.

We think that this picture of things leaves much to be desired. There is need for a realization of the fact that the problem of rural depopulation is a universal one, that what signs there are indicate that it is likely to continue in the future and that as far as Ireland is concerned it constitutes an extremely grave problem.

RURAL DEPOPULATION ABROAD

That this problem is not confined to Ireland has emerged from recent specialized studies in Rural Sociology. These studies are not just general statistical investigations of population distribution in the countries in question, but rather are careful social surveys at the district level. Let us examine some studies from Holland and England.

(a) *Holland :* Unlike Ireland, the population of Holland, both urban and rural is continually increasing. Investigation has shown, however, that despite the general increase in the rural population, there is a constant decline in the number of inhabitants of the smaller villages, particularly in the more rural districts. Such are the findings of

[1] *loc. cit.*, p. 12

N. Tonckens and E. Abma, of the Department of Rural Sociology in the University of Wageningen, in their recent monograph, 'Disappearing Villages in a Dutch Rural District'. [1]

The area which they have examined is the Northern part of the Northern province of Groningen—a purely rural area. From 1899 to 1947 the total population of this area increased. But there was an important difference between the development of the larger villages on the one hand and that of the smaller villages and the open country on the other.

The larger villages on the whole increased their population, some to the extent of sixty per cent. The smaller villages and the open country declined by twenty per cent. As a result, whereas in 1899 only seventeen per cent. of the population lived in villages of over one thousand inhabitants, by 1947 they accounted for forty-two per cent. of the total. In other words, the smaller villages have been disappearing. Nor can this trend be regarded as having stopped. It has been shown that since 1947 a further decline has taken place in the smaller centres.

The causes for this situation are various. For one thing there has been a decline in the number of farm labourers, due to mechanization. But the most important cause seems to be a preference for life in the larger villages, due to the attraction of the better amenities which they have to offer. The various causes 'influence each other, leading to a loss of functions of the smaller centres and an increase in functions of the larger ones. Rural industries are moving out of the smaller villages, schools are being closed, ministers cannot be found to fill the vacancies, etc. Meanwhile various new developments are taking place in the larger villages'.[2]

(b) *England and Wales:* Exactly the same kind of thing is happening in England and Wales and has been going on now for over a century. As in Holland, the total population, urban and rural, has been constantly increasing. It has increased from about twenty million in 1851 to around forty-four million in 1951. Yet whereas in 1851 the proportion of urban to rural population was fifty-fifty, in 1951 it was eighty per cent.—twenty per cent. For the past thirty years, however, the level of the general rural population has remained more or less constant. Many have been inclined to regard this as a sign that the rural depopulation has reached its limit and that the downward trend in the rural areas can be regarded as having abated.

How wrong this conclusion is has been shown in a recent work by John Saville, Lecturer in the University of Hull.[3] Saville has proved beyond question that this supposed stability of the rural population is

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[1] N. A. Tonckens and E. Abma, *Verdwijnende Dorpen op het Groninger Hoogeland*, with a summary in English. Wageningen. 1957

[2] Tonckens and Abma, *op. cit.*, p. 33

[3] J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales*, 1851–1951, London, 1957.

merely a surface stability and that it conceals a continuous drift away from the smaller villages, particularly in the more remote areas.

Between 1901 and 1911, according to a 1911 Census of five hundred and eighty-one rural parishes, the rural population of these has increased by half a million. Examination of the structure of the population, however, showed that less than one per cent. of this was due to an increase among agriculturalists, forty-six per cent. was due to mining and manufacturing developments, forty-three per cent. to residence by retired folk and eight per cent. to the erection of institutions in the parishes in question. In other words, the increase was not one amongst the traditional kind of rural people. Again, between 1921 and 1931 there was a supposed increase in the general rural population of eight and one-fifth per cent. Such at least was the conclusion of the Census of 1931. Very soon, however, it was realized that this was a false picture, for when urban boundaries were redrawn the increase was lost, thus showing it to have been merely an urban overspill. When the boundaries were changed in 1939 it was found that the rural population was about twelve per cent. below the 1931 figures. Thus the apparent increase in the rural population was deceptive.

In fact, careful examination has shown that there has been a continuous decrease in the smaller villages and the more rural parishes. In 1914 a famous study by Bowley showed that the only rural counties which increased their population between 1861 and 1911 were Kent, Sussex and Surrey, because of their proximity to London ; Worcester and Cheshire, because of their proximity to big industrial centres ; and Flint and Carnarvon, because of mining developments.[1] The purely rural counties had not increased at all. Saville has gone further than this and has proved that the more remote rural areas have undergone and continue to undergo a decline in population. To realize this, he says, one must make local surveys ; general rural statistics for the country as a whole are deceptive.

> If we are to get a real measure of the effects of the rural exodus, we must take the discussion down to a regional and in the end, to the parish level . . . . The parishes with populations under 500 must be the starting point for any detailed analysis of rural decline. How serious the rural exodus has been and what its effects are upon the whole structure of village society can only be answered if we begin with the typical unit in the countryside—the parish whose population is under 500.[2]

He himself takes up two counties, Rutland and Warwickshire. The former is a very rural county of fifty-eight parishes, four-fifths of which have a population of under five hundred people. Like all other counties

[1] Bowley, Rural Population in England and Wales, in *The Statistical Journal*, May, 1914.

[2] Saville, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 and 73.

it increased in population until 1850. Since then, however, it has been in decline. All parishes with a population of under one thousand have declined severely and the drift still continues in these. ' Despite the new prosperity in the countryside since 1939, the tendencies favouring depopulation do not appear to have been seriously weakened '.[1] On the other hand, there is Warwickshire, which though it is an industrial county around Birmingham, has many parishes of less than five hundred inhabitants. Its total population has increased greatly since 1850. But again, the parishes that are furthest from urban influence have decreased, particularly those with a population of less than five hundred. Hence Saville's conclusion to his investigation of these counties and the individual parishes within them is that rural depopulation in England and Wales still continues as far as the more rural areas and the smaller villages are concerned. This, he says, raises the question of the ' future viability of the smaller villages ', which ' may be important for the second half of the twentieth century '.[2]

The causes of the exodus are similar to those which have operated in Holland. There has, first of all, been a decline in employment opportunities in the countryside, economic activities having moved away from the villages to the towns. Agricultural wages too have been lower than industrial. More important still, as rural awareness increases, the better housing conditions, social and cultural amenities of the towns exert a very considerable attracting power. Town values and leisure are particularly attractive to girls, who have left the countryside in even greater numbers than have men.

RURAL DEPOPULATION IN IRELAND

It is well known that rural depopulation in Ireland as a whole has been very great. We doubt, however, if it is realized how absolutely staggering it has been in the smaller villages and more rural parishes. It certainly does not seem to be realized that this trend is likely to continue until these villages practically disappear, unless some drastic change is brought about and brought about quickly. It is impossible to realize these things fully in the absence of limited regional and parochial surveys of the kind that have been undertaken in Holland and England. The Report on Emigration gives population statistics for the country as a whole, the provinces and the counties. It has shown that, while nearly all county populations have suffered a decline, four-fifths of this decline took place in eleven counties. Co. Limerick is not listed among these, the obvious inference being that the rural population in general of that county has not decreased appreciably. If we turn, however, to the individual villages and districts of the county, we will realize that the

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 82
[2] *op. cit.*, p. 88

distribution of population has changed in such a way that a very different picture emerges. The Report is of no help in this ; it is necessary to make a careful examination of Census Reports.

Take any of the Dispensary Districts of the county, with its Electoral Divisions. One will find a continuous decline in population between 1926 and 1956. There is a noticeable decline even between 1951 and 1956, which shows that rural depopulation is continuing.

Bruff Dispensary District

	1951 Census	1956 Census
Athlacca	402	389
Bruff	1225	1107
Knockainey	783	722
Uregare	706	680

It is the same with all Dispensary Districts in the county. Further, it can be shown that there is a drift of population away from the open country and the very small villages into larger and less remote centres. In 1951, when the boundaries of Limerick city were redrawn, there was an immediate fall in the population of the county proper from 99,500 to 90,400. The fall in the purely rural population is even greater if one takes account of a drift into certain centres other than the city. One can do this by comparing figures from the 1951 and 1956 Census Reports. These give the figures for the villages and towns of the county, listing in this category any place with twenty or more houses. The boundaries of these are fixed by the Central Statistics Office. Now for the 1956 Census these boundaries were redrawn and extended, showing that certain places had added considerably to their population.

	1951 Census	1956 Census
Foynes	676	720
Caherconlish	305	342
Pallaskenry	336	367
Patrickswell	214	332
Knocklong	217	275
Mungret	169	204
Bundotha	191	232
Castletroy	371	426
Askeaton	666	718

The reason for the increase in these places is frequently easy to find. In the case of Mungret, Bundotha and Castletroy it is very probably due

to proximity to the city. So too in the case of Patrickswell and Caherconlish. In the case of Foynes it may be due to a new institution, in Knocklong possibly to greater business relating to the railway and the creamery. In Askeaton the increase was due entirely to industrial development, that of Southern Chemicals, Ltd.

On the other hand, what does one find in the case of the smaller and more remote places, with little opportunities of remunerative employment? Almost in every case a decline that is very considerable when account is taken of the fact that the original population was already small.

	1951 Census	1956 Census
Knockaderry	102	85
Mountpelier	141	117
Ardagh	156	146
Ballylanders	299	288
Shanagolden	298	270

Our omission of reference to the towns—Newcastle West, Rathkeale, Kilmallock, Abbeyfeale and Croom—will have been already noticed. The position as regards these is that the population is stationary or shows a slight decline.

	1951 Census	1956 Census
Newcastle West ...	2632	2640
Rathkeale	1480	1419
Kilmallock	1304	1238
Croom	908	795

In other words, the general picture is this. There is a continuous drift of population away from the open countryside and the very small villages, especially in the more remote parts, in favour of a drift towards the city and surrounding areas and towards those places which provide possibilities of employment. The county towns do not provide such possibilities, or at least such as would enable them to expand their numbers, but there are clear indications of a tendency away from the open country and small villages to any town that can absorb a greater population. All this indicates a shift in the rural population of the county of a kind that is undreamt of in the Report on Emigration.

CAN THE DRIFT BE STEMMED?

The Dutch and English surveys to which we have referred have tackled the problem as to what can be done to arrest the rural depopulation in their respective countries. As their problem is very much like ours,

it may be useful to consider what they have to offer by way of its solution.

(a) *England and Wales :* According to Saville, two solutions immediately suggest themselves, on the one hand, increased agricultural prosperity and, on the other, better village amenities. He dismisses the first at once as insufficient. Even granted it, the effect of the introduction of machinery and of increasing labour costs is to keep down the numbers of farmworkers and of farm families and hence also of what he calls the secondary rural population, made up of village people who provide services to the agriculturalists. He notes that afforestation and a different pattern of farming might effect a change, but says that the scope for this cannot be regarded as great. Then, too, no matter how high agricultural prosperity soars, the day of the village craftsman, except where machines are used in agricultural repair work, is a thing of the past. Even shopkeepers are finding it difficult to compete with the travelling van. Hence increased agricultural prosperity is not an adequate remedy.

Better village amenities are judged by Saville in the same way. He notes that where efforts have been made to provide such amenities in the villages, they have not succeeded in altering the trend away from such places. His conclusion is startling in the extreme.

> Nothing, if the argument being developed here is approximately correct, can save such communities from slow extinction .... The development of main services by national and local authorities on a basis of ' fair shares ' for all villages, large and small, is therefore inappropriate, uneconomic and wasteful. The practice, to give an example, of building a pair of houses in one village and another pair in the next is a dispersion of labour and materials that is contributing very little towards the future well-being of the rural community. If decline in the smaller villages is inevitable, then to provide them with elementary amenities is a misuse of scarce resources.[1]

According to Saville, there must be a centering of effort on bettering the more viable places, the influence of which would then vivify the surrounding countryside. The revitalization of the rural areas must be undertaken on a regional rather than on an individual village basis.

> What is not understood is that unless a new and lasting rural community is evolved in the second half of the twentieth century, many of the historic settlements will die. That further, a process of concentration of population is required in order that the necessary level of services may be provided and an adequate range of social activities developed. To argue that the traditional countryside can be restored is an illusion, but equally wrong is the belief that nothing can or should be done to arrest the slow attrition of large areas of the English countryside. Many of the villages and hamlets

[1] Saville, *op. cit.*, p. 166

included within the present survey area have reached the point at which it is doubtful whether their economic and social vitality can ever be effectively restored in the future.[1]

(b) *Holland :* The Dutch survey by Tonckens and Abma comes to the same conclusion.

> The rural population is highly influenced by urban standards of living and a high level of rural welfare can only be attained if a certain minimum of services is at their disposal. The changes in the ways of life affect the viability of rural villages and will eventually lead to the disappearance of the smaller ones. However, the concentration of the population in fewer but larger villages should not be regretted. Instead of trying to stop it, authorities should try to promote the concentration of population by favouring the larger villages in the building of houses and roads and by all possible means. Though until now the villages of 500 to 1,000 inhabitants, taken together, have not shown a decline in the number of inhabitants, it is doubtful whether they will be viable in the future. It seems safer to consider 1,000 inhabitants as the minimum size for the village of the future.[2]

Have we in Ireland anything to learn from all this as regards ways and means of stemming our rural depopulation ? In the first place, what means are we trying to adopt ? Organizations like the National Farmers' Association seem to rely mainly on increased prosperity in agriculture. This is understandable in view of sectional interests and it is also admitted that such prosperity is vital to the general economy. Through it alone can we expect to accumulate the necessary domestic capital to enable industrial development to proceed at a satisfactory pace. But as Saville has shown, such prosperity alone will not solve the problem of stemming rural depopulation. And the Irish Report on Emigration has pointed out that whereas in the pre-war period the great volume of migration from the land was composed of members of small farm families, since the war it is made up largely of farm labourers. The inference is that the effect of machinery has been to render many labourers on the larger farms redundant.[3] Of course increased prosperity on the smaller farms would do a lot to stop the drift from the land. But it is hard to see how this could be effected without changing their pattern of farming to one of market gardening. This in turn presents almost insuperable difficulties in the absence of a sufficiently large home market deriving particularly from populous provincial and county centres.[4]

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[1] Saville, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–247

[2] Tonckens and Abma, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34

[3] Majority Report, pp. 35–36

[4] Cf. E. J. Coyne, S.J., The Small Farm in Irish Agriculture, in *Studies*, Spring, 1958, pp. 16–17

In conjunction with a programme for the economic betterment of agricultural and rural life in general, organizations like Muintir na Tire are also striving for the provision of better amenities, especially recreational and cultural, in the rural areas. One gets the impression that the aim is to provide these, in so far as is possible, in every little village throughout the country. Undoubtedly there is room and need for them in many places and one cannot but admire the zeal and industry of the people who spend their energies in trying to provide them. It is important, however, to examine this general policy with a view to seeing to what extent it is realistic.

Take first the provision of enhanced recreational facilities. To what extent do the country people need these? To what extent are they likely to be successful in helping to dam the flow of population away from the countryside? In 1953 the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics made an investigation of the needs of rural dwellers in this respect. The results have been published in a recent work by Professor Hofstee, Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Wageningen.[1] They show that Dutch farmers and farm labourers devote twelve per cent. of their leisure time simply to relaxation—sitting around, talking, drinking, smoking. They need far less artificial recreation than the townspeople who, by reason of the greater nervous tension involved in their work, seem to need more amusement of the kind provided by the cinema and the dance-hall. In the same way, Dutch farm labourers, though well paid, do not take annual holidays away from home as do the town workers. In general, it would seem that formal recreation is not so important to the Dutch rural dweller.

On the other hand, another Dutch survey has shown that rural workers are no longer satisfied with life in the rural districts. Their main need seems to be for a social and cultural life, other than recreational, which is not sufficiently provided for in villages of less than one thousand inhabitants. Indeed the Dutch have come to the conclusion that only in villages of at least this size can adequate amenities be provided.

> If the village is to remain a social unit, where the population may largely satisfy its social and cultural wants, and if it is not to be reduced to a place where one is forced by circumstances to live, and from which one tries to escape as often and as fast as possible, it will have to offer its inhabitants much more than in the past . . . Only the village with a minimum number of inhabitants of some 1,000 to 1,500 will in the future offer a possibility of meeting the local demands and requirements. It is therefore desirable that the Government promote this concentration as far as possible, and direct it into the right channels, among other things by adequate physical planning.[2]

[1] E. W. Hofstee, *Rural Life and Rural Welfare in the Netherlands*, The Hague, 1957, pp.268–273.

[2] Hofstee, *op. cit.*, p. 334

It was for this same reason that the survey by Tonckens and Abma considered that only villages of at least one thousand inhabitants would be viable in the future.

If this is so in Holland, we may well inquire whether it is sound policy here in Ireland to try to provide recreational and adequate social and cultural facilities in every small village. As far as recreation is concerned there is some evidence to show that it plays a more important part in the life of the countryman here than it does in Holland. J. M. Mogey in his *Rural Life in Northern Ireland* speaks of young and old 'travelling long distances to entertainment' [1] and refers particularly to the attraction of the cinema for country people.[2] But in Ireland, as in Holland, it would seem that the real need in the country areas is for social and cultural amenities. It is not so much a need for any specific amenity anywhere as for the general social life that goes hand in hand with a sufficient number of people. Unless the people, particularly the younger folk, are there in sufficient numbers to use it in a way that satisfies them, a parish hall and the functions which take place in it are of little use in stemming the drift from the countryside.

For this reason, it would appear that many of our efforts to provide amenities in very small places are useless. We have noted that, according to the Dutch surveys, a minimum population of one thousand is necessary in a village centre (and immediate neighbourhood) before an adequate social life can be made possible. How many Irish villages have such a population? Take again the case of County Limerick. According to the 1956 Census, out of fifty-one towns and villages in the county

4 have a population of 1,000 and over
9 have between 200 and 500
19 have between 500 and 1,000
19 have less than 200, some even less than 100

The hard fact, therefore, confronts us that our existing policies are insufficient and that, unless a new and bold approach is made to the matter a great number of such villages is very probably destined to disappear altogether.

A NEW APPROACH: RURBANISATION

In our opinion, paradoxical though it may seem, the only way in which the population of the rural areas can be conserved is by the development of six or eight towns in every county. Each of these would contain a nucleus of population in its own area and enable a centre equipped with adequate social and cultural facilities to be provided.

Each of them should also provide industrial employment for many people living in the surrounding area within a radius of six or seven miles.

[1] J. M. Mogey, *Rural Life in Northern Ireland*, Oxford, 1947, p. 78
[2] Mogey, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13

Each of them would, in other words, be the social and economic centre of a definite rural area with a sufficient population to make the area *as a whole* viable and thus stem the rural depopulation. Indeed the Report on Emigration recommended the development of such towns, as a counter to the present unbalance in favour of the cities and as a means of increasing the total population of the country by providing employment for the annual natural increase amongst our people.[1] For our part, we see a need for such towns, not so much as a means of increasing our total population, as of preventing a future and more disastrous exodus from the countryside.

Such a system of industrial centres in the country areas was recommended in England as long ago as the 1880's by the Society for Promoting Industrial Villages and the objects of this Society have been carried on by the Town and Country Planning Authority. Again in 1942 the same system was recommended by what was called The Scott Committee. Indeed a Minority Report by a member of this Committee, Professor Dennison, recommended the location of industry anywhere in the countryside that is found feasable.

> While it may be agreed that there are some villages, and some rural areas, which ought to be kept ' unspoilt ' for the sake of amenity, it would indeed be unfortunate if we were to accept as inevitable a general cleavage of interest between town and country . . . . Much of the isolation of rural communities has, of course, been broken down by the development of motor transport, wireless, and the telephone ; and it would be difficult to deny that a great deal of the change has been for the better. In any case, ' for better or worse ', it will continue, and I see no reason why the benefit of economic progress should not be extended to the countryside. Indeed it is by the introduction of some industrial development that there is most hope of the improvement of the social and economic conditions in the countryside, in the future as in the past . . . . Our duty is to foster the ' well-being ' of rural communities, and not to ' preserve ' them. Indeed in our view they can be ' preserved ' only by being ' developed '.

In his *Rural Life in Northern Ireland* Mogey has shown that the relative vigour of certain rural areas there is really due to industrialization. Take, for example, Lisbellaw, Co. Fermanagh. Here we find a small industrial centre whose influence has spread to the surrounding countryside. In the village itself are some twenty-two households of factory workers ; the rest of the workers are recruited from neighbouring rural areas.[2] The same is true in the case of Broughshane, Co. Antrim. This is a larger version of Lisbellaw, containing a woollen factory employing about 230 operatives. Twenty-three per cent. of its households are those of factory workers. The rest of the operatives come in daily from the

[1] Majority Report, p. 15

[2] Mogey, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 seq.

villages and open country round about.[1] Clearly more centres of this type are necessary if the future of rural Ireland is to be ensured. At one period, during the early development of linen manufacture, such centres were widely distributed in East Ulster. This was before advances in linen and cotton manufacture drew them more and more into or towards Belfast. They played a very important role during the famine years. Speaking of this, E. R. R. Green in *The Lagan Valley 1800—1850* says : ' The dispersal of industry throughout the countryside, enabled the smallholder to survive these two terrible years. There were few parts of Ireland whose economy and population were less permanently affected by the famine '.[2]

Mogey admits, however, that the present-day small industrial centres in the North need a greater social and cultural life. They are too small as they are to provide this adequately. Hence our proposal that over rural Ireland as a whole there should be scattered a number of fairly large centres in which people who continue to live in surrounding rural areas can find employment as well as opportunities for a satisfactory social and cultural life. Note well that we speak of people finding employment in these towns while continuing to live in surrounding rural areas and villages. This system, which is known as ' rurbanization ', is made possible today by the availability of modern methods of transport (bus, motor-cycle, etc). In this way commuting is made easy between the large centre and its immediate hinterland.

We have examples of this in Britain, America and the Continent. A recent survey from Belgium has shown that great numbers of people travel daily to work in Charleroi from the entire region between the Sambre and the Meuse. This survey, by Mademoiselle Jacqueline Huet,[3] is of particular importance to the thesis of the present article. It has shown that thirty-nine per cent. of the inhabitants of the five communes which it has examined travel distances of twelve kilometres and over to work and back each day. They consist principally of the young and the skilled, who are attracted to the larger centres because of better wages there for the skilled, constant employment, more modernized conditions of work ; and also because of personal factors, such as less supervision in large plants or a feeling of superiority deriving from being employed in big enterprises. But the important thing is that they continue to live in the rural villages. Mlle Heut has investigated the reasons for this and has found them to be multiple. They include attachment to one's place of origin, lower rent for houses (in the case of the married), the fact that some members of a man's family may have jobs locally (for example, the wife), preference for a

[1] Mogey, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 seq.

[2] E. R. R. Green, *The Lagan Valley 1800–1850*, London, 1949, pp. 146–147

[3] Jacqueline Huet, *Etude de migrations journalières de travailleurs en règion rurale*, Ecole Sociale de Namur, 1956

house in the country (a factor which weighed with very many of the people questioned), the fact that parents may still be living in the country, actual ownership of a house in a country village, a generally more economical way of life in the country and, lastly, reasons of health.

It would seem that some kind of rurbanization is necessary in Ireland if the countryside is to be saved from depopulation. We do not pretend that it is the ideal solution ; far from it. But it does seem necessary if we are to be realistic and face facts. Undoubtedly it will raise problems of its own, ecclesiastical problems relating to parochial divisions and the distribution of churches and clergy, and social problems arising from the mixing of agricultural and industrial people. But such problems are by no means insuperable. At present the main need is for a *New Rural Policy* both on the part of the Government and of voluntary associations. Surely it is not too much to ask the Government to embark on a sincere and determined effort to secure decentralization of industry by encouraging projects in country towns. Though there are great difficulties, one cannot believe that everything possible in this line has been tried. But the main effort must be made at the local level, in particular by Local and Regional Development Councils. Already one is heartened by the appearance of one or two of these, but they are needed in quantity throughout the entire country. Their first task must be the preparation of careful economic development surveys, covering the industrial potentialities of the regions in question and the optimum location of new industries. It seems more than likely that much development is possible in the domain of processing agricultural produce. And as the Dutch have done for their strawboard, fruit and sugar factories, why not finance this development by co-operative effort ?

It seems to us that organizations like Muintir na Tire should take a leading part in all this work. If Muintir na Tire were to do this, it might be asked by some whether it was departing from the ideals of a rural Ireland for which it has stood and for which Canon Hayes laboured so hard for so many years ? But the answer, of course, is assuredly not. Rural life has undergone many changes in the course of history. The medieval village was different from the primitive village ; the village of today is different from the medieval. So too the rural village of the future must be different from the village of today. ' Any attempt to preserve our nostalgic conception of " The Village " is not likely to succeed ', says Cecil Stewart in his book *The Village Surveyed.*[1] And he continues : ' The village is always changing, and will continue to change as long as there is life in it at all '.

We may conclude with a plea for realism in our approach to the problems of rural Ireland. And we cannot do better than reproduce an

[1] Cecil Stewart, *The Village Surveyed,* London, 1948, p. 110

extract from a recent address by the Bishop of Clonfert, Most Rev. Dr Philbin. He is reported to have said that

> the Irish were regarded abroad as a people who spent much of their talents in making themselves bright and engaging company. Nobody was surprised that we were classed among the under-developed nations of Europe ; nobody expected us to be a force in the industrial world. It must be recognized that we have played up to this picture of ourselves. Our own writers have gained currency for the notion that we live in a Celtic twilight, that we are dreamy and unpractical people remote from the realities of the present day. It was important to consider where we stood in this connection. Even though we believed that there were higher and better things in life than the material and the mechanical, it did not follow that these might be neglected. We live in a mechanical and scientific age and the community that failed to come to terms with the age in which it lived would shortly be subsisting on a primitive economy. By the highest standards this might not in itself be a disaster, but it would inevitably entail the disastrous loss to the nation of many of its most adventurous citizens, who would seek elsewhere the higher rewards that more advanced economies could afford.[1]

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The comments which follow were written on the invitation of the Editor of STUDIES.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

I.—*by* MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

Six years ago a group of us produced for the Nuffield Foundation a report on *The Farming Life*. In it we compared life in town and country in Britain today in terms of work, of pay, of personal and community relations, and of services in the home and the district, to find out what needed to be done to keep the countryman at least on a level with the townsman. His life is different from the townsman's. He does better in some ways and worse in others. The problem was to keep the balance even on the whole.

We found ourselves forced to the same conclusion as Dr Newman : and we needed little forcing, for a whole series of recent studies pointed that way. There was one by Dr Orwin of North Oxfordshire, another excellent one by the West Midland Group on Herefordshire, and one

[1] *Irish Independent*, 4 February 1958

by Dr Bracey on Wiltshire, a couple on Devonshire, and a whole string of more specialized enquiries into the location of industry and other related matters. What they pointed to is what Dr Newman has said : so I will only dot the i's and cross the t's of his article.

First, we must accept that the number of people actually cultivating the land will fall in most places, often absolutely, and always as a proportion of the population of the country as a whole. When a man's income doubles he does not grow two stomachs : as the national income rises the demand for farm produce does not rise in proportion. And technical progress makes sheer manpower less and less necessary for growing that produce.

Secondly, this need not mean a fall in the rural population if industry is at hand in convenient centres. These centres need not be large ; business can do very well in market towns and large villages. But business men often have to be kicked hard before they will realize this. It took the bombs of the second World War, and the iron bureaucracy of the Board of Trade afterwards, to get industry to some of the small towns in rural Wales. But once there it did well enough. If anyone wants to follow this up, let him get in touch with my colleague Professor Beacham at Aberystwyth.

Thirdly, even industry will not save the situation unless the pattern of social relations in the countryside is fitted to modern needs on the lines Dr Newman suggests. You must think in units big enough to provide a football team or a dramatic society or reasonable classes in school : and there must be adequate local shops and services, and the bigger and better ones needed (Ireland is far behind on this) in the market or county town.

Reorganizing the social life of a district round the bigger centres does *not* mean doing away with the small existing centres, unless very slowly and piecemeal. Often their people will fight to the death against leaving them. And usually there is no reason for them to leave. What is needed is, as Dr Newman says, to give up the attempt to make each little parish sufficient unto itself. Also, as he does not say loudly enough, to speed up the revolution in rural communications so as to let people get around the bigger areas over which social life needs to be organized, and in to the new centres. Let there be a telephone in every kitchen. The poles for the electricity are there already : you have only to string the line. And presently—let there be a car at every farmworker's as well as every farmer's door. And let his wife be driving that car, and his children as they grow up. It is they who need it, nine times out of ten, not the man of the house.

'Rurbanization' has a sinister sound. But it need not mean swamping the culture of the countryside or turning it into a cheap

edition of a Dublin suburb. The cultures of town and country are different, and will remain so. But they are converging in many ways, and this makes it easier than a generation or two ago to marry the two together. The countryman comes to expect urban facilities in his home, easy access to the commercial and social services of the town, and as good a schooling for his children and as varied a chance in life as the town can offer. He operates a battery of machines, and he thinks more widely and less in terms of his parish alone. Meantime, town planners and educators and management experts are hard at work selling to the townsman the things most characteristic of rural life : small working groups and varied work : personal relations at work ; organization of the neighbourhood and community on lines that bring people together ; the chance of sport and the open air and of cultivating the land. It is still not easy to put town and country culture into one place without one destroying the other. But I believe that with the right handling it can now be done.

Only who is to be the go-between in this marriage of town and country ? From British experience I am sure that the job needs to be done first of all at the regional, that is the provincial level. Let the public authorities and the business and farming and labour interests of each province group themselves together into a Development Council, perhaps around the provincial university. At that level it is possible to bring together enough breadth of vision and technical skill and financial backing to make effective leadership possible : yet also to stay close enough to the problems to see them in their detail. But though leadership should come first from the provincial level, it cannot come only from there. To re-locate industry, for instance, often means moving it across provincial boundaries, and that is a job for the national government. The national government, though it may put on velvet gloves if it likes, does not need to be afraid to keep an iron fist inside them. There is often a wall of prejudice between a business man and serious consideration of an unfamiliar site, and you do not knock down walls with a velvet glove.

Locally, it is most important that the farmers' or adult education movements or Muintir na Tire should take an active part in re-thinking the social structure of each district, for it is only through them that the people as a whole can be interested and brought to welcome and help in controlling the change. One of the clearest lessons of British experience, brought out particularly in the studies of Devonshire by Curle and Mitchell, is that the marriage of town and country can be happy and fruitful only in what they call the ' open and integrated ' community. They mean the community that is open and welcoming to new ideas and new faces, and yet keeps its identity : the community that has common standards, adapts without perverting them, and so remains

a true community with its own culture and personality, the master of its own destiny in spite of change. Such a community can be built only on the double foundation of sound and prolonged education and of long experience by its members in facing and solving problems together. And it is with the social movements that the responsibility for organizing this education and experience lies.

2—*by* H. E. BRACEY

Some countries have lived with rural depopulation so long that not only have they grown to accept it as a natural corollary of industrial development but they have come to regard it as particularly their own problem. But one of the main lessons to be learnt from the recent Congress of the European Society for Rural Sociology, which took as its main theme 'Rural Migration,' was that the problem of rural depopulation is universal. The United Kingdom and Ireland have experienced it from the beginning of the nineteenth century, it has been present in the United States for much of this century and today is a feature of the new China. Professor Newman has referred to some of the studies which have been made in this field. In a recent article in *Rural Sociology* I draw attention to others.[1]

In England and Wales, rural depopulation is sometimes masked by the use of rural district council instead of parish populations. Most rural districts contain at least one sizable town many of whose sometime residents, aided by present-day mobility, will have spilled over into adjacent rural parishes. In many cases this urban overspill cancels out the population losses of the rest of the district. In fact, villages suffering continued depopulation occur in groups or 'pockets' which ignore statutory boundaries but are usually relatively remote from towns.

The precise influence of the provision of village amenities and organizations on rural depopulation has not yet been satisfactorily demonstrated. An examination I carried out in Somerset on a county basis was far from conclusive.[2] For instance, although the number of services and organizations were shown to be lower in areas of declining population, for each group of services there were some parishes in areas of increasing population which had similar or lower provision. There are a number of important facts relative to this situation however. Firstly, as in Ireland, villages in areas of declining population tend to be much smaller than those where it is increasing ; the median parish

[1] H. E. Bracey, *Rural Sociology*, 'Rural Migration,' to be published, Autumn 1958.

[2] H. E. Bracey, 'A Note on Rural Depopulation and Social Provision', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, New Series, July 1958.

population figures for Somerset were 301 and 890 for declining and increasing population areas, respectively. Secondly, because villages in areas of declining population are usually relatively remote from towns or large villages, many desirable services and amenities cannot be supplemented easily. Thirdly, depopulation operating over a long period tends to produce a cumulative deterioration in the provision of many services. Fewer people need fewer shops, fewer craftsmen and fewer buses and this in turn leads to fewer people who need fewer services, etc. Ultimately the attractiveness of the area as a place to live in may dwindle substantially.

I would agree with Saville and Newman that the concentration of people in ever-larger villages simplifies provision of services. I would add that partly for this reason it is whole-heartedly approved by planning officers, county administrators and the people who lay drains—although other factors also operate, of course. But many people are prepared to pay for the privilege of living in smaller groups either by way of increased costs, by enduring some lack of provision or by making alternative arrangements themselves. For example, tradesmen's van deliveries are, for them, adequate substitutes for the absence of local shops, while the increased personal mobility conveyed by the private motor car and motor cycle gives them the opportunity of making and sustaining selective social contacts beyond the confines of the local village or parish community.

The new mobility is also important relative to the provision of increased industrial activity for rural workers referred to by Professor Newman. An increasing number of working-class commutors have joined the professional workers who pioneered the process when the steam train made country living compatible with town working. We learn that more than forty per cent of the employees of a Norfolk factory live outside the town and that twenty per cent of a Yorkshire factory travelled daily from villages up to five miles away.[1] Beacham gives eighty per cent of the 400 employees of a firm in a Welsh country town as having been agricultural workers formerly. The increase in commuting shows that *within certain limits* people are prepared to travel longer distances to work than was customary years ago. Nevertheless, Jay has found that in East Sussex 97% of all workers involved in daily travel lived within half-an-hour of their work.[2] Luttrell tells us that convenience as given by public transport timing and frequency is also relevant.[3]

In connection with the siting of new industries in country towns in order to combat rural depopulation, it is well to recognize the existence

[1] W. P. Baker, *The English Village* (1953), p. 54.
[2] L. S. Jay, East Sussex Development Plan (1953), pp. 20-21.
[3] Luttrell, *The Cost of Industrial Movement* (1952), p. 86.

of employment orbits whose boundaries depend very largely, in Great Britain, and one would presume in Ireland also, on the comprehensiveness of the local public transport system. Improvements in accessibility at, say, 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. by public transport services tend to widen the employment orbit. Big towns have better local bus and train services and therefore draw on larger rural areas and larger populations to staff their factories and offices. Without Government direction employers are reluctant for these and other reasons to set up business in small centres like country towns and the policy of decentralization of industry in the United Kingdom has not fully been realized. Indeed, some of the war-time decentralized factories in country towns have closed or drastically reduced their activities—actions which have been made easier by the mobility of modern industrial plant when redeployment elsewhere has seemed advantageous.

I agree that it would be desirable that country towns should be 'social and economic centres' for rural areas, as advocated by Professor Newman. Several years ago I went further than this and suggested a method whereby territories with community of interest, which I termed 'median' areas, could and should be identified as a first step towards this kind of development.[1] I think that such development will not easily be achieved in Ireland or anywhere else. Large towns with country service areas and connections can clearly be so developed to give a sufficient variety of employment and leisure opportunity if there is suitable encouragement from appropriate 'pressure' groups such as the Government, trade unions, chief voluntary societies and so on. Smaller country towns might similarly be developed where they occur in groups close enough to each other so that a single rural-urban neighbourhood can develop, with a transport system which will permit relatively free movement for work and leisure between the various towns and villages.

In his final paragraph Professor Newman draws attention to the ever-changing nature of the rural way of life. I find that my comments are all in some way or another related to the newest factor in this history of change which I have called the new mobility. The most exciting and at the same time frightening aspect of the change is the *rate* of change which has been increasing phenomenally during the last decade. Perhaps the time to settle the problem of rural depopulation satisfactorily is now or not at all, at least as far as western civilized countries are concerned. It is clear that a fundamental change in the relationship between town and country is being wrought by the motor bus and the motor-bicycle—a change which is often resented by elderly but invariably welcomed by younger country people. Space prevents one leading on

[1] H. E. Bracey, Social Provision in Rural Wiltshire (1952), pp. 104-115.

to this fascinating aspect of the inter-relation of the new mobility and rural migration.

3—*by* P. J. MEGHEN

I have read this article with great interest and I consider that it is a valuable contribution to our study of the problems of Rural Ireland. As a member of the Commission on Emigration, I think that Dr Newman is a bit hard on the Commission for not devoting more space to this particular aspect in the Report. The members of the Commission were fully aware of the gravity of the problem and made a number of recommendations which were designed to improve the position. Unfortunately most of these have not been implemented.

Meanwhile the exodus from the rural areas continues and we must continue our search for remedies. Dr Newman's advocacy of 'Rurbanization' is an interesting variation on the usual theme. There is no doubt that reliance on intensified agricultural production alone will not solve the problem. The Commission on Emigration estimated in 1952 that it would take an increase of 50% in the agriculture output to maintain the *existing* population on the land (Report Par. 472). The '*Economic Survey of Northern Ireland*' by Isles and Cuthbert (published in 1957) showed that the number of full-time workers in agriculture in that area decreased between 1945 and 1954 by about 19,000 men and the number of part-time male workers decreased by 5,000 in the same period. They say: 'A major factor causing this decline has almost certainly been the increasing mechanisation of both arable and grassland farming.' And they rather pessimistically conclude: 'It may be possible over a period so to increase agricultural productivity (and therefore average income) that more people will be induced to seek a living in agriculture. But the problem so far as the near future is concerned is so to increase productivity and so to modify the nature of the production that those people who are already engaged will continue to find profitable employment there.'

We have therefore, North and South, to face this problem of a declining rural population. Dr Newman's suggestion of a planned approach to the development of a reasonable number of centres in the rural area, where suitable industries would provide employment and where the social and cultural amenities would encourage workers to remain, seems worthy of further consideration. There are some aspects of this matter which have been discussed in Britain. The following extract from '*The Land of Britain*' by Dr Dudley Stamp is of interest in this connection.

> As the Scott Report showed, the location of the factory in the open country-side is incompatible with the interests and desires of the majority of the work-people who are used to and like the amenities of a town. It may seem at first sight that the establishment of a factory would give diversity to the interests of a village and extend village interests. But the average English village of 400 to 500 inhabitants would be seriously overbalanced by the construction of a small factory, even one employing only 50 workers and representing with dependants probably 200 to 250 persons. There would be the danger in times of depression of such a single factory in a village being closed down with resulting unemployment ; a danger only to be avoided if half a dozen were constructed. Simple arithmetic, therefore, will show that a small village will grow into a town of 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants. Hence we are forced to the general conclusion that the town, small or large, is the right location for industry. It is recognised that many of the small, old and sometimes decaying market towns can and should benefit by the infusion of new life with the establishment of a new industry. In other directions the case may be made out for the construction of a wholly new town, whilst in other cases the right location is probably one of the larger older towns from which industry has tended to depart (p. 428).

Where are we to get the initiative in a drive for this type of planning ? The Town and Country Planning Acts in this country do not provide for any real activity on the part of County Councils. The Undeveloped Areas Act 1952 could provide the solution in part, if its provisions were not rigidly confined to the congested areas. The powers of An Foras Tionscal under this Act are fairly wide and would enable them to build small factories in selected centres and offer inducements to manufacturers to move to provincial centres. Perhaps a new approach may now be made with the lifting of restrictions on capital investment.

Meanwhile in Muintir na Tire we believe that much can be done by local effort and we have sponsored a social and economic survey of County Limerick. We have sought the assistance of rural sociologists in the Netherlands and in U.S.A., and we have been assured of their advice and guidance. We are also relying on advice and counsel from Dr Newman in this matter. During the next twelve months we hope to bring together the information on which a sound development plan for the county can be built.

The Spread of the Idea of Europe

by JOHN MURRAY

THIS article has been suggested by a book published last year, *Europe and the Europeans*[1]. It was not a straightforward account of one subject but a closely packed report of two Round Table conferences, prepared at the request of the Council of Europe. To anyone conversant with the efforts made during the past twelve years to bring the European countries into closer association it will be most interesting and valuable, if not always very conclusive ; to the novice it may well appear somewhat confusing. There is so much condensation ; so many theories are discussed and debated ; and the report passes rapidly from difficulty to answer and from additional comment to central text. Further, the book does not simply state the case for Europe and Europeans ; it considers it from different angles, not least those of its critics and adversaries.

None the less—or even because of these incidental qualities—it is an important book. So much is clear from the names of those who took part in the first of the two conferences, at Rome in 1953. These comprised Signor de Gasperi, M Robert Schuman, Dr Eelco van Kleffens, Dr Eugen Kogon, Dr Einar Lofstedt and Professor Arnold Toynbee, under the chairmanship of Denis de Rougemont. The conference was also attended by fifteen ' publicists ', nominated by their respective governments. The second conference, at Strasbourg in 1956, included names like those of Gabriel Marcel, Ernst Friedländer, Seán O'Faolain and M. J. Havet. The value of the book is also evident from the fact that it brings home to readers of English what very many Europeans are thinking to-day about European integration and shows incidentally the measures already adopted to lead to that ultimate objective.

BUT WHAT IS EUROPE ?

An early section proposes the well-known and always fascinating question : what precisely is Europe ? And who are these Europeans ? It is one of the questions to which we all imagine we can give the answer but, in examination language, it is remarkably difficult to give reasons for that answer. Lecturing on the subject I have usually argued that Europeans are people with a special way of thought and life, and that

[1] By Max Beloff, with an introduction by Denis de Rougemont. London : Chatto and Windus. 1957. 25s.

the main factor in this European uniqueness was their experience during the Middle Ages of the formative guidance and spirit of the Church. If I am tempted to exclude Russia, it is on the grounds that, because of the Tartar invasions, the Russians missed this medieval experience, though there had been strong links between Kiev and Byzantium and determined efforts since the seventeenth century to Europeanize Russia. Professor Toynbee went much further when he stated :

> The Europe with which we are concerned is not the geographers' conventional continent . . . When we speak of ' Europeans ' we really mean, I believe, those inhabitants of the North Western peninsula of the Old World, and of the adjacent islands, who are ecclesiastical subjects or ex-subjects of the Patriarchate of Rome : in other words we mean those Catholic and Protestant Christians who live in this North-Western corner of the Old World.

This judgment emphasizes what I have maintained above, the influence of the Catholic Church in the formation of Europe. But it narrows the conception unduly to what is little more than the six countries which are ' little ' or ' nuclear ' Europe with their Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian fringe. Toynbee, it is true, when challenged, was ready to include ' other inhabitants of adjacent parts of the Old World who, in modern times, have adopted the secular civilization of Western Europe without having adopted West European religion,' including among others, Serbs, Greeks, Bulgars, Roumanians and Turks. I must admit that any theory which has to bring the Greeks into European culture through some back door must be highly suspect. If the Greeks are conspicuously European, it is not because they have assimilated Western secular manners but because of their own immense contribution to European life and thought : without them, that thought might never have existed. And in addition, they did have experience of a Church, one and undivided, before the Eastern break with Rome. And as for the Turks—how can they be admitted except as courtesy members ? If Islam did play any part in the development of Europe other than that of a challenge from outside, this was due to the Arabs, not the Turks. Finally, what answer does one offer to the pertinent question, ' Are Americans also Europeans ? '. They are, in the main, descendants of Europeans and heirs to much of its culture. There is a genuine sense in which the Americas, both North and South—and the South maybe even more so than the North—are the New Europe. But, for the sake of clarity, we shall not discuss this further and keep the name of European for the Old World.

The Polish historian, Oscar Halecki, proposes a different division. In his opinion, we ought to speak of the classical civilization as Mediterranean and submit that it came to an end with the victories of

Islam in the eighth century. The Dark Ages follow, and it is only in the eleventh century that we have European history proper.[1]

With regard to Russia, Dr von Kleffens joined Toynbee in keeping Russia outside Europe. The Tartar domination, in his opinion, meant that Russia was not directly affected by the Renaissance (I have said earlier, ' by the experience of medieval Christendom '). By his marriage with a Byzantine princess Ivan III definitely aligned himself with the absolutism of Constantinople. The subsequent infiltration of European habits and ideas after the seventeenth century was only superficial and influenced a small percentage only of the Russians, as is shown by the deep cleavages in Russian thinking throughout the nineteenth century. Other speakers added that by adopting Marxism as its official creed and allying this with the Russian tradition of despotic rule, modern Russia has made it abundantly evident that she does not belong—and does not wish to belong—to Europe.

This final conclusion seems to force itself upon us, though it should be remembered that Marxism, unfortunately, is a creed that developed in Europe and that closer contact with Communist China may awaken some more European sentiments among the Russians. Professor Barraclough makes a good point here in treating of relations between Russia and more obviously European countries. ' Differences necessarily there are : but they may be—and in my view they were—differences in one common civilization. One has only to compare Russia with China or India to see that it belongs to the European family. In fact we can say with a great deal of truth that Russia's position on the Asiastic ' march ' or frontier of Europe, and (arising therefrom) the sense of differentiation from the peoples who swept across the steppe from Asia, was, over centuries, a factor cementing Russia's attachment to Europe.' In other words, the Russian experience of the Tartars made them all the more conscious of what was specificially Asiatic and therefore different from and antagonistic to themselves. This interpretation is supported also by the fact that it was their Christian faith which held the Russians together under the Tartars, and the further fact that the Russian penetration of North Eastern Asia was from West to East.

Throughout, the Rome conference stressed the significance of Europe's medieval unity in the faith. Toynbee is not so far removed from Belloc's famous dictum that ' Europe is the faith, and the faith Europe ' when he declares that ' the wider and higher loyalty to the Western Christian

[1] The report quotes Professor Barraclough's *History in a Changing World* to similar effect. The author is outlining periods for the study of European history. ' First the pre-history of the European peoples, when they were only on the fringe of historical knowledge and written records, extending to A.D. 800 or 900 ; then the period of the formation of the European societies, falling between 900 and 1300 ; then, if you like, the ' middle Ages " of Europe, which (I think) cover the whole span of 1300 to 1789 ; and finally our modern history.'

Commonwealth as a whole prevailed over local loyalties more often than not. Europe lost her historical unity when, towards the close of the Middle Ages, local loyalties came to prevail over the loyalty to the Western Christian Commonwealth as a whole.' But this larger loyalty was a matter of common faith and the sense of corporate Christian fellowship rather than of political allegiance to an Emperor, more often than not immersed in directly German concerns. The concept was, in the main, a spiritual concept.

The Church's influence on medieval culture was also strongly underlined during these Roman discussions. The Church was seen as the one channel through which the heritage of the classics—in literature and philosophy—could be transmitted and the one strong fortress of moral and mental values in a society always near the fringe of violence. Its monasteries and schools were the centres of education, and it produced our universities. It was both the patron of the fine arts and the framer of codes of law, and the general use of Latin for administration provided an element of cohesion of the highest significance. This fluid interrelation of teachers, scholars and administrators was possibly the Church's most positive contribution to the growth of a medieval and universal culture. 'The *jus ubique docendi* of the teachers—the report remarks—permitted a mutual readjustment of doctrines professed at centres at a great distance from each other. It was only the creation of nation-States and the new accent on national systems of education together with the abolition of Latin as the language of instruction that put a stop to the free flow of teachers and students in this all-important field.'

The changes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gradually altered the content and character of this European culture. Its roots remained religious ; its surface was now secular. Toynbee switches from the *scholastici* of the Middle Ages to the *philosophes* of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries as the pioneers of the new secularized culture. If he had to name one man responsible for European culture to-day, that man would be Pierre Bayle, whose *Dictionnaire* had been the cell from which modern Europe had emerged. Finally, with the French Revolution we have reached the identification of State with nation and the new and dangerous loyalty to a national *mystique* which replaced the more personal allegiance to monarchies. The report does not, I fancy, mention the strong and equally dangerous influence of German philosophy and German historical writing on the growth of the all-powerful and exclusive nation-state.

OTHER PERTINENT FACTORS

So much for historical retrospect. In discussing economic questions the report moves very cautiously. Is there a form of economy peculiar to and necessary for Europe? Do economic factors call for European

unity? To these queries the reply is on the whole negative. Prior to 1939, it might have been possible to speak of a natural economic balance between an industrialized West and a more agricultural East but this pattern is being rapidly altered through Communist occupation with its insistence upon heavy industry. Yet even then, Europe depended for much of its raw material on overseas lands. That dependence in Western Europe is now more marked in spite of the new possibilities opened up by the Common Market due to be inaugurated in 1959.

Economically as politically, the European picture is one of a certain unity within a wide and rich diversity. Some interesting differences are registered: between nations sympathetic to 'planning' like the Germans, British, Dutch and Scandinavians and others averse to it, chiefly the Latins; or between Germans and Swedes with their enthusiastic welcome for new technical methods and the British, French and Spaniards who for various reasons are suspicious of them; or with reference to general economic outlook. The report does not endorse Max Weber's well-known association of *laissez faire* with Protestantism; there was little *laissez faire* in Calvin's Geneva, there has always been a great deal of it in Catholic Spain and Italy. Nor did it accept the contention that Catholics are less scrupulous in some of their civic obligations, for instance the payment of taxes, than are Protestants. It was pointed out that experience in Belgium suggested that tax evasion was a 'racial' rather than a 'religious' matter. The Latins appear more prone to it than the Teutons. At least the French-speaking Protestants in Belgium are far less honest in this respect than the Flemish-speaking Catholics.

On the political plane, the report warns us to avoid glib judgments based upon democracy as a European institution. It is unwise to imagine that democracy in itself is moving towards closer European integration. Indeed, it was nineteenth century democracy, which identified the nation no longer with the ruler's policy but with the popular will, which heightened the sentiment of nationalism and bedevilled the continent with total war. To-day, the leaders in most European countries are well in advance of their peoples in thinking of European collaboration and eventual unity. Nor must we forget—here comes a second warning—that European history has many ugly pages.

> European history is nothing to be proud of. It consists largely of Europeans killing each other for allegedly idealistic motives. The Protestant Reformation plunged Europe into an orgy of war and massacre which lasted for nearly a century and a half. Europe had scarcely recovered when the even bloodier but mercifully shorter wars launched by the explosive force of the French Revolution burst upon the world. Greed for political and economic power combined with the demands of submerged nationalities wrecked the old Europe beyond repair in

> the holocaust of 1914-19. Totalitarianism in all its forms was born in the trenches of those fatal years.

The advocates of a more united Europe are well aware of this tragic inheritance. It is the main motive force that directs their efforts. The day of the nation-state—this is their central argument—has passed in Europe, though it seems to be dawning in further Asia and in Africa. Whatever contribution the nation-state may have made in Europe to the prosperity and welfare of its citizens, this has been achieved at too frightful a cost. Europe's future has to be sought in integration.

THE CULTURAL FACTOR

Unity amid rich diversity—this again is the characteristic of European culture. There are national schools of painting and national music but mutual penetration and influence are very obvious. Science, in the proper meaning of the word, not only originated in Europe ; it remained almost wholly European till the twentieth century when the Americas, and especially the United States, started to play an important rôle. From 1901 to 1914 there were two Nobel prize winners from Russia, two from the United States and 45 from the rest of Europe. Between 1914 and 1955 the Americans won 39 awards to the Europeans' 94. As a rule, scientists have been quick to appreciate the work of colleagues in other countries and have transcended national limits more easily than the artists and, possibly, the philosophers. Here the report pays a tribute to the influence of the Church in advancing science—surprising no doubt to those who are continually stressing the conflict between science and religion and who argue that the scientific spirit is inevitably that of religious disbelief or at least agnosticism. To the question, ' why science originated in Europe '—it declares—part of the answer must be found in the nature of Europe's religious beliefs. Christianity, unlike some Eastern religions, did not dismiss matter as illusion ; in Christian eyes matter, though inferior, was as real as spirit. It was therefore a fit subject for research and interpretation. ' Christianity may, then, have been the *necessary basis* for the evolution of science in Europe, and in Europe alone.' And it continues :

> The fact remains that the experimental method was conceived and flourished in Europe, and not least in countries where the hold of Christianity was strongest. And, perhaps, no more can be said in explanation than that without this method there could be no science, that as a matter of historic fact it arose in Europe, and that only in Europe, thanks to the prevailing religion, could this method have arisen.

It was asked whether Europeans to-day were not too divided in their general outlook to allow for closer approximation. For example,

you had the cleavage between Marxists and their opponents, to which it could be answered that the Marxist hold upon Eastern Europe is one of force, not conviction, and that generally in Western Europe Marxism is in evident decline since 1945. Did a similar cleavage between Continental philosophy and the Neo-Positivism of Britain and America preclude a common approach to problems? Not necessarily, since the current linguistic analysis of Britain was rapidly changing and in any case European thought has continually oscillated between positivism and metaphysics. What was more alarming was the contempt manifested by Marxists and Neo-Positivists for the *philosophia perennis,* which shows that the dividing line is drawn not between different schools of philosophy but between those who do and those who will not accept philosophy in the traditional sense. The Strasbourg conference considered the thesis that the only refuge from these disruptive trends in modern thinking was a philosophical approach connected with Christianity, understood in its widest sense. A wholly secular philosophy would not be strong enough to resist the Communist onslaught. The hopes of eighteenth century thinkers of the Enlightenment and nineteenth century Hegelians had proved vain. Quite what this ' Christianity taken in its widest sense ' actually meant at Strasbourg, I am not absolutely sure, but it would be safe to interpret it as the philosophy of man and human thought and action that underlies the Catholic outlook—a philosophy of absolute values and spiritual interpretation.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SINCE 1945

The second portion of Professor Beloff's book is concerned with the immediate past and the near future. He speaks of a political, an economic, a scientific and a cultural task. With the two last items I shall not deal except to mention the importance of closer personal and technical links between different countries. Science and culture lead them readily to agreement and mutual appreciation. Of the economic aspect I shall say very little, and that, for the sake of conciseness, within the ambit of the political.

The notion of a United States or at least a federated State of Europe is not new. It was proposed and discussed by thinkers like the Abbé de St Pierre and Kant in the eighteenth century. It was brought forward by M. Briand at the League of Nations in 1929. The League of course envisaged co-operation between countries which continued, none the less, to retain full sovereignty. The difference between these pre-war and some of the post-war projects has been that men have come to realize in Western Europe that they have to go beyond the limits of the nation-state and that this will involve some loss of national sovereignty and eventually a measure of common government.

This was implicit in the Treaty of Brussels, signed in 1948 between Britain, France and the three Benelux powers—Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. In the House of Commons, Mr Ernest Bevin declared on 22 January of that year that ' the conception of the unity of Europe and the preservation of Europe as the heart of Western civilization ' had been accepted by a great number of people. He added that the treaty was not an end in itself. ' We have to go beyond the circle of our immediate neighbours. We shall have to consider the question of associating other historic members of European civilization, including the new Italy, in this conception.' The Brussels Pact developed eventually into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as the Western shield of defence against Communist aggression. Here you have close collaboration and common administration even if as yet no technical pooling of national sovereignty, and NATO is of course more extensive than Western Europe since it embraces the United States and Canada and powers like Greece and Turkey.

In the meantime, the cause of European integration has been served, on the economic level, by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation—an organization of which the Republic of Ireland is a member—and its subsidiary European Payments Union. It has also been greatly facilitated, first by the growth of many private groups and societies, then by the great Hague congress of 1948, one result of which was the setting-up of the European Assembly in Strasbourg. It was hoped that this assembly would function as a European Parliament. It has not yet reached that status, and maybe it never will. None the less, it has provided a valuable forum for international discussion, whose debates have frequently reached a remarkably high level.

THREE LINES OF EFFORT

1950 saw the birth of three bold projects which cut across the lines of this earlier development. One has been implemented with considerable success ; one was a casualty almost at the moment of its realization ; the third has been placed in cold storage because of the failure of the second.

The first of these was known originally as the Schuman Plan, which has resulted in the European Coal and Steel Community. It was a revolutionary plan, involving nothing less than the pooling of the coal, iron and steel resources of France and Germany. M. Schuman introduced the measure with his eye upon its European consequences. It should ' provide immediately for the setting-up of common foundations for economic development *as a first step in the federation of Europe.*' It would make it plain that ' *any war between France and Germany becomes, not merely unthinkable, but actually impossible.*' The proposal, if accepted by Germany and other countries, ' *will build the first concrete foundations of the European*

federation which is indispensable in the preservation of peace.' Here we may briefly note two important facts : the first, the genuine efforts made by men like M. Schuman and Dr Adenauer, in France and Germany, and by Signor de Gasperi in Italy, to bring about closer integration in Western Europe with the ultimate intention of federation ; the second, that the joint economic project is designed to lead ultimately to political union. When the Coal and Steel Community was inaugurated in 1952, it possessed a political structure of its own, consisting of a High Authority, of nine members ; a Council of Ministers ; and an *Assemblée Commune*. M. Jean Monnet, President of the High Authority, spoke of its ' federal character ' and Dr Adenauer, the first chairman of the Council of Ministers, said to the assembly : ' You are the first sovereign Parliament in Europe, built on a supra-national basis. Our Council is an organic element inserted in the new supra-national European Community.'

If the first of these three projects has proved a conspicuous success, the second unfortunately came to grief. This was the Pleven Plan for a European Defence Community or common army for Western Europe. It too was first adumbrated in 1950 and was emended and re-emended in the next two to three years. Eventually, it was accepted by five of the six countries in question—Western Germany, Italy and the Benelux powers—but finally rejected by the French Chambre in 1954. This rejection was a heavy blow for the ' Europeans ' ; it might have ruined the post-war hopes of Western Germany, had not Germany been made a member of NATO—the only alternative solution that was practicable but which meant an abandonment of the European army.

The failure of the EDC meant that project No. 3—a scheme for political federation—could not be proceeded with for the time being. The *Assemblée Commune* of the Coal and Steel Community was entrusted with the task of drawing up a scheme for the political federation of the countries of the community. A draft statute was ready half way through 1953 and this, the report remarks, was the high-water mark of the European movement. As has already been observed the political scheme depended upon the ratification of the EDC treaty which, owing to French fears and hesitations was never realized.

STALEMATE AND FURTHER ADVANCE

The French refusal to accept EDC was a severe blow to the movement and might well have wrecked it altogether. There were many who thought at the time that it must inevitably ebb. I myself heard the news on the radio in Germany, when I was with a small group of European-minded Germans, one of them the son of a former minister in a Weimar government. They were annoyed by the French action and apprehensive of its possible repercussions within Germany where

Dr Adenauer had been consistently pursuing a policy of association with France and European integration. It might seriously affect his position. Their fears have proved unfounded for the Christian Democratic Union increased its poll at the general elections of 1953 and 1957 to 45% and more than 50% from the 1949 percentage of 31. The increase was due to general satisfaction with the Chancellor's domestic and economic policy rather than his international efforts but it is clear as it is consoling that the French action had made little or no difference to the attitude of a large number of Germans towards closer co-operation.

Since the military and political lines of progress were blocked, they switched their attention to economics. The Coal and Steel Community was prospering and M. Jean Monnet resigned from his office as President of its High Authority in November, 1954, to be able, as he said, ' to contribute with entire freedom of speech and action to the achievement of European unity '. At the beginning of June 1955, the Foreign Ministers of the six powers met at Messina and decided on a *relance Européenne* through closer economic unification. An intergovernmental committee was set up under the chairmanship of M. Paul Spaak to make plans for a European atomic authority and a Common Market. Their proposals were ready by April 1956, and it was decided to draw up regular treaties on both matters. Discussions continued into 1957 and, as far as the Common Market was in question, into 1958. There were plans for associating Britain with the atomic authority or Euratom and for widening the scope of the Common Market through a free trade area which would embrace the remaining members of OEEC. These two plans have not yet been fully harmonized, chiefly on account of French objections to the free trade area. The Common Market itself will come into effect at the beginning of 1959.

The debates at Rome and Strasbourg which we have been considering revealed a certain confusion of ideas. Europe, we have agreed, involves unity amid rich diversity. Where are you to put your emphasis? How much room must be allowed for the diversity? Terms like ' federation ' and ' integration ' are by no means synonymous. Federation is a reasonably clear conception, that introduces the notion of a central government with wider and higher authority than that of the governments of its component parts, and the spheres of authority of the federal and the subordinate governments have to be worked out very carefully. Integration signifies a movement of countries closer towards one another, with some form of union as the ultimate goal. In these discussions men like M. Schuman and Dr van Kleffens preferred to speak of ' integration '. Their argument was that this was not incompatible with national sovereignty, which obviously cannot continue to exist within a federation. Integration, they maintained, could be brought about through the ' supranational principle '. ' The (European) community—declared

M. Schuman—should be conceived on the supranational principle, a principle entirely different from the international principle.' The idea, it appears, is to detach certain sections of the nation's life and to have them administered not through some *inter*-national agreement but by some *supra*-national authority. The Coal and Steel Community is a case in point. The coal and steel resources of the six countries in question are controlled not by and through their six governments but by an authority on which they are represented yet which they do not directly administer. It is not *under* them, it is *to one side of* them and, within the field of its own competence, is *over* them. The Common Market, one may presume, will be controlled in a similar way. Thus, a common will is created, that is separate from the wills of the participating countries, and from this a common policy emerges, not subject to the vetoes and restrictions of individual governments. This common administration of considerable sections of the life and resources of several countries is to provide an education in common thought and purpose that is intended to prepare the way for eventual political union.

Gerard Manley Hopkins: Piety versus Poetry

by JOHN C. KELLY

MANY readers of Hopkins admire him for reasons that are still, apparently, very confused. Suspicion of this confusion first arises when it is noticed that some of Hopkins's admirers read no other poetry at all, or, at best, show a taste in poetry that has not broadened or grown more exigent since their schooldays. Bridges, who was not the most sensitive of Hopkins's readers, believed that the poems would be a stumbling block to those who loved a ' continuous literary decorum '. He was right. But now one finds many defenders of Hopkins whose ' love of continuous literary decorum ' still prevents them from appreciating any new poetry that is not like the *Ode to a Nightingale*. There surely must be confusion in such an attitude : a confusion that may well be increased by a certain amount of what is still written about Hopkins in which little attention is paid to the poetry and too much to aspects of the verse and its author not bearing directly on the poetry at all. It seems that Catholics, especially if they are defending the poet against some real or supposed slight, are very subject to this confusion. Their remarks tend to be more and more irrelevant to the poetic qualities of Hopkins's verse.

The honest and self-critical admirer of Hopkins must ask himself on what his appreciation is based. Does he admire the poems because they are by a Catholic priest writing about Catholic things or because of their intrinsic value as poetry ? Is his admiration for the poetry confused with his approval of the content of the poems ? Is his insight into the poetic quality of the verse sharpened or blunted by his awareness that this is Catholic poetry : as Catholic as *Piers Plowman* or *The Canterbury Tales* but without the embarrassing bawdiness of Chaucer and Langland ? Perhaps, for him, the piety obscures the poetry ? Perhaps the sharp edge of his attention is applied mainly to the spiritual doctrine so that he fails to see the poetry properly ? In short, does he understand Hopkins as spiritual reading or as poetry ?

A careful reading of Dr Pick's short book,[1] familiarity with the poems and a little effort will ensure a sufficient and satisfactory understanding of what Hopkins is saying. If one is a Catholic the task is still more easy. But if one is satisfied with the surface meaning of Hopkins's poems and pays little or secondary attention to the poetic qualities of his verse, to

[1] *Gerard Manley Hopkins : Priest and Poet* by John Pick. London : 1942.

his sensuous and vivid images, to his mastery of phrase and rhythm it may well happen that, although one may know what he says, one has missed an important part of his meaning. If attention is not given primarily to the poetry in Hopkins much confusion will follow because poetic qualities are never merely an ornament : beautiful but extrinsic to the complete meaning. It may even happen that a reader who pushes the literary approach into the background may give his assent to attitudes and values he would repudiate if he came across them in prose.

Mr Alan Heuser's new book on Hopkins does little to clear up this confusion.[1] The reader interested in Hopkins's poetry will find it a distracting book. The author goes to great pains to illuminate the notion of inscape and its correlative, instress, without adding very much to the satisfactory understanding we already have of these useful terms. It is enough to know that Hopkins was bewitched by the immediate, singular, minute perfection or beauty or selfhood of things and that he sought to convey this in words, rhythms and rhymes. Hopkins, at his best, made his phrases anew to fit his own meticulously accurate observation of phenomena and his gift for phrases was unique. To fix one's attention on this performance, to see what Hopkins achieved, how he achieved it and to enjoy that performance is to read poetry. To stray, even in the company of Hopkins, into an examination of the metaphysical reasons that rationalized his inscapes is, for the reader of poetry, a bore ; because Hopkins was a bad aesthetic theorist and a worse philosopher.

Mr Heuser strays far from the poetry in his painstaking pages on Hopkins's attempt to construct what he called ' a really scientific theory of aesthetics '. Poor Hopkins ! Indeed poor Mr Heuser ! The account, built from Hopkins's own, reads unbelievably like a treatise on the calculus set to music. It is interesting to see how much Hopkins was influenced in this futile attempt by the current positivism. It is alarming to think that he made no distinction between *ars* and *scientia*. This is very far from poetry although it may be considered of value as a contribution to pure knowledge. One is reminded again of Dr Leavis's remark : ' His (Hopkins's) prosodic account in terms of Logaoedic Rhythm, Counterpoint Rhythm, Sprung Rhythm, Rocking Feet and Outriders will help no one to read his verse.' [2] Mr Heuser has much to say about Hopkins's scotism.

Hopkins took to the scotist philosophy with enthusiasm for many reasons. There is something in scotism that seduces poets. But above

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[1] *The Shaping Vision of Gerard Manley Hopkins* by Alan Heuser. London : Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. viii and 128. 15s.

[2] *New Bearings in English Poetry* by F. R. Leavis. Reprint of 3rd Edition. London : 1954. p. 167. It is worth continuing the quotation : ' The prescription he gives when warm from reading his verse—" take breath and read it with the ears, as I always wish to be read, and my verse becomes all right "—is a great deal more to the point, and if we add " and with the brains and the body " it suffices '.

all this system of metaphysics enabled him to believe the kind of poetry he wrote to be purely spiritual. Without that belief he could not, he believed, reconcile the writing of verse with his Jesuit vocation. His scruples were, of course, groundless. Some Jesuits might have looked askance at him as a mere versifier (the Society of Jesus can hardly be considered a forcing-house for poets) but as a writer of spiritual poetry, of poetry of devotion akin to prayer and contemplation, he might pass muster. Anything I could say of Hopkins's scotism would be sketchy, over-simplified and crude. If the reader wishes to investigate further he should read a short article by the late Fr Arthur Little, S.J. in the *Irish Monthly* where the whole thing is cleared up once for all by a practising poet and professional philosopher who himself had once been a scotist.[1]

By nature Hopkins was a man possessed of very sensitive and perceptive senses and he delighted in their use. By prejudice, the result of his faulty spiritual education, he was a puritan. There is no valid ground for his belief that writing the kind of sensuous poetry that was his gift was contrary to his vocation as a Jesuit. His burning of his early poems and his long silence as a poet are symptoms of his puritanical fear of beauty and joy. His loving contemplation of nature and the writing of verse could have been accompanied, naturally and without strain, by prayer. But that would not satisfy the canons of the worst kind of Victorian spirituality : inhibitions masquerading as dogma. The contemplation of nature and the making of verses must be essentially prayer in themselves. Hysterical, terrified flight from all things lovely was supposed to be necessary to him who would live the full devotional life of the Church. Some still hold the same ideas today and such a a flight was urged on Christians in patristic times. St Jerome and St Augustine denounced the Latin classics in their sermons and writings but went on quoting from them all the same. Moreover, Hopkins was probably affected by the Victorian idea that the arts should be useful in an obvious way by contributing to moral uplift, not merely by making beauty available but by explicit statement and didacticism. The poet was suspect in the eyes of respectable people and religious folk. But Hopkins was a puritan and Victorian against his nature and his nature was stronger than his prejudices. As a result of this struggle between nature and prejudice Hopkins's poetry is not always what he thought it was and readers who take him at his face-value may be wrong in their reasons for thinking him great. Because of this tension in Hopkins the task of discovering some clues to the nature and quality of his poetry is not too easy. Its full treatment is beyond the scope of an article.

First then, it should be admitted straight away that Hopkins is not to be called great because of any profundity or originality of thought.

[1] *Hopkins and Scotus* by Arthur Little, S.J. *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 71 (1943), Pp. 47 to 59. The article is a review of Dr Pick's book mentioned already.

His philosophy of life is, to Catholics at any rate, very homely and ordinary. There is no new and profound solution of the problem of evil or the problem of the salvation of unbelievers in the *Wreck of the Deutschland.* Suffering in the believer is remedied by devotion to Christ's passion. God may 'reeve' even the unbeliever into heaven because of His 'fall-gold mercies'. Patience will bring peace to the tormented mind but peace is laborious: it 'does not come to coo'. One must, to support life's 'tasking', be kind and patient with oneself. It is not for their spiritual doctrine that the poems are admired, and that is why Mr Heuser's long, prosaic accounts of the 'meaning' of some of the poems are irrelevant to the poetry. The poems contain nothing beyond the homeliest of truths which, although valuable, are the commonplaces of priestly advice and Christian consolation. It can hardly be maintained that Hopkins is a great poet because he is a great thinker. The reason must lie elsewhere, because great poet he certainly is. Let us try another approach.

What lines are commonly chosen to introduce Hopkins to a new reader? By which of his lines, for instance, is he best introduced to schoolboys? The choice may well be *Spring and Fall* (55)[1] or *Pied Beauty* (37). But brief extracts from the *Wreck of the Deutschland* may serve better.

> I kiss my hand
> To the stars, lovely-asunder
> Starlight .... (28, stanza 5)

One points out the gracious gesture mimed by the rhythm, or the happy, native use of the word *asunder.* The effect, at any rate, is immediate and needs no explanation. Next might come the lines:

> Wiry and white-fiery and whirlwind-swivellèd snow
> Spins to the widow-making unchilding unfathering deeps (stanza 13)

It is easy to appreciate the power of the tactual and visual image in 'wiry and white-fiery' and the almost spatial movement in the swirling rhythm of the two lines.

> The rash smart sloggering brine
> Blinds her .... (stanza 19)

Here the images reach all the senses. The salt is in one's mouth and stings the eyes. The hurling and horrible airs resound in the ear-drums. If the reader, even the young reader, is potentially sensitive to poetry

[1] The numerals refer to the numeration in the standard edition: *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins,* Oxford University Press: 3rd Edition, 1952. The editor is Dr Gardner.

at all these lines will work their effect. They may even reveal poetry for the first time to someone for whom the Muse has long sung in vain. They have an immediate effect of fascination. Now these lines or similar ones are usually chosen, and rightly, to show what Hopkins's poetry is like. It should be noted that they are not explicitly religious lines at all. Their beauty and their perfection lies in the powerful notation of sensuous values. The lines seem to impose a sensuous and individualized experience of storm, snow, starlight on the reader inevitably.

Obviously, sensuous values like these, meticulously noted and transcribed, are an important and typical feature of Hopkins's poetry. In the first part of *The Wreck of the Deutschland* where Hopkins is at his most devotional (it is a prayer built around the key-ideas in the poet's spiritual life) such passages are common.

> . . . . . oh,
> We lash with the best or worst
> Word last ! How a lush-kept plush-capped sloe
> Will, mouthed to flesh-burst,
> Gush !—flush the man, the being with it, sour or sweet,
> Brim, in a flash, full !—Hither then, last or first,
> To hero of Calvary, Christ's feet—
> Never ask if meaning it, wanting it, warned of it—men go. (Stanza 8)

The whole effect is superb. The resounding, rolling stanza form is used with complete success to carry the poem over the non-sensuous passages. But, there can be no doubt, the image of the mouthed sloe is prominent in the lines. As an illustration of how the bitter-sweet passion of Christ can seize upon a man's loyalties it is splendid. Perhaps it is a shade too splendid. Perhaps it is a purple passage : gorgeous but overdone. There is little doubt that Hopkins is more excited by the inscape of the sloe crushed in the mouth than by anything else in the stanza. He dwells on the remembered sensation lovingly and it distracts him from his prayer. The surrounding lines are seen to be by comparison mere rhetoric, energetic statement. It must be conceded, however, that the sounds *last, best, worst* prepare the *sh* sounds in lines 3, 4 and 5.[1]

Exactly the same kind of thing, with less intensity, happens in the following stanza.

> Wring thy rebel, dogged in den,
> Man's malice . . . .

The alliteration (*chiming,* Mr Heuser calls it) stresses the inscape of the

[1] F. R. Leavis, *op. cit.* p. 177 and ff. Dr Leavis's remarks on this stanza are very valuable if, perhaps, a little too ingenious. This chapter on Hopkins is indispensable yet it is not mentioned in Mr Heuser's useful bibliography.

thoroughgoing, vigorous subjugation of a skulking beast unwilling to submit. The rest of the stanza is statement ornamented by verse. The phrase ' Father and fondler of heart ' is more than statement (even statements are lifted above the prosaic level by the whole context of the poem) and an example of another approach of Hopkins to the spiritual with which I shall deal in a moment.

These examples illustrate, I think, one way in which Hopkins's poetry, when it appears to be directly spiritual, escapes into the realm of the purely sensuous. What is functionally an illustration develops a life of its own and—in its own right—as sensuous poetry so vivid as to be new of its kind becomes the highest point poetically of the stanza.

A phrase like ' Father and fondler of heart ' or ' The dense and the driven Passion ' (stanza 7) bear more nearly on the spiritual statement than did the illustrations just noted. ' Father and fondler ' bears a load of feeling above that usually carried by a prose statement. This is achieved by the use of the unusual and daring word *fondler,* and the alliteration helps. The same kind of effect may be examined in :

> Thou knowest the walls, altar and hour and night :
> The swoon of a heart that the sweep and the hurl of thee trod
> Hard down with a horror of height :
> And the midriff astrain with leaning of, laced with fire of stress.
> (stanza 2)

This quotation has some of the same qualities we noted in the first set of examples. The description of the feeling of dizziness felt in the abdomen is inclined to develop a life of its own but here it does not quite break away. ' The swoon of a heart ' . . . . and the rest of lines 2 and 3 bear directly on the spiritual experience being described. Now, it is possible that the experience of which Hopkins was thinking was purely spiritual and perhaps even mystical : a mastery by God experienced in the intellect or in the soul, the work of mental conviction or of pure faith in darkness. But what is described in the lines is material sensation, feelings felt in the body. The impression given is that Hopkins writes here of what the spiritual writers call sensible consolation and the most material kind of sensible consolation at that. It is the ' felt in the blood and felt along the heart ' of Wordsworth. Such a feeling of material excitement, a concentration of the senses akin to ecstasy, can be aroused by the most diverse material stimuli : a good night's sleep, a bad night's sleep, beauty, horror, joy, terror—almost anything. It is precisely the kind of consolation in prayer that spiritual writers are supposed to hold in the greatest suspicion. Of course the experience of which Hopkins writes is a completely innocent one that he could have

embraced freely without any loss to his priestly vocation but his description of it is not a record of a purely spiritual experience. Examples of this kind of confusion could be multiplied. For instance the perfect lines

> I am soft sift
> In an hourglass—at the wall
> Fast, but mined with a motion, a drift,
> And it crowds and it combs to the fall ;
>
> (stanza 4)

do not give an account of the purely spiritual passivity of a man's soul under God's hand nor of the way God's power holds a creature in existence. At the most, it is a statement of what an analogous material experience of passivity would be like. As it is, the drifting sand image nearly breaks away from the spiritual sense of the stanza.

Something new is seen in the following eloquent and moving stutter.

> But how shall I . . . make me room there :
> Reach me a . . . Fancy come faster—
> Strike you the sight of it ? look at it loom there,
> Thing that she . . . there then ! the Master,
> *Ipse,* the only one, Christ, King, Head : (stanza 28)

This has to do directly with spiritual things and is obviously much more than prose. But the inscape device is absent. The lines are very different from

> Blue-beating and hoary-glow height ; or night, still higher,
> With belled fire and the moth-soft Milky Way . . . (stanza 26)

where Hopkins writes the kind of poetry in which he really believes. The stuttering stanza is an example of a kind of verse that is powerful not by sensuous evocation but by drama. It is dramatic verse and it is our dramatic concern for the poet-narrator and the nun-protagonist which holds our attention. The device is perfectly legitimate and successful but it does not convey the truths of the spiritual life in poetic images. Hopkins seems to have been aware of the difficulty when he wrote *The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo* (59). Transient beauty with all its inscapes can be kept only by giving it back to God. Where is the permanency of it then, where is it kept ?

> Yonder.—What high as that ! We follow, now we follow.—
> Yonder, yes yonder, yonder,
> Yonder.

It would be hard to imagine lines with less sensuous notation. Their interest is dramatic. *Spelt from the Sibyl's Leaves* (62) presents no difficulties

and is full of inscaped images because it deals with mortal, material distress.

In the light of these remarks it may be possible to revise our ideas of Hopkins as a spiritual poet. Indeed, perhaps we may return for a moment to metaphysics and ask a more general question. In how far is it possible to have an imagist or an inscaped poetry of the spiritual at all? Poetry, if it deals with images, must deal with the singular and the material. The things of the spirit are free from materiality. All that such poetry can do is record the sensations felt in the blood and felt along the heart that sometimes accompany the movements of the spirit. If one is content to write in philosophical terms, as Dante was in the non-dramatic passages of the *Divina Commedia,* or if one writes dramatically, then poetry can be written on a spiritual theme.[1] If one must write the kind of poetry that was native to Hopkins, rich in sensuous imagery, then I do not see how it can be purely spiritual. I am tempted to invoke the word *symbolism* but it does not seem to me that Hopkins's verse is symbolical at all. The 'spiritualizing of sensation', whatever Mr Heuser may think, is not so easy.[2]

Hopkins has other means of dealing with spiritual themes in the poems of his middle period. The two longer poems on the Blessed Virgin, for instance, play lovingly with conceits in the manner of the metaphysical poets. The conceits are the felt, poetic parts of the poems.

> Star-eyed strawberry-breasted
> Throstle above her nested
>
> Cluster of bugle blue eggs thin . . . (42)
>
> Yet such a sapphire-shot,
> Charged, steepèd sky will not
> Stain light . . . (60)

There is something new here. The association of the images with Our Lady is charming, appropriate and very unpuritanical. It remains, however, no more than an association. There are poems like *The Windhover* (36) where the spiritual considerations are added on to a poem that is complete without them. Something similar, in a poem that

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[1] '. . . a remark that Mr Eliot throws out in the discussion of Dante has a bearing here: "that Hell, though a state, is a state which can only be thought of, and perhaps only experienced, by the projection of sensory images; and that the resurrection of the body has perhaps a deeper meaning than we understand."' F. R. Leavis, *op. cit.* p. 186. The Eliot reference is *Selected Essays* p. 250.

[2] I hasten to add that, because I think Hopkins failed to do the impossible in spiritualizing his poetry, I do not wish to imply that his poetry suffered in any way or, because of that failure, is any the less pleasing to God.

expresses Hopkins's struggle with his puritanism, is to be found in *To what serves mortal beauty* (61) which should end at the second last line.

> What do then ? how meet beauty ? Merely meet it ; own
> Home at heart, heaven's sweet gift . . .

The concluding line and a half are forced; a kind of frightened shrinking into himself :

> Yea, wish that though, wish all, God's better beauty, grace.

Finally *The Bugler's First Communion* (47) is so sentimental as to be almost sloppy. Hopkins had a weakness for red coats (cf. 63). *Felix Randal* is saved from being sentimental by the magnificent last line with its clear Greek image.

> Didst fettle for the great grey drayhorse his bright and battering sandal !
> (53)

That line is so good that it almost spoils the poem. Finally the same kind of criticism could be applied to the sociological poems. In *Tom's Garland* and *Harry Ploughman* (66, 67) the interest is not in the abstract cause of Labour or the unemployed but in Harry's sinews and the sparks from Tom's friend's hobnails.

> . . . Tom's fallowbootfellow piles pick
> By him and rips out rockfire homeward . . .

If I am right in saying that Hopkins's most typical poetry in his middle period depends on his vivid use of his senses, at times when he was enjoying sensible and bodily sweetness in prayer, or—at least—associating intellectual knowledge and conviction of religion with vivid sensuous perception, then something must have happened to his poetry at moments of spiritual or physical distress. Something must have happened to his poetry during the years of exile, darkness and illness in Ireland and should show itself in the later sonnets. Something does happen. The verse becomes gradually more stripped and naked and relies for its effect on its dramatic value and on Hopkins's by now prodigious technical skill with rhythms.

Carrion Comfort (64), although dramatic in form, still shows flashes of the excitement of Hopkins's earlier inscaped image.

> But ah, but O thou terrible, why wouldst thou rude on me
> Thy wring-world right foot rock . . . .

In this we have the inscape of some of the physical concomitants of desperation. *No worst there is none* (65), although it begins in naked unadornment, has the well known image of the blacksmith's forge. There is nothing better than this in English poetry.

> . . . on an age-old anvil wince and sing
> Then lull, then leave off . . .

The terrible sonnets (68 to 71) are almost completely bare. The poet is reduced to statements in powerful rhythms, a few inversions, some timid inscapes and a handful of striking, unusual phrases. These phrases are Shakespearian or, to be more precise, in the manner of *Lear* from the middle of the play on : . . . *a lonely began* (68), *groping round my comfortless, poor Jackselfˈ* [1] (71). The typical Hopkins evocation of the concrete is rare.

> . . . dark heaven's baffling ban
> Bars or hell's spell thwarts . . . . (68)

It is a weary picture of frustration, that tired and faded thing. Patience who

> . . . basks
> Purple eyes and seas of liquid leaves all day. (70)

does not appear in any concrete shape by the force of the words.

> Selfyeast of spirit a dull dough sours. . . . . (69)

is the only image in which the reality obeys the conjuration of the poet. The contrast of alliterative consonants and the play of changing vowels does seem to give, for the last time, the essence of sour and bitter (not the bitterness of the spirit but that of cheese) as well as a sensation of heaviness in the body. Perhaps now these were the only vivid sensations left to Hopkins.

And yet I find these bare poems more moving than the most gorgeous achievements with sensuous images. The sonnets are dramatic, I admit, but the resources of technique, the magical power over rhythmical phrases shown in these late poems makes up for the desertion of the senses which Hopkins loved so well and believed he had spiritualized. Perhaps here is poetry as spiritual as it is possible for poetry to be. Everything that can go has been stripped away. The bare and painful words, hovering over silence, find that they are still inadequate to say the unsayable. It is the English equivalent of the *Nada* of St John of the Cross. I do not know if there is anything more moving in the whole range of English poetry—only perhaps some lines of the Fool in *Lear*. Perhaps, in these poems, the fundamental division in the writer's mind, traces of which Mr Empson finds in *The Windhover* (illustrating his seventh type of ambiguity) and which may be identified with Hopkins's love of the senses wrestling with his preoccupation with the spiritual, is at last brought as near to resolution as is possible.[2]

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[1] Dr Leavis (*op. cit.* Pp. 169 ff) points out the Shakespearian quality of Hopkins's language. He writes on p. 171 : ' Hopkins belongs with Shakespeare, Donne, Eliot and the later Yeats as opposed to Spenser, Milton and Tennyson.'

[2] *Seven Types of Ambiguity* by William Empson. 3rd Edition. London: 1956. Pp. 225-6.

Shakespeare's Rhetoric

by DENIS DONOGHUE

HAMLET TO THE MOB

NOW that our play is over I would tell you how you have been persuaded—or deceived—into acquiescence ; into a kind of joy, perhaps. You were transported, of course, by my death ; struck by the ' sublime ', the awe-ful. In your inarticulate way you felt that my death was somehow ' right ', not just because it was inevitable but because it was in keeping with the ' inner logic ' of my life. It was as fitting, in its own way, as the death of Claudius ; and of course you had been waiting for *that* for a couple of hours ; wondering when, where, and how it would come.

Bear in mind, though—if you have not bothered to think about it before—that my role was that of the pious, rational hero in a world of impious unreason. Three hundred years from now Santayana will speak of piety as ' loyalty to the sources of one's being ', and I would anticipate his insight for my own critique. The sources of my being were—we can list them—my father, and, through him, my reverence for the state of Denmark—we can call it England now : and at a deeper level still there was the warm feeling for decorum itself, especially for that version of it which exhibits a loving relation between the thought, the word, and the deed. And reason itself ; not the vicious *mere* reason, mere rationalism, which distresses my author just as it will distress the humanist Alexander Pope in his ' Dunciad ' ; but the act of the humane mind which realizes, as any sound Aristotelian, that it has the duty of controlling the will, the passions. So it was my motive in our play to restore the orders of piety and right reason to a world in which those glowing realities had been perverted. But since I had to be pious toward right reason—before anything else—I had to satisfy that reason that the Ghost was honest, that Claudius had indeed murdered my father.

You see, I was scrupulously pious, scrupulously reasonable : I could not emulate Claudius, or Laertes, or Pyrrhus himself, since it is part of the heartache that the race is to the swift, or the crude, or the impious. But my author had to bear in mind that *your* piety and *your* reason are less scrupulous than mine : you wanted me to catch the nearest way. The killing of Claudius would have gratified you : but, since that event had to be delayed, my author tricked you into acquiescence, kept you in the palm of his hand, by giving you several *minor* gratifications, each involving a local victory over our enemies. Since you could not

have the major thrill of seeing me make a corpse of Claudius, he gave you the minor thrill of seeing me make a fool of Polonius : yes, and there were several other victories . . . . when I fooled Rosencrantz and Guildenstern . . . . when I tricked my mother into talking about ' is ' and ' seems ' . . . . when I quibbled outrageously with Claudius . . . . when I produced the Mousetrap so winningly . . . . when I rubbed out the ' vice of style ' called Osric. And then of course there was my virtuoso-piece, when I led Guildenstern such a merry dance with the recorders.

These incidents were gratifying to you in themselves ; they prefigured the much richer gratification which would come with the killing of Claudius ; and they kept you moving along nicely in what Hopkins will call ' sequences of feeling '.

The greatest of these minor victories was the conversion of my mother in the Closet Scene : you responded warmly to my performance there without knowing the processes involved . . . . since you are sound Aristotelians only by desire and intuition.

Gertrude played into my hands. You recall that I had just killed Polonius ; and, turning aside from his corpse (as if passing from the role of Scourge to that of Minister) I confronted my mother :—

> Peace ! sit you down
> And let me wring your heart ; for so I shall
> If it be made of penetrable stuff ;
> If damned custom have not braz'd it so
> That it is proof and bulwark against sense.

Gertrude made a mistake in braving it out. Perhaps she relied too much on the traditional hierarchy of mother and son, recalling that Coriolanus was shattered by its disruption. Anyway, she rose to the challenge :

> What have I done that thou dar'st wag thy tongue
> In noise so rude against me ?

And my answer came thundering out :

> Such an act
> That blurs the grace and blush of modesty ;
> Calls virtue hypocrite ; takes off the rose
> From the fair forehead of an innocent love,
> And sets a blister there ; . . . .

You caught the tone, remember ? : it was my author's version of the ' high ' style, which Aristotle and Cicero have prescribed for *moving* an audience. I was trying to appeal to those emotions which

would colour my mother's judgment and prompt her to a corresponding course of action. Aristotle discusses it in terms of pathos. He also outlines, under the heading of logos, an appeal to the audience's reason. So I appealed to Gertrude's reason to see, to acknowledge, the difference between my father and Claudius ; my father, a man endorsed by the Gods ; Claudius, a mildew'd ear blasting his wholesome brother. And showing her the two pictures I argued very severely indeed, appealing to intellectualist values which have always been dear to my author ; values involving right reason and will, the judgment and the blood, and the relations between the several levels of existence, vegetative, animal, human, and so on. You probably understood the words, even the technical terms like ' sense ' and ' motion ' ; but it would have been enough even if you had understood only the fury in the words, and not the words.

Gertrude understood both the fury and the words, and she begged me,

> O Hamlet, speak no more !
> Thou turns't mine eyes into my very soul,
> And there I see such black and grained spots
> As will not leave their tinct.

But I had my own idea of justice ; so I twisted the knife, translating her ' black and grained spots ' into *animal* terms, the more to nail down her fall from the *human* level of existence :

> Nay, but to live
> In the rank sweat of an enseamed bed,
> Stew'd in corruption, honeying and making love
> Over the nasty sty !

My father's ghost entered ; but Gertrude, since she could not see it, denied that it was there ; protesting like any positivist. She thought me mad !—so I had to prove my reason—all over again—by appealing to hers (persuasion by Logos). You recall I challenged her term ' ecstasy ' :

> Ecstasy ?
> My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time
> And makes as healthful music. It is not madness
> That I have utt'red . . . .
> . . . Mother, for love of grace,
> Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
> That not your trespass but my madness speaks.
> It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
> Whiles rank corruption, mining all within,
> Infects unseen. Confess yourself to heaven ;
> Repent what's past ; avoid what is to come ;
> And do not spread the compost on the weeds
> To make them ranker.

I was facing two ways at that point. I was reminding you, my Elizabethan audience, of one of my deepest preoccupations in Claudius's Denmark, the unreliability of appearance as image of reality, the unreliability of what 'seems': and the most pointed version I could recite was one which recalled to you the wonderful traditional metaphor of the 'body politic'. So I linked together all sorts of things: disease in our state, a grim hint about Civil War, the overthrow of reason by sexual passion, the splitting-apart of thought, word, and deed. I was telling *you* these things, not just my mother; since my author is not above giving timely warnings when an opportunity arises.

You probably felt that my tone at that point was harsh; and you began to resent the 'holier-than-thou' ingredient in my attitude, especially in the last few imperatives, where it rather got out of hand. But I saw your frowns, and in unbending a little to Gertrude apologized a little to you. Not too much, of course; because after all I *was* holier than thou: my role was the sort of thing you are meant to live up to. If you chose to identify yourselves with me, you were indulging your vanity. There is no point now in mincing words. But I needed you on my side then, so I ingratiated myself with you—and with Gertrude—by exhibiting magnanimity, generosity, and so on. Aristotle was again my mentor, recommending persuasion (this time, by Ethos). So I asked Gertrude—and you—to forgive me this my virtue: I kept repeating the gentle, magical phrase 'Good night': I said I must be cruel, only to be kind. Best of all I insinuated the assumption that Gertrude—and you— were now firmly on my side.

So I triumphed. Not only with Gertrude, but with you. Gertrude's conversion was complete: so was your fulfilment, at least for the time being. I had rescued my mother from the disease of Claudius; just as Antony cured the Roman mob after their infection by Brutus.

My task in the later scenes was easier. Claudius could have none of your sympathy after he had arranged to have me murdered in England. The rabble fastened on Laertes as King, but my author condemned both: anyway it was a flagrant breach of custom and antiquity. Your part, then, was to rise above such pettiness, and to sneer at Laertes in your own turn when he raved:

> To hell, allegiance! vows, to the blackest devil!
> Conscience and grace, to the profoundest pit!
> I dare damnation. To this point I stand,
> That both the worlds I give to negligence,
> Let come what comes; only I'll be revenged
> Most thoroughly for my father.

Rubbish! Was this the kind of vengeance you would have had me

perform on Claudius? Nor indeed was there much courage in it, since Laertes was very soon to anoint his sword with poison. (My author was counting on your sturdy notion of fair play.)

When I returned from England I ingratiated myself with you, obliquely, by reciting a humane version of mortality, by joking with the Gravedigger, by sneering with you at Osric, and even by losing my self-control when I saw that my fair Ophelia was dead. Aristotle himself would have condoned this. He would also have approved my new and deeply pious feeling for Providence. You recall I gave Horatio—and you—two mottos: 'Let be'; and 'The readiness is all'. My associate Thomas Becket will offer a gloss on my words when he says, in Mr Eliot's play,

> Death will come only when I am worthy,
> And if I am worthy, there is no danger.
> I have therefore only to make perfect my will.

Thomas will understand my piety, since he has his own: and perhaps his is even more secure than mine since it rewards him with a 'tremor of bliss' which I did not feel. He will say, just before death, 'All things proceed to a joyful consummation', thereby revealing that the Reality with which he identifies his will is clearer to him than mine to me. But we are both pious men: that is enough: let be.

I hope I pleased you in the last scene. My fencing-match was a lively performance: I graciously forgave Laertes; and at last, but in my own good time, I killed Claudius. Some of the more squeamish among you were perturbed, as well as thrilled, when I forced the dying King to drink from the poisoned cup. It was indeed a grim piece of work. And yet I prepared the way for it, by calling Claudius 'thou incestuous, murd'rous, damned Dane,' and by bitterly conceding to him and my mother, in death, the sexual union I would have denied them in life. There was a severe propriety, surely, in all this; some kind of poetic justice. I think you understood it (most of you) at the time, just as you understood my answer to Horatio when he wanted to be with me in death. 'I am more an antique Roman than a Dane', he cried, capitalizing on our reverence for both antiquity and Rome; but I recalled him to an even higher law, that of humanity itself, which for us means order, degree, reputation, the health of the body politic, and several other glowing realities. 'As th'art a man,' I cried, 'Give me the cup.' I was never more pious than at that moment.

Horatio endorsed your response to my death by calling me a 'noble heart,' a 'sweet prince.' And Fortinbras completed your tribute when he said,

> Let four captains
> Bear Hamlet like a soldier to the stage ;
> For he was likely, had he been put on,
> To have prov'd most royally ; and for his passage
> The soldiers' music and the rites of war
> Speak loudly for him . . .

The statement is dry and somewhat formal ; the decorous truth, and yet a truth which you yourselves might have recited more warmly. It is as if my author were leaving a gap to be filled by your feeling ; and, filling it, you succumbed once more to his wit and witchcraft. Except that his, unlike Claudius's, was white magic.

DESDEMONA TO EMILIA

Othello asked, Emilia, that you should attend on me ; but he did not forsee the extent of your service. He did not know that you would die for witnessing to my virtue ; killed by your husband as I was killed by mine. Nor did he know that you would be my ' reflector,' directing your own pragmatic light on my perfection. I wonder do you yourself realise how liberally you served me and our play.

My author's problem was so to present me that my values would stand, palpable, in the centre of the play,—proud, absolute, pure,—making no protestations. Early on Iago said of me, ' She must have change, she must,' thus telling the audience that the essential ' quality ' of my perfection was its absolute unchangingness. My role was to represent the perfect, incredible marriage of *being* and *seeming :* I had very little to say, because my acts and my sufferance had absolute sanctions. Indeed, behind all the pathetic mutations of the play, behind Othello's sightless vision of what did not exist, I was to stand as the very proof that appearances can be reliable, that we may sometimes trust in what seems, that truth and constancy exist as well as the glowing idea of each. From the moment of my marriage I became the incredible emblem of that truth, that constancy : those ideas crystallized in me. I moved through the play, modestly, without rancour, a gentle reproach to everything partial, alloyed, relative : I was the concrete *thing*, enacting an absolute *idea*, of fidelity and privacy. I was a reproach to you too, of course ; and that mattered.

Othello could not believe in an absolute, since the belief itself would have been an absolute faith. He could not believe in my absolute constancy, even though disbelief meant the sundering of his entire world. How easy it was, then, for Iago to capitalize on this failure, insinuating that what seems is inevitably a deceit : ' She did deceive her father, marrying you,' he warned Othello, ' And when she seem'd to shake and fear your looks, / She loved them most ' . . . ' Why, go to then ; / She

that so young could give out such a seeming, / To seel her father's eyes up close as oak—.' And so on ; distorting the neutral state of *seeming,* identifying it with the falconer's cruel deceit : and even the sound of the words collaborated with his rhetoric.

Thus my role as the embodiment of an idea. But our audience could hardly be expected to understand it if Othello was unable to believe in it. My author left Othello to his own pathetic devices, but he had to be gentle with his audience. So he arranged that you, wife to Iago and therefore to some extent involved in his world, would bridge the gap : he arranged that you would mediate between me and our audience, representing a way of life nearer their own, perhaps identical with their own, asking the crude, muscular questions.

You recall our conversation in the third scene of Act Four : it was hardly a conversation at all, you did most of the talking, but while you talked about yourself you were in fact defining *me.* We spoke about constancy, and wives, and husbands, and the selling price of virtue. And I recalled the death of my mother's maid Barbara and the song she sang about the willow. So Barbara's death-scene aroused in the audience appropriate feelings for mine,—which would come in its own good time—and it also enlarged the scope of my constancy, giving it the grandeur of a death-bed profession. So when I asked (thinking of men abusing their suffering wives), ' Wouldst thou do such a deed for all the world ? '—I was able to support the question with a lifetime's perfection : I was able to make it ring out—suggestively, with grandeur and mystery, and entirely without arrogance. You answered, in your own voice and perhaps in that of the audience, ' The world is a huge thing : 'tis a great price/For a small vice.'

It was not my place to lecture you or to pour scorn on a set of relative values, especially as I had to monopolize the ardour of an audience nearer to those values than to mine. So I merely repeated my vow, gently : ' Beshrew me, if I would do such a wrong/For the whole world.' And then you rounded on husbands, in language that anybody could understand :

> Let husbands know
> Their wives have sense like them : they see and smell
> And have their palates both for sweet and sour,
> As husbands have. What is it that they do
> When they change us for others ? Is it sport ?
> I think it is : and doth affection breed it ?
> I think it doth : is't frailty that thus errs ?
> It is so too : and have not we affections,
> Desires for sport, and frailty, as men have ?
> Then let them use us well : else let them know,
> The ills we do, their ills instruct us so.

A plain, ungarnished tale : no one could mistake your drift. And yet it had very little to do directly with my situation, or with yours, since neither Othello nor Iago had been unfaithful. All that my author wanted was that you would bridge the gap between my grand absolutes and the easier attitudes of the audience. He realized that it is very difficult to understand an absolute, and therefore difficult to have it throb with felt life : an absolute is too far away from the audience, too far out there in a stark world whose grandeur one can merely take on trust. So it did not matter what you said, so long as your saying it helped to bridge that gap, helped to render my perfection less abstract, less marmoreal. It was not necessary that you should cut me down, sneer at my perfection, or degrade it ; but that you should draw that perfection into a context warm with human motive, alive, throbbing. Lacking that involvement, my perfection would have been gratuitous, cold, almost without a source in human feeling at all ; just as, three centuries hence, André Gide will puzzle his readers by exhibiting men dealing out evil for its own pure, absolute sake ; gratuitously.

Henry James will understand this necessity of bridging gaps that are too vast. In ' The Wings of the Dove ' Milly Theale will move through the story with a superb allegiance to absolute values : she will be hurt, as I was hurt, and as I forgave, so she. And just as I have had you, Emilia, to define my values by enacting their rejection, so Milly Theale will have the relativist Kate Croy to render her beauty warm and glowing by involving it in a human situation. And just as Milly spreads her wings over Merton Densher, changing him utterly, so I will persist as an *eikon*, an exemplary instance, of constancy. But my constancy would have been merely a cold idea without your rough-and-ready presence. You, Emilia, were the means of opening to the audience the closed, absolute world of my perfection : and bear in mind how severe an absolute Constancy is. My role, strictly speaking, had little to do with love or passion in themselves, but only as vehicles for an absolute that could persist even without them : and there is something forbidding about such an absolute, so austere, so stark in its perfection.

My author placed a great burden on you, and yet he did not depend on you entirely : there was always my death-scene, which he could exploit so as to modulate my absolute into something vibrant. Having presented me as an exemplary instance of constancy, and an adept of sufferance, he devoted the last Act to my participation in the most intimate human gesture. That is why the death-bed scene was almost Wagnerian in its passionate humanity ; but it could take that tone only because I had already registered my claim to a more austere role. I could now afford this sweet modulation. So I asked you to lay my wedding sheets on my bed : later I said,

> If I do die before thee, prithee, shroud me
> In one of those same sheets.

When Othello came into my bedchamber he spoke of my blood and my skin, thereby endorsing the Wagnerian tone :—

> Yet I'll not shed her blood,
> Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow
> And smooth as monumental alabaster.

He spoke of plucking my rose, and (kissing me) was almost persuaded to break the sword of seeming justice. In turn I quibbled about dying and death-beds, as if in response to his lovemaking. Indeed my death-scene was so warmly human now that Othello could without endangering its resonance say, ' Cold, cold, my girl !/Even like thy chastity.' And when he stabbed himself he fell on my body, saying

> I kiss'd thee ere I kill'd thee : no way but this,
> Killing myself, to die upon a kiss.

Thus our bodily union, resumed at last with ritual fervour : too late for either of us, and yet not too late to endorse our whole lives or to acknowledge my absolute constancy.

So Othello at last acknowledged by a symbolic gesture what you had already protested on my behalf ; and it was fitting that you, a relativist in these matters, should rise to proclaim my absolute guiltlessness, carrying the audience with you. Hence the splendour of your own death, reflecting the splendour of mine. You asked,

> What did thy song bode, lady ?
> Hark, canst thou hear me ? I will play the swan,
> And die in music.

Then you sang ' Willow, willow, willow,' just as I had done, just as Barbara had done. And, dying, you bore witness once again :—

> Moor, she was chaste ; she loved thee, cruel Moor ;
> So come my soul to bliss, as I speak true ;
> So speaking as I think, I die, I die.

Was there not here a yielding-up of the relative values which you had sustained so lithely throughout the play ? So speaking as I think : it doesn't sound much, and yet it came from one who had said

> Why, the wrong is but a wrong i' the world ; and having
> the world for your labour, 'tis a wrong in your own
> world, and you might quickly make it right.

Anyway you were already my adjunct, before you died ; bearing witness to the reality of truth as I to that of constancy. The justice of it pleases.

You see now that your role was like Barbara's. I invited the dead Barbara into our play so that the audience, feeling how closely my tragedy resembled hers, would give me the warmth of their sympathy. I wanted to take unto myself the audience's feeling for injured innocence—not just mine, but Barbara's, and that of millions of wronged women. And when I was dead you took Barbara's place, existing not for your own sake now but for mine ; demanding that the audience pity me, weep for me, acknowledge my absolute merit.

My own death was the culmination of my role as sufferer. Othello suffered also, in the second phase of his ' tragic rhythm,' but that phase was the substance of my entire being. Mine was the third of those ' offices ' which Cicero assigned to the orator, to *move* an audience, to register the highest claim on their feelings ; this, rather than to teach, or to delight. Hence, no matter how urbanely I spoke, I lived and died in the appropriate ' grand ' style. In that sense my role, unlike Othello's, was lyric : when I had arrived at my profound state of sufferance, that arrival was definitive, it *defined* the essential nature of my role. Thereafter I could only transcend this role by dying. And at that stage the ' sequence of feeling ' involving me and my sufferance were complete : formal perfection was achieved. Again the justice of it pleases.

Contemporary Verse: A Short Chronicle

by JOHN MONTAGUE

Monologue of a Deaf Man, by David Wright. London : André Deutsch. 1958. 12s. 6d.

The Triumph of the Muse, by John Heath-Stubbs. London : Oxford University Press. 1958. 12s. 6d.

Home Truths, by Anthony Thwaithe. Marvell Press. 1958. 10s. 6d.

Too Great a Vine, by Austin Clarke. Dublin : The Bridge Press. 1958. 6s.

Another September, by Thomas Kinsella. Dublin : Dolmen Press. 1958. 10s. 6d.

One Landscape still, by Patrick MacDonogh. London : Secker & Warburg. 1958. 12s. 6d.

Six poets, three British, three Irish ; in reviewing them, one should be able to draw some incidental conclusions about poetic practice in the late 1950's. And, drawing the long bow of generalization still further, some comparisons between present poetry in Ireland and England. Jauntiness is unavoidable : one does not read a newly printed book of poems like a Rhadamanthus guarding the Palace of Art.

Mr David Wright and Mr John Heath-Stubbs are fairly representative figures among the generation of English poets just under forty. They have, indeed, collaborated in a representative anthology, the *Faber Book of Twentieth Century Verse,* which seemed designed to stress the new vaguely romantic traditionalism of post-war British poetry. Of the two, Mr David Wright is more immediately appealing. A South African (born Johannesburg, 1920), he has lived in England since 1934. As he explains in a poem from an earlier book :

> Born in a dominion to which he hoped not to go back
> Since predisposed to imagine white possibly black. . .

His poetic development has been fairly straightforward : after a first book drenched in the neo-romanticism so strangely prevalent during the war, he emerged as a master of the brief, tough lyric which formulates

a situation without sentiment (*Moral Stories,* 1954). On his own deafness, for example :

> Abstracted by silence from the age of seven
> Deafened and penned by as black calamity
> As twice to be born, I cannot without pity
> Contemplate myself as an infant ;
>
> Or fail to speak of silence as a priestess
> Calling to serve in the temple of a skull
> Her innocent choice. It is barely possible
> Not to be affected by such a distress
> (' On Himself ')

In *Moral Stories,* the romanticism is still there in choice of subject and diction, but it is contained and neutralized by the sharp thrust of a more epigrammatic form. In *Monologue for a Deaf Man,* the poet, having achieved moderate success, endeavours to enlarge his scope. Two of the hinted subjects of *Moral Stories,* the poet's relation to his birth-place, South Africa, and the penalties of his deafness emerge as deliberate themes. The two long poems which begin and end the book are almost set pieces with an academic floridity of diction.

> Black as an adder to fear and comfort
> The great American saloon cars blast by
> Illustrious. As the summer ends the drought,
> Summer its pandemonium gathers high
> In purple cumuli over Magaliesberg.
> (' A voyage to Africa ')

None of the shorter poems has the astringency of those in his previous book, but Mr. Wright is a sturdy practitioner and, in his next book, may exorcize his natural bias towards romantic inflation.

Mr John Heath-Stubbs, friend and contemporary of Mr Wright, is also haunted by the neo-romantic muse. In him, it takes a patently literary form : the majority of the poems in *The Triumph of the Muse,* have traditional themes and echo with classical allusions. All this, of course, is the natural equipment of the poet (e.g. Dryden, Pope . .), but should it be quite so patent ? Even the ballads in *The Triumph of the Muse,* are literary ballads :

> Joan she was an English girl
> Born at West Hartlepool ;
> Scotus Erigens taught her Greek
> When she sneaked into school.
> (' A Ballad of Pope Joan ')

The main poem in the book is the very amusing *Triumph of the Muse,* which appeared some years ago in *Nine.* In appropriate terza rima, the poet narrates a modern audience held with the Muse of Poetry :

> Now easterly my practised guide disposed
> Our Course, where on Hellenic rock and reef
> The peaceful Mediterranean Sea reposed,
>
> A Siren, chanting of some ancient grief
> Mytho-scatological, out of Lemprière,
> A first-rate scandal on his every leaf.
>
> I was enchanted by the classic air,
> And felt like Andrew Lang reading the *Odyssey* ;
> Grey olives glimmered in the moonlight there—

The main effect of the poem is that of an elaborate and well told literary joke. The catalogue of poets summoned before the Muse's chair is not as moving as a similar section of Auden's *New Year Letter,* but shows skill and neatly phrased judgment ; the approach of Roy Campbell, for example :

> These staid exchanges done, a more alarming
> Suitor to the goddess rushed upon her,
>
> To the Toreador song out of Bizet's *Carmen* ;
> He tried to noose her like an unroped steer,
> By methods learnt in Spanish cattle-farming.

Mr Anthony Thwaithe (born 1929) is a generation and a style away from the two previous poets. The title immediately alerts us to ambiguities ; besides the obvious psychological meaning, i.e. unpalatable truths about oneself, is there a declared bias towards less literary, more personal or provincial subjects ? Poems like ' Death of a Rat ' and ' Child Crying ' seem to indicate a preference like Larkin, Amis, for the ostentatiously simple subject, the every day fact. There is a hint of black-jacketed jauntiness :

> A glut of heroes makes a legend dull.
>
> I weep to see your tatty world go bang.

But, as we read the poems more closely, their literary basis becomes clear : this is the work of someone strictly trained in the schools. Myth and legend are used to frame experience :

> For when you spoke, it was her face
> Which looked through mists of flesh and age
> And saw a child. In your embrace
> I trudged a lifetime's pilgrimage
> From prince's birth to king's disgrace.
> (' Oedipus ')

Mr Thwaithe, in fact, is as literary as Heath-Stubbs or Wright : he has only chosen different models and allegiances. There is the now familiar click of the Movement quatrain :

> A throw of cards, a rabbit up his sleeve—
> Miraculous, you say, and you are right ;
> Knowing him false, pretending to believe,
> You are yourself most darkly recondite.
> (' The Conjuror ')

This attitude towards poetry, a teasing of language so as to uncover the honest core of an experience, surely derives ultimately from modern British philosophy, and its technique of linguistic analysis. Personally, I find it refreshing, both as a change from the traditional gestures and as a discipline. But already, in *Home Truths,* despite the sincerity and intelligence of the poet, ' the Movement ' seems to become a method, a generation's formula for experience. Similar in length and approach, poem then blends into poem, distinguished but vaguely indistinguishable. This seems to have already happened, for instance, with Miss Elizabeth Jennings ; the best poets of this generation, like Gunn and Enright, show greater drama, eccentricity, and movement.

These three poets, then, display a high level of professional competence. Thwaithe and Wright, in particular, deserve a place in any representative anthology of the post-war period. Although some people still speak of modern poetry as though it were a diabolical plot, the majority of the poems under review could, with a few topical excisions, be transposed into appropriate areas of the *Oxford Book of English Verse.*

. . .

Turning from this pattern of intelligent but conservative writing, the Irish present an appearance of eccentricity. In a note appended to *Too Great a Vine,* Mr Austin Clarke says :

> A great-grand-father of mine, who was a skinner, lived in the Liberties of Dublin and had a tannery in Watling Street, near Usher's Quay. In his later years, he seemed to have become eccentric for he wore wigs of different colours during the week. He amused himself by writing occasional verses of a satiric kind about his fellow-traders and got the ballad-singers from Thomas Street to recite these outside their shop-doors.
>
> As I have few personal interests left, I have concentrated on local notions and concerns which are of more importance than we are, keep us employed, and last long . . . In their notices of *Ancient Lights : Poems & Satires—First Series,* a few critics suggested that some of the pieces were too mild to be called satires. I hope that I have made amends.

This neat piece of deprecating picaresque implies an attitude of purposeful poetic irreverence which would seem foreign or old-fashioned to the three English poets under review, although not to their masters, Eliot or Empson. This puckishness, however, like Eliot's portentous jokes, masks a deep and subtle committedness. 'The Loss of Strength,' the long poem around which the book is built, is the best poem by an Irishman since 'The Great Hunger'. After a long pilgrimage through the epic and medieval 'Matters of Ireland,' Mr Clarke emerges with a truly contemporary poem, a sort of local version of *The Four Quartets*, implying a judgment on an entire culture. The politically minded could find an allegory in Mr Clarke's progress through the various Celtic mists to the flat final daylight of modern Ireland ; an even richer irony is the fact that the best review of the book so far has been by John Hewitt, the Ulster poet. 'The Loss of Strength' has several themes ; age, for instance, which faces a weakening body with the ceaselessly renewed challenges of change. As a young man, eager and romantic, the poet sought out the mythical and holy places of Ireland, following perhaps Yeat's famous dicta, 'if I were four and twenty . . ' :

> . . . I wanted test of stories
> Our poets had talked about, pinmeal
> To potboil long ago. Cloud-feelers,
> Featherers, touched our restlessness.
> Lost prosody restrained us. Summit
> Showed valleys, reafforesting,
> The Fianna, leaf-veined, among them.

Now : 'I climb among the hills no more/To taste a last water, hide in cloud-mist/From sheep and goat.' Knowing this heritage, the poet is troubled by industrialization which ruthlessly tramples the mythical.

> . . . Why keep with Fintan
> The falls of Assaroe, trample
> Of transmigration, void of man
> In shape of salmon ? Those currents were ample.
> Voltage has turned them, riddle and all,
> To a piddle and blank wall.

The main subject of the poem, however, is the poet's instinctive sympathy for the early Irish church. He sees the native traditions of Monasterboice and Clonmacnoise overpowered, deliberately destroyed by the centralizing force of the Continental Church, assisting and associated with the conquerors.

Too great a vine, they say, can sour
The best of clay. No pairs of sinners
But learned saints had overpowered
Our country, Malachi the Thin
And Bernard of Clairvaux. Prodigious
In zeal, these cooled and burned our porridge.
(Later came breakspear, strong bow backing)
The arch sprang wide for their Cistercians.
O bread was wersh and well was brack.
War rattled at us in hammered shirts :
An Englishman had been the Pontiff.
They marched to Mellifont.

Brief comment, however, can only brutalize the texture of this remarkable poem : one would welcome a close textual analysis, although judging by the grudging absent-minded reception the poem has had so far, this is unlikely. Like Joyce, Clarke is a master of the Irish Catholic subject : to read him is to discover our guilty selves. No wonder both quote, approvingly, Ibsen's gloomy axiom : ' Poetry—'tis a Court/Of Judgment on the soul.'

One Landscape Still, although Mr Patrick MacDonogh's first volume (apart from a few rare early pamphlets), amounts almost to a Collected Poems, containing fifty pieces. Mood, therefore, is varied. There are the much anthologized lyrics, graceful and plaintive as early Yeats :

Soon with the lilac fades another Spring,
And one less left to live, and all our Springs must die ;
In all the world there lives no lasting thing,
No thing in all the world, and you and I,
Mere ghostly Springs of Summers long since dead,
Turn to our Winter with no later Spring—
I have no solace from remembering
How death's cold hands will hold that arrogant head.

Romantic lyrical pain merges into dialect and folk poems, like the soft movement of ' Song ' :

She spoke to me gently with words of sweet meaning,
Like the damsel was leaning on Heaven's half-door,
And her bright eyes besought me to leave off deceiving
And trouble the parish with scandal no more.

When satire, the natural corrective and opposite to the Irish lyric Muse, breaks the spell of soft longing, the release is half-expected :

Though naughty flesh will multiply
Our chief delight is in division ;
Whatever of Divinity
We are all Doctors of Derision.
Content to risk a far salvation
For the quick coinage of a laugh
We cut, to make wit's reputation,
Our total of two friends by half.
('No Mean City')

What is unexpected, however, is the brooding obsessive nature of the bulk of the poems, which destroys the usual picture of MacDonogh as a pure and graceful lyricist. The burden of unhappiness is, like Clarke's, partly local :

Bywords in every land
For devilment and mirth and reckless wit,
We can create no comfortable mind,
No way to heal the imagined enmities
Of spirit and its flesh ; there is no town
But knows our blasphemy . . .
('From Fields of Sorrow')

Partly, also, desolate divisions of the spirit, imaged through landscape :

One landscape still :—
Memorial acres, old demented trees
About a crumbling house, a stony hill,
A solitary lake,—forever these
Restrict the image and impose their will
To hold the travelling thought.
('One Landscape Still')

The longer poems of this sort, like 'Escaped Love,' 'From Fields of Sorrow,' and 'The Frozen Garden' do not entirely succeed, due, I think, to a residue of romantic diction ; their integrity remains impressive. The way in which landscape assumes the colours of the poet's disaffection reminds me of the work of Valentin Iremonger : such an emphasis is probably natural in a pastoral country.

What distinguishes *One Landscape Still* is a kind of cold romanticism, like Mallarmé's swan struggling from the ice. This is even more true of Mr Thomas Kinsella's book, *Another September*. The cloudy strangeness of a poem like 'Priest and Emperor' is held within a rigorous syntactical and stanzaic structure :

I thread my votive smoke : " Whither sighest,
Steam of entrails, gasp of patience ? "
Doubt and hosanna, coupling in the highest,
Twining, refracting, towards one constellation's
Outburning figure in the blackest quadrant,
Answer and blur in the blue air.
Below me, blazing in the light, are squadronned
Consuls of every year,
My tyrannical devoted, bearing in
My rule to me, who bear
Fortuna felix for a discipline.

Altogether, *Another September* is one of the best books of poetry produced by an Irishman since the war : indeed, one of the best anywhere, to be placed with Richard Wilbur's *The Beautiful Changes* or Thom Gunn's *Fighting Terms*. I do not intend to repeat what I have already said in the *Irish Times* (26 April 1958) and elsewhere, except to remark that although Mr Kinsella has carefully evaded all the customary Irish allegiances and obsessions, he has fallen under the stranger and more exacting spell of the White Goddess :

Ravenhair, what rending
Set those red lips a-shriek,
And dealt those locks in black lament
Like blows on your white cheek,
That in your looks outlandishly
Both woe and fury speak ?
(' In the Ringwood ')

Or from the marvellous ' Priest and Emperor,' already one of my favourite modern poems :

That figure ! Breasts and hair, a starry harness
That this night-watcher and night-worker braces.
Uprighting to slow perfection as proper sternness
Makes perfect the year by its end,
The Orbit-born who occupies our faces
Favours this realm I mind.
Her rectitude in every season
Centres in the rigour of the winter.

. . .

This selection of six recent books indicates that the general level of poetic practice is remarkably high. The so-called modern movement is now an accepted thing, a basis for textbooks and courses of instruction

on both sides of the Atlantic. Theoretically, this confers complete freedom of style : one could follow William Carlos Williams in his development of a poetic line based on natural speech rhythm, or, like Mac Diarmuid, widen the borders of the long poem into a kind of revolutionary hold-all. What the majority of younger poets have done, however, confronted with such miraculous freedom, is to adapt one or other simplified form of the modern tradition. In the general return to sanctioned forms and diction we find Americans, like Wilbur, Anthony Hecht, W. S. Merwin, writing the most graceful lyric poetry since Tennyson. This, I take it, is a necessary pause ; the second half of the century cannot merely dilute the achievements of the first. Already the theatre has responded to the widening patterns of experience in the English speaking world ; poetry has temporarily lost its role of emotional pioneer.

There are additional complications in Ireland : geographical isolation, the shadow of a second language *et alia*. The Irish poet has, therefore, always the advantage of a separate theme, even if, as Mr. Patrick Kavanagh once acutely remarked, ' it is the same old hurt ' i.e. puritanism, censorship, lack of recognition ; the pattern of modern Irish literary experience. Technical interest is not lacking ; Mr Clarke's adaption of techniques from Gaelic verse to encompass the Irish Catholic subject parallels modern experiment elsewhere. Paradoxically, our isolation makes us potentially more free ; we have yet to exploit our privileged position as observers outside the mainstream of modern history and experience.

Juan Ramón Jiménez

by PATRICIA O'CONNELL

THE recent death at the age of seventy-seven years of Juan Ramón Jiménez deprives the Spanish speaking world of one of this century's finest lyrical poets. He is mourned from Bogotá to Mexico City, from La Havana to Montevideo, from Bilbao to Huelva. Less than two years ago Juan Ramón was awarded the Nobel Prize for 'his lyric poetry, which in the Spanish language constitutes an example of lofty spirit and artistic purity.' His candidature for the prize was supported by, among many others, the United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld.

He is the poet of sadness and silence, of moonlight and a gentle vagueness. His early poetry—*Arias Tristes, Jardines Lejanos, Diario de un poeta recién casado, Pastorales*—which is felt by many to be his best, reflects varying states of mind conveyed through delicate descriptions of landscape. Later he rejected the 'ornateness' of this early verse, gave up rhyme and assonance or fixed metre and turned to *vers libre.*

'Oh, passión de mi vida, poesía
desnuda, mía para siempre!'
(. . . . Oh, passion of my life, naked poetry, mine forever !)

Juan Ramón, as he is affectionately called, described himself as 'el andaluz universal,' the universal Andalusian, and even to non-Spanish speaking people his poetry has a deep emotional appeal. His exquisite sadness, his solitude, his gardens and sunlit or moonlit landscapes, his love of mankind and of small things—children, animals—all leave a lingering sense of peace, and at the same time of pain ; sharing, in a way, Shelley's expression that 'our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought.'

Qué eterna está la yerba nocturna, donde el grillo
canta, bajo el celeste silencio de la luna!
. . . . El mundo va virando hacia la madrugada,
por un ocaso blanco, con nubes errabundas.

Ciudades de cristal, de azucena, de mármol,
aléjanse, en un sueño de cumbres de frescura
y las colinas tienen bordes de plata yerta,
y no sé que nostaljia de conmovidas tumbas.

Todo cae, llorando sin sentido. Se mueren
los momentos, en una esplendorosa fuga . . . .

—Altivo, a proa del campo el rostro triste y pálido
medita, deslumbrado de luna moribunda.

(How timeless is the nocturnal grass, where the cricket sings beneath the celestial silence of the moon. The world is winding towards the early morning through the west, pale with wandering clouds. Cities of glass, lilies, marble, recede in a dream of fresh summits, and the hills are fringed with motionless silver and the sad remembrance of graves disturbed. The world falls, weeping in quiet grief. The moments dissolve in glorious flight. Proudly upon the margin of the fields under the silvery moon palely dreams a sad face.)

Born in the small town of Moguer, near Huelva, he has immortalized this Andalusian *pueblo* in his delightful, warmly humorous, ' *Platero y yo* (Platero and I). This is the story of a donkey ' small, shaggy, soft ' endeared to children, and adults, the world over by his creator's genius. This poem in prose where ' joy and pain are twins, like Platero's ears, is written for—how do I know for whom !—for those for whom we lyrical poets write.'

In this delicate, yet unsentimental delight in nature and the countryside, he gives something of the nostalgic impressions of the old, looking back on younger days, which we find so often in Padraig Ó Conaire.

' Platero and I ' has been translated into French, English, German, Swedish, Dutch, Greek, Hebrew and Basque. Since 1937 a new edition of this work has appeared each year, and it has now been transcribed in Braille.

But ' Platero and I ' is much more than a book about a donkey—a deeper meaning and symbolism underlie Juan Ramón's simple device of speaking to, and of, this beloved and humble beast. He gives us passages of simple, unsurpassed loveliness, in which his longing for pure beauty persists. ' Look, Platero, the roses fall all around ; blue roses, white roses, roses without colour.' The rose, without the ornament of colour—for him the most beautiful of all—reflects this eternal longing of his for pure, unadorned beauty. Beauty, impossible to define, becomes for Juan Ramón the synthesis of the qualities he seeks in his poetry—simplicity and exactitude.

Que mi palabra sea
la cosa misma,
creada por mi alma nuevamente.

(. . . . That my word might be the thing itself, created anew by my soul)

The pathos of the little boy, touched by the hand of God, who sits by the door watching the other children pass ; the cricket's song ; the swallows ; the charcoalburner's daughter ' pretty but dirty like a coin ' ; carnival ; the well ; nightfall ; the pomegranate ; October evening ; the dew ; the Angelus ; the locked gate—these few chapter subjects, taken at random, give some idea of the varied and evocative quality of his prose poems.

The chapter headed simply ' Bread ' tells us that ' Moguer is like a loaf of bread, white on the inside like the crumb, and golden on the outside like the soft crust.'

Juan Ramón left Spain in 1936 and lived in New York, Puerto Rico, Cuba and South America for varying lengths of time. He died in San Juan, in Puerto Rico, where he had made his home for the past seven years. In June his remains and those of his wife and collaborator, Zenobia Camprubi, were brought to a last resting place in the idyllic town in the south-west of Spain, which he has immortalized in his writings.

Now like Platero, Juan Ramón may be happy, in his ' meadow of eternal roses ', his soul may ' pasture in Paradise,' while his bones lie near ' the foot of the maternal pine tree ' where Platero is buried.

Y por arenas altas, paso a paso, camino
hacia la claridad de un horizonte eterno.

(. . . . And over the high sands, step by step, I journey towards the brightness of an eternal horizon.)

Reviews

IRISH DIPLOMAT'S TRIBUTE TO PIUS XII

POPE PIUS XII. By T. J. Kiernan. Dublin : Clonmore & Reynolds. 1958. Pp. 80. 8s. 6d.

THOUGH this biography of the late Pope is hardly more than a pamphlet, its value is not to be judged by its length. Dr Kiernan was the Irish Minister Plenipotentiary to the Vatican during the years of war, 1941-1946, and had thus an unique opportunity of visiting the Holy Father regularly during a period of almost unbearable anxiety, when the fate of the world hung in the balance. The chapters which deal with this period and which give Dr Kiernan's personal experiences and reactions will deservedly count among the sources on which the future biographer of Pius XII will draw.

In the earlier pages the career of Eugenio Pacelli before his elevation to the papal throne is briefly sketched. He was born within a few minutes walk of St Peter's and baptized in the parish church by an uncle, Monsignore Giuseppe Pacelli. The status of the family may perhaps best be described as professional rather than aristocratic ; such at least was the view pertinaciously held by the old royalist nobility. Marcantonio Pacelli was a lawyer in the papal states under Pius IX. His son, Filippo Pacelli, followed the same legal calling. Filippo married Virginia Graziosi, a lady as remarkable for culture as for

virtue, and their four children (of whom Eugenio was the third) grew up in an ideal Catholic home. When we think of Pius XII we should not forget his only brother Francesco who was a University Professor and who played an impressive part under Pius XI in the solution of the Roman Question. That great Pope, whose comments rarely lacked point, said of Francesco that he lived the kind of life which those bound by the vows of religion *ought* to lead ! The boys were sent to the near by Collegio Visconti and there Eugenio remained from his tenth to his eighteenth year. During all this time he was regularly first in his class. His other interests were riding, swimming and music, and it is said that in the course of the years his proficiency as a violinist had become noteworthy. This is the more remarkable because his devotion to exacting duties left him very little time for even mild distractions. Though always pleasant and polite he showed no great need of company ; indeed, until the day when he became Pope, retirement and reserve were pronounced features of his character. He was by nature all his life a lonely man.

Though the study of his choice was literature, he was able to take the various ecclesiastical courses—philosophy, theology, canon law—in his stride. Perhaps because of his teachers, one of whom was Duchesne, his confidence in history was strictly limited. Father Leiber records that once when he was Nuncio in Germany he happened to be sitting at dinner beside von Harnack. Suddenly he turned and put to that celebrated scholar the embarrassing question : ' How much, Herr Professor, of the history you teach do you regard as certain ? '. Harnack reflected for a few moments and then answered, ' about half '. The Nuncio made it clear that he thought even that percentage high !

In Holy Week 1899 he was ordained priest. Three years later, he became attached to the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. By 1912 he was secretary of this Congregation, a post equivalent to an under-secretaryship of state in a secular government. His superior officer was Monsignore Gasparri, a brilliant canonist, later to be Cardinal Secretary of State. In 1917 Monsignore Pacelli was consecrated an archbishop and sent as Nuncio Apostolic to Germany. Though he was then forty-one his relations with his mother had remained so filial and so intimate that his departure from Rome nearly broke her heart. After twelve years in Munich, he was recalled to Rome to become Cardinal Secretary of State. In 1939 he succeeded Pius XI as Pope. For such a career of unbroken success there are few parallels.

Pius XII loved to have his faithful children round him. They came from every corner of the world. In receiving non-Catholics—not merely the eminent but any who cared to come—he was always most generous. It was the fault of their ancestors, not of themselves, that they were not born into the fold of Peter. For them the successor of St Peter had nothing but good will and affection.

Irish visitors to Pius XII could always be sure of an enthusiastic welcome. It was thrilling to hear from his own lips these words : ' I often worry lest I should not make it clear to your (the Irish) people how well I know what they have done and are doing for the Church and how grateful I am to them for it.'

He was never robust. While Nuncio in Germany the elementary problem of managing his household caused him much trouble. He appealed to the

Provincial of the Teaching Sisters of the Holy Cross at Altötting for help and she sent three Sisters of the community to undertake the work. When he came to Rome as Cardinal Secretary of State he brought them with him and when he became Pope, he created a precedent by allowing them to look after his kitchen in the Vatican. As his needs were most modest they had time at their disposal and spent it, as nuns so much like to do, in making vestiments. Their Superior, Mother Pasqualina, a woman of great energy, proved to be capable of typing in four languages, and was therefore on occasion given secretarial tasks to do. As the Pope was a perfectionist, who wrote and re-wrote his addresses until they reached the limit of accuracy and beauty of form, the final draft was often made by her. The ordinary secretaries would by then have left their offices ; for her there were no Trade Union rules. It is commonly believed that the care and devotion of this devoted little community was more than anything else responsible for the survival of the delicate and grossly overworked Pontiff to the age of eighty-two.

The most valuable chapter in Dr Kiernan's delightful book is that which recounts the efforts of the Australian government in 1944 to induce its allies to spare Rome. Mr de Valera had already made the request in dignified language : ' It is clear to all that if the City be defended by one side in arms and attacked by the other side, its destruction will be inevitable . . . and that will be a major calamity for the human race.' But Mr de Valera was head of a neutral country. Australia had many battalions fighting in Italy and its intervention in this noble cause should be remembered eternally to its credit. As Dr Kiernan says : ' the whole weight of the Australian Government was thrown on the scales to save a city twelve thousand miles away and in another hemisphere. It was the only real protest that was made from any of the belligerent countries. The American hierarchy remained silent, as did the French, the Canadian and the English.' Of life in Rome in those hectic days Dr Kiernan gives an account that is extraordinarily vivid. And he sums up the achievement of the pontificate in the more august sphere of dogmatic teaching : ' From the permanent deposit of truth of the faith Pius XII, the Pope of our age, has liberally drawn founts of wisdom, to which generations, long after his death, will turn for counsel and guidance.'

JOHN RYAN

MIDDLE EAST SURVEY

THE MIDDLE EAST. A Political and Economic Survey. Third edition. Edited by Sir Reader Bullard. Published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Oxford University Press. 1958. xviii and pp. 569. 45s.

To review this book adequately a committee of experts would be needed, or somebody who, like its editor, carries the Middle East in his head. Such men as Sir Reader Bullard are few and becoming fewer. They do not seem to be wanted. Their knowledge of the Middle East can be embarrassing to those with bold and imaginative policies, new deals and new departures that seem to end in departure, *vieux style*, cutting losses and getting out.

The Middle East is like Ireland in that one can hardly live in it without having history thrust upon one. Only more so, for Irish history is but an affair of centuries ; Middle East history a matter of millenia. For most of us who lived and worked in the Middle East its history was perforce a spare-time study. We had other things to do. But it was far from being a merely academic pursuit ; it was necessary in order to get our bearings from day to day in a complicated and bewildering environment. Many learned their Middle East with the help of Sir Reader's small book of 195 pages which fitted into the pocket of a bush-shirt and could be consulted like a pocket-compass when one was lost. Knowing how much he could say in few pages they may not heed his warning to be prepared for severe compression throughout the volume of 569 pages which he has edited for the R.I.I.A. But not everyone in the team has his gift of clarity in condensation. Some parts of this 3rd edition are not easy reading and some are misleading because of over-compression. Those who do not know the Middle East at first hand will not find it as interesting as its two predecessors were. It is more factual and less personal. Some may think that the priority assigned to facts may be excessive. Personalities count for so much in Middle East history, today as yesterday and before.

As an example of misleading through compression, there is the account of the King-Crane mission on page 15, reduced to eight lines from fourteen in the second edition. The mission was sent to find out the wishes of the Arabs about mandates. The second edition records briefly what the Arabs wanted, or at all events, what Messrs King and Crane were told by them. The third edition gives only the conclusions of the Report : ' It was opposed to a French mandate for Syria and questioned the wisdom of the Balfour Declaration.' Surely a glimpse of what even then was obvious might have been omitted to leave space for the really interesting fact that the Arabs wanted first an American, or failing that, a British mandate—or said they did. They were talking to two Americans. Both editions say that the Report was ignored, but they do not mention that its laudable aim amounted in practice to finding out the wishes of a small more or less literate and mainly urban minority, upon whom the vast illiterate majority depended for all they could know about the real issue put before them. Readers unaware of this factor in the situation are led to believe that the King-Crane report may be a piece of lost wisdom.

The second edition barely mentions the revolt of Arabi Pasha in 1882 ; the third edition gives the subsequent Egyptian build-up of the revolt by nationalist propaganda, saying it was ' misunderstood abroad and repugnant to the Khedive and the Sultan ' (p. 11). Of course it was, but to what extent misunderstood and for what reasons repugnant ? The implication is that the misunderstanding was complete and the reasons selfish and bad. There is another view, and it is not given. Unless both sides can be fully presented, such debatable matters are best left out, and the bare facts recorded as the second edition wisely did in this case.

In the chapter on the Sudan the section on history and politics (pp 418-33) is sure to arouse interest, for its account of the country in the Turco-Egyptian period (1820-1885) down to the battle of Omdurman (1898) which inaugurated Anglo-Egyptian rule, is quite different from that of the second edition. It

rejects the traditional view that the revolt of the Mahdi in 1881 owed its success to misrule and oppression during the Turco-Egyptian regime, and that the Mahdi and his sucessor the Khalifa made things much worse by their fanatical cruelty so that the population dropped from eight to two millions in sixteen years. For this estimate, we are rather pompously informed, ' there is no statistical basis '. In the circumstances surely one would not expect statistics nor rely on such as might be produced. Contemporary accounts of evils in the Sudan are dismissed as ' emotional in tone and episodic in treatment.' Considering that two of them were written by men who were for several years prisoners and slaves of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, the Austrian missionary Father Ohrwalder and Slatin Pasha, also Austrian by birth, who had served in the Sudan under Gordon as governor of Darfur, that criticism does not seem relevant to their reliability as witnesses. Slatin's book is mentioned in a footnote. No reference is made to Father Ohrwalder or to his book. The writer of this section says that the Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the joint rule of the Sudan, called Condominium, ' was unpopular from the start and the Prime Minister who had signed it was assassinated ' (p. 423). The Prime Minister also was unpopular from the start because he was a Copt, a native Egyptian Christian. The agreement was signed in 1899 ; Butros Ghali was murdered in 1909. Ten years *post hoc ; ergo propter hoc ?*

This section which might have been interesting is, to me at least, disappointing, for I have always felt that the respect and popularity still enjoyed in the Sudan by the Mahdi's surviving son, Saiyed Abd ur Rahman el Mahdi, indicates popular memories of at least some good government. Against that, there is the success of his political opponents in the elections of 1953, who played on popular fears of return to Mahdist rule. A more balanced account would be welcome, with more positive evidence and perhaps less leaning over backwards in order to demonstrate English impartiality.

The editor says in his preface that ' a book of this kind is bound to contain many mistakes both of fact and of emphasis '. So far, my criticism seems to deal with what I think mistaken emphasis. I suppose it is my duty to find some mistakes of fact, if only to show that I have read the book with some care.

On p. 20 Egypt is said to have become independent in 1936, being a British Protectorate during the first world war. The Protectorate was officially ended in 1922 and Egypt declared by the British Government to be independent at the same time. The second edition says Egypt became independent in 1922, which is correct.

On p. 51 the Armenians are said to have three patriarchs. There are five, not counting the Uniate Armenian patriarch, Cardinal Agagianian. Aghthamar, Sis, Etchmiadzin, Constantinople, Jerusalem. On the same page it is said that the Monophysites ' emphasized the single nature of Christ '. This is inaccurate. They denied that Christ had any nature but one.

On p. 28 Russia is said to have taken over Russian Orthodox Church property in the Middle East after the second world war. Not in Palestine, where the British Mandatory government protected it from Russia. The Israel government, apparently as part of a bargain with Russia, withdrew that protection, but not, as far as I know, the Jordan government.

On p. 26 it is said that the last of the British troops withdrew from Palestine on 14 May 1948. They withdrew on 30 June, a strong brigade group which remained in effective control of Haifa and the approaches to it for six weeks longer, until the last British units, military and civil, had passed through. The point has some importance, for if the last British troops withdrew all in the one day that the Mandate ended, it would be obvious that for some time previously they must have been so few that no effective British control existed in territory for which Britain was till that day responsible.

On p. 52 the Sabaeans are on the list of Christian communities. Whatever they are, they are not Christians. The designation ' Christians of St. John ' is a misnomer which they violently reject. In the second edition they were correctly put on a separate list.

I trust that the comparatively trivial nature of these errors will serve to bring out the good quality of this useful book. It was a remarkable achievement to bring such a vast quantity of reliable information together, to keep it up to date as far as autumn of 1957, and then to publish the book on 24 July, 1958. It is a whole reference library for the specialist on the Middle East at one end of the scale, for the general reader at the other, and for several thousands in between, who have lived, worked, or fought in the Middle East in course of the past thirty or forty years and got to know it more or less, according to their times and opportunities. It is painful to open a newspaper and read news that one cannot now make sense of, from some place in the Middle East that one did know well some years ago. There are few pains of that sort which this book cannot cure. Many people will be grateful to the Editor and his expert R.I.I.A. team, when they find this out for themselves.

The economic and social sections are for specialists chiefly, but they cannot be skipped by anybody who wants to understand the Middle East, for they give the pattern that its history must follow. The strong position of Iraq is set forth in a lucid phrase : (p. 246) ' endowed with vast potential wealth apart from oil, she has acquired through oil the capital to develop it.' The desperate race in Egypt between food-production and procreation is given its due importance. Most interesting is the position of Israel where the Jews, of all people, are caught in a hopeless financial dilemma of their own making and do not seem to realize its hopelessness. Some will admire their nationalist faith ; others may remember the proverb about those whom the gods wish to destroy.

J. J. W. Murphy

ASTRONOMY

STELLAR POPULATIONS. By D. J. K. O'Connell, S.J. Vatican Observatory, 1958. lxviii+544 Pp. Cloth bound. $10.00, 70s. Distributed by : North Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam. Interscience Publishers, Inc., New York.

This volume gives a detailed account of the proceedings at a recent astronomical conference which was held in Rome in May, 1957, at the invitation of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and at the instigation of the Director of the

Vatican Observatory, Dr D. J. K. O'Connell, S.J. Astronomers are used to discussing their problems at international conferences ; many of them meet regularly at three year intervals at the Assemblies of the International Astronomical Union. However, large gatherings with many hundred, or even close to a thousand, participants, such as the recent assemblies of the Union, are not generally the best means for promoting intimate discussions, particularly in a field at the frontiers of knowledge. Small meetings of specialists are usually far more fruitful.

The Vatican ' Study Week on Stellar Populations ' has been such a meeting of specialists—there were twenty-one participants in all—and it has undoubtedly been one of the most stimulating and useful astronomical conferences held in recent years. It was devoted to a discussion of our present knowledge of so called ' stellar populations '. The concept of stellar population, based on the discovery that many galaxies of stars are made up of different stellar categories, is due to W. Baade, who has just retired from the Mount Wilson and Palomar Observatories in California where he was in charge of the famous 100-inch and 200-inch telescopes.

Baade, who was one of the prominent speakers at the Vatican conference, first introduced the idea of the existence of two basically different stellar populations in 1944. He derived it then from his observations of the structure of the Andromeda Nebula, i.e. the spiral-shaped galaxy which is nearest and very similar in structure to our own. There in the Andromeda Nebula, Baade found the stars in the spiral arms to be similar to those with which we are familiar from the neighbourhood of the Sun—in our own galaxy the Sun lies in a spiral arm—but the stars in the central regions to be quite different and rather like those which we observe in globular star clusters.

In the course of time it became clear that much of the difference between the two stellar populations could be explained in terms of differences of stellar ages : the ' population II stars ', i.e. those stars which we find in the central regions and, as we now know, also in the outer ' haloes ' and in between the spiral arms of spiral galaxies, are all very old stars which were formed between five and ten thousand million years ago in the earliest stages of the galaxies' existence. In contrast, ' population I stars ', of which the Sun is one, may be old or young, as young as a million years or even less ; the younger stars may well be formed in front of our own eyes out of the interstellar gas and dust which is always observed in the neighbourhood of population I stars.

The problem of stellar populations has therefore come to be connected with that of stellar evolution, a problem which, thanks to the great advances in the field of nuclear physics, is right at the centre of present day astronomy. It is nuclear inter-actions and, in particular, the conversion of hydrogen into helium in their intensely hot interiors, which make the stars shine and keep them shining until their nuclear energy sources are exhausted.

The Rome conference, therefore, called together not only experts on the structure of our own galaxy, such as Oort of Leiden, or specialists in the study of the structure of external galaxies, such as Lindblad of Stockholm, Sandage, Baade's young successor at Palomar, or Thackeray of Pretoria, but also theoretical investigators of stellar structure and stellar evolution, such as Hoyle of Cambridge or Schwarzschild of Princeton, and, last but not least, pure

nuclear physicists such as Fowler of Pasadena or Salpeter of Cornell. Such a meeting of leading astronomers and physicists was bound to produce discussions of outstanding interest, and every astronomer must feel grateful to Father O'Connell for the great trouble he has gone to in arranging this meeting, and now for the infinite care with which he has edited the present account of the various papers read by the participants and the extremely stimulating and lively discussions which followed them. Here readers will find some really first-hand information on one of the most fascinating problems of present day astronomy, and no worker in this field will be able to do without this volume which is all the more valuable as it comes out fairly soon after the actual conference, a very important point in a subject where things are greatly in a state of flux.

The book, though chiefly intended for astronomers, will undoubtedly be of interest also to other scientists. To readers of this journal its primary interest may lie in the fact that it shows how a scientific subject, which is very much at the frontiers of knowledge and which necessarily involves some fairly controversial topics, can and has been treated by the highest authorities of the Church. Pope Pius XII, in accordance with the strong interest which he has shown at all times in the progress of modern science, gave his very special blessing to this conference. He opened the study week by receiving in solemn audience the participants, members of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, Cardinals present in Rome and the Diplomatic Corps. The address which he delivered on that occasion and which is printed in this volume made a deep impression on everyone present, not only because it presented a remarkably clear exposition of the fundamental issues involved in the conference, but quite particularly because it demonstrated once again the Pope's great understanding and warm regard for the work of the modern scientist, an attitude which contrasts so happily with the timid, suspicious and often obscurantist attitude towards science which, alas, is only too common amongst Catholics.

It just remains to say that the volume is beautifully printed and produced.

H. A. Brück

THE GREEN FLASH AND OTHER LOW SUN PHENOMENA. By D. J. K. O'Connell, S.J. Vatican Observatory, 1958. 192 Pp. 80 Colour Photographs. Cloth bound. $6.00, 42s. Distributed by : North Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam. Interscience Publishers, Inc., New York.

The 'green flash' is a phenomen which is observed occasionally at sunset and, less often, at sunrise, when the very last, or the very first, visible segment of the sun appears brilliantly green for a moment. This green flash can be a particularly striking phenomenon at a sunset over the sea, and, as the writer can confirm from his own experience, conditions for observing it are eminently favourable at the Vatican Observatory at Castel Gandolfo which looks out over the Mediterranean. The phenomenon is not only very impressive, but also of considerable interest from the point of view of meteorological optics.

It can be explained largely in terms of the dispersion of sunlight by our atmosphere, combined with the effects of selective absorption and scattering by the same atmosphere which affects different colours differently. The green flash is not physiological in origin therefore, as is often believed. It is of its very nature a most elusive phenomenon and one of which hardly any objective records exist. Many observant people, quite apart from scientists, have taken an interest in it—Letters to the Editor on the Green Flash are one of the ever recurring items in every newspaper—and we must welcome warmly therefore the appearance of the present volume which contains an unsurpassed photographic record of the phenomenon, together with a very useful account of the physics behind it. The photographs reproduced in this volume have been taken with one or the other of the telescopes of the Vatican Observatory. Eighty of them are in colour, and every colour photographer knows how extremely difficult it is to reproduce faithfully on colour film the various nuances of a colour scene. Infinite patience must have gone into the making of these remarkable pictures of the Green Flash and Other Low Sun Phenomena which are entirely due to the enthusiasm of Brother C. Treusch, S.J., a member of the Vatican Observatory staff. The reviewer had the good fortune to be able to see some of the original colour films and he can testify therefore to the faithfulness with which those have been reproduced in the present volume which will be of the greatest interest to all those concerned with our terrestrial atmosphere, and which will give much pleasure to any lover of the beauty of nature.

H. A. BRÜCK.

HISTORY

EARLY CHRISTIAN IRELAND. By Máire and Liam de Paor. London : Thames and Hudson. 1958. Pp. 236. 25s.

THIS is Volume Eight in an interesting series of archaeological works dealing with ancient peoples and the places in which they lived. Peru, the Scythians and the Etruscans have already appeared, and Babylon, the Lycians, the Phoenicians and the Cave Artists are to come, with the prehistoric Indians and the Japanese. Here at least is a programme to satisfy the most exacting of international appetites. In such exotic company one might have expected to find the inhabitants of pre-Christian rather than Christian Ireland, but the general editor of the series, Dr Glyn Daniel, may have felt that the earlier period of Irish antiquity was adequately handled by T. G. E. Powell in his volume on the Celts. The present book deserves to be welcomed as a valuable addition to the small number of competent modern works on Ireland.

A period of about eight hundred years is covered, from the introduction of Christianity to the Synod of Kells in the twelfth century. In their description of the archaeological remains and their significance in terms of social life, the authors excel. No less than 77 photographs of various objects—fibulae, brooches, chalices, shrines, slabs, crosses, churches, manuscripts—(each one of

them a representative of its class and a thing of beauty in its own right) are delightfully reproduced. Inserted in the pages are thirty-one line drawings and five maps. And the text is worthy of the illustrations. Readers will find in it an abundance of material evidence for the Christian civilization of Ireland in the centuries before the Anglo-Norman invasion. There are many questions which everybody likes to ask. Who lived in the raths or 'ring-forts'? How many of these are to be found in the country? Were the houses of the people round or rectangular? What material was used in their construction? How was a crannog made and what purpose did it serve? Were the breeds of dog then different from the breeds familiar now? What of the pigs, the sheep, the cattle, the horses? How was cooking done? What did the people eat and drink? Was poteen among their beverages, and if not what took its place for the thirsty and the depressed? Who was responsible for the upkeep of the roads? In what vehicles did the people travel? Were the artisans, carpenters, smiths and the rest good at their trade? How did artistic work compare with that produced by contemporaries in foreign parts? What of ships and commerce and journeys abroad? Was Irish resistance to the Viking freebooters ridiculously weak or unexpectedly strong? What changes in the political and social orders did the Northmen bring into Irish life during the two centuries of their fierce activity? Why was old Irish architecture replaced by the new style called Romanesque? Did Irish builders handle this innovation with success? These and many other questions are answered by the authors in a prose that deserves a special word of praise as it is remarkable for ease, clarity and charm.

As the period dealt with is well known to us from written sources and as these could not properly be ignored, the authors in each chapter of the book give in summary form the history of the period. Here their touch is not so sure. Nor is this surprising, for the problem of getting a complex situation into a sentence or even a paragraph is often impossible to solve. Take, for example, the question of monarchy or republicanism in Gaul. Caesar mentions nine kings with whom, in one way or another, he had come into contact. Thus it is not true to say that 'the kingship had disappeared in Gaul in the first century B.C.'

There is confusion in the statement that in the fifth century the Uí Néill High-kings claimed the sovereignty of Ireland 'although their sway was effective only in the northern half of the country and the Eoghanachta, who were established at Cashel in the plain of Tipperary, claimed the overlordship of the southern half of the country'. Effective is an ambiguous word; the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor, though effective within its limits, was not effective if compared with the rule of a Henry VIII or a Louis XIV. However the word be defined, it is not correct to say that the rule of the Uí Néill High-kings was confined to the northern half of Ireland. It was as effective in Leinster as it was north of the Liffey. When the Leinstermen objected, as occasionally they did, they were reduced to subjection by force of arms. No such expeditions against Munster are chronicled, whence the natural conclusion is that the men of Munster did not provoke the High-Kings by refusing to acknowledge their hegemony. When the Munster kings, having grown in

power, had grown also in ambition, they sought to depose the Uí Néill rulers and take their place as kings of Ireland. The efforts of the Eoghanachta kings, one in the eighth, one in the ninth, and one in the tenth century, to rule ' in Tara's halls ' were ignominious failures.

A vein of scepticism is no doubt a useful asset to the historian. It should however be kept within proper bounds. To say of the national apostle : ' Tradition and legends of St Patrick collected by pious hagiographers of the eighth century and later medieval times have been preserved ' is to suggest that the Patrician sources deserve ridicule rather than belief. Yet great historians have found them worthy of respect. And who are the hagiographers of the eighth century? Muirchu and Tírechán belonged to the seventh century, and the latter can hardly be accused of excessive ' pietas ', for his list of the churches founded by St Patrick is as drab and dull as a laundry list. Before these was Aed of Ardbreccán ; and before him again was St Patrick himself who, in answer to the critics of his day, wrote part of his own biography. Taking all in all, we know more about St Patrick than we know about St Augustine of Canterbury.

The High-King Diarmait was not killed at the battle of Cúl Dremne ; nor did Adamnan secure ' a much-needed reform ' by putting an end to the bearing of arms by women in war. Indeed, the Latin title (' Lex Innocentium ') of Adamnan's Law should make this clear. The Law forbade the putting to death of a woman for any crime, even for deliberate murder, a reform that should really have been reserved for some ' progressive ' parliament of the twentieth century. It was passed in a national assembly presided over by the High-King, Loingseach, and held at Birr in A.D. 697.

The Vikings were responsible for many enormities, but the ' new barbarous custom ' of mutilation by blinding should not be laid at their door. They did notoriously torture defeated enemies ; such gross ill-treatment did not take that particular form. It is hard for us now to regard blinding as a measure of mercy, yet such it was conceived to be in the ninth century. When Louis the Pious divided his empire among his three sons in A.D. 817 his nephew, Bernhard, then ruling in Italy, went into rebellion. The revolt was soon crushed and Bernhard was taken prisoner. An Assembly at Aachen condemned him and his chief accomplices to death. Louis was loth to inflict this penalty on one so near to him in blood relationship. Around the Emperor were learned men who pointed out to him that in the Eastern Empire blinding was a well-known penalty for such offences. Louis therefore commuted the sentences of death to blinding. From the Frankish Empire the idea was brought to Ireland. The first example in the Annals is under the year A.D. 864, when the High-King had a local midland king blinded because he had assisted the Norse in their depredations.

In justice to the authors however, it must be repeated that their work is essentially archaeological. As the history is only incidental, these criticisms do not affect the book's real value.

JOHN RYAN

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. A new edition, rewritten and revised. Edited by Austen Lane Poole. 2 vols. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1958. 70s.

In 1924 the late Professor H. W. C. Davis edited a volume entitled *Medieval England,* which was based in part on an earlier *Companion to English History,* edited by F. P. Barnard (1902). These two volumes bring the 1924 volume up to date, and add a very great deal which could not have been given thirty-five years ago. The illustrations alone, both plates and text-figures, make full use of all the new knowledge which has been accumulated by so many specialists working in their chosen fields. Here the choice has been admirable, and in particular the use of drawings from medieval manuscripts. Photographs can be used to illustrate architecture and such objects as are now preserved in central or local museums. But there is a delightful quality in medieval drawing which brings us nearer to the men and women of those far-off days, whether it be in such matters as dress and ornament, or armour or shipping or day-to-day work and recreations.

The letter-press is the work of no less than nineteen specialists, each writing a highly compressed account of some aspect of medieval English life on which a whole volume could as easily be written. Few of the chapters are readable for pleasure, though all are marked by painstaking care for accuracy and clearness. Dom David Knowles writes an essay of almost sixty pages on religious life which, from the nature of the subject and his own skill in the art of synthesis, is exceptionally pleasant to read. Lady Stenton has no more than twelve pages for her short essay on ' Communications ' ; but the twelve pages are fresh and lively, and she illustrates her theme by reproducing the ' Gough map ' of the early fourteenth century which is now in the Bodleian Library. Mr H. M. Colvin also has a pleasant subject for his essay on domestic architecture, though it is perhaps a pity that he has preferred elementary plans for his illustrations rather than photographs of surviving houses from the different regions of medieval England. Military architecture, the art of war, coins, trade, art, learning and education ; the chapters are all of them highly technical. Professor Galbraith has done his valiant best to describe medieval English handwriting in eighteen pages, but his plates are exceptionally well chosen, as are also the plates for Sir James Mann's chapter on arms and armour. But perhaps the best of all the illustrations are the modern photographs with which Mr W. G. Hoskins illustrates his opening chapter on the English landscape.

One word of criticism and complaint. Why do neither Lady Stenton, writing on communications, nor Miss Murray, writing on medieval shipping, have a word to say about the lines of communication between England and Ireland. Modern English scholars seem invariably to look towards France when they are not looking on the English scene. Yet there must have been hundreds of English merchants, soldiers and clerks who took the road every year to some port on the west coast of England for a ship, large or small, that would carry them to Ireland. With all due deference to the scholars who have planned and compiled this admirable volume, Ireland was very much more part of the medieval English scene than would appear from these essays and the accompanying illustrations.

AUBREY GWYNN

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY : Origin and Early Years. By John M. Daley, S. J. Washington : Georgetown University Press. 1957. $5.

BASIL ANTHONY MARY MOREAU. By Canon Etienne Catta and Tony Catta. English translation by Edward L. Heston, C.S.C. 2 vols. Milwaukee : Bruce.

THESE two works tell, in very different ways, the early history of two of the best known Catholic Universities in the United States of America. Father Daley tells the story of Georgetown, which can trace its history back to the days of George Washington, and which claims 22 November 1791 as the day on which the school-bell rang for the first time in what was later to become the oldest of North America's Catholic Universities. Father Heston, a priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, translates two immensely long volumes in which two French scholars tell the story of the founder of Holy Cross, Basil Anthony Moreau. Their narrative includes the story of a missionary venture which brought Father Edward Sorin, a Breton priest, to Indiana in 1841, and was the immediate cause of his opening first a secondary school, and then a very vigorous and progressive University at Notre-Dame du Lac near the southern shore of Lake Michigan.

Father Daley's story is based for the most part on the archives in Baltimore Cathedral and Georgetown University ; though use has also been made of the Jesuit central archives in Rome, and the Irish Jesuit archives for some letters of Father Peter Kenney, S.J., who was twice sent as visitor to the Jesuit missions in the United States and who announced the establishment of the Maryland province in 1833.

The central figure in the whole history is John Carroll, the future Archbishop of Baltimore, who was born in Maryland on 8 January 1735 ; and who, as 'Jacky Carroll' aged thirteen, was sent to Europe for his education in 1748. After five years at St. Omer in French Flanders, John Carroll entered the Jesuit novitiate at Watten near Liège in 1753. He was teaching classics at St. Omer in 1762, when news was brought to the college of the official suppression of the Society of Jesus in France. John Carroll went back to Liège across the border, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1769, and where he had to face the immediate consequence of the suppression of the Society by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. After a short tour of Europe as tutor to Lord Stourton's son, Father Carroll came back to Maryland in 1774 ; and from the date of his return may be counted his first plans for the opening of a Catholic college and seminary in his native Maryland. Father Daley tells the long and complicated story of the various efforts to raise money, secure a suitable site, interest priests and laity in the venture, and finally open the school at Georgetown in November 1791.

Most of the volume is inevitably concerned with the slow growth, temporary failure and disappointment, and eventual success of Georgetown University.

Special interest is centred on the difficult relations that developed between Archbishop Carroll (who became Bishop of Baltimore in 1790) and the former Jesuit Fathers to whom he entrusted the direction of his college. In 1791 the Society had already been suppressed for almost twenty years ; but, as

in many European countries, so also in Maryland the former Fathers of the Society maintained something like a corporate existence in the hope of a restoration which was finally achieved in 1814. Nobody could have been more loyal than John Carroll to the Society of which he had been an active member for twenty years ; and nobody was more eager than himself to see the work of the Society restored by some official Papal act. But there was room in plenty for divergence of opinion as to the legal status of the former Fathers before the bull by which Pius VI restored the Society in August 1814. Bishop Carroll—whose genius for organization and respect for canon law are plain throughout his career—was unwilling to share all the premature hopes and plans of the ' gentlemen of the Southern District ' with whom he had to deal in the negotiations concerning the early development of Georgetown College.

The leading Jesuit figure in this story is Father John Anthony Grassi, an Italian priest from Bergamo who had volunteered for the mission in China, but was finally assigned to Baltimore in 1810, at a time when the Society of Jesus had been partially restored in the Kingdom of Naples. Father Grassi and Bishop Carroll were almost inevitably in opposition to one another on many points of canonical procedure during these difficult years of transition, but their joint work was finally justified by the growing success of Georgetown University. Father Daley prints a passage from Father Grassi's diary which records his emotion at the death of the great American Archbishop at whose bedside he stood during his last hours in November 1815. Later Father Grassi was to praise Carroll's ' rare goodness of heart ' ; and this story of the differences which for a time made cooperation difficult between the two men is told with a frankness and sincerity which makes Father Daley's book a welcome contribution to our knowledge of these all-important years during which the Catholic Church, in the Old World and the New, was slowly adapting herself to new ways and a new society.

The long biography of Basil Anthony Moreau, which was not yet fully published in the original French version when this American translation appeared in two volumes, tells the story of a French priest whose ways of thought and piety were in many ways similar to those of John Carroll, though he was never able to adapt himself, as John Carroll (with his American birth and background) did adapt himself, to a modern democratic world. M. Moreau was a Breton priest who remained to the end a royalist, and whose piety and priestly character were formed in the school of Saint-Sulpice. He clung to the older French style in all his ways, and was at heart a conservative. In the first years of his active priestly life he had the misfortune to become involved in a dispute with the foundress of the French Sisters of the Good Shepherd at Angers, who is to-day venerated as Saint Euphrasia Pelletier. The misunderstandings which arose from this dispute account, we may be sure, for the fact that M. Moreau's part in the founding of the Congregation of the Holy Cross and his connection with the first founders of Notre Dame University are kept very much in the background in the relevant articles of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia,* published in 1910. Here the story is told at length, at far too great length for the ordinary reader ; but there is no denying the remarkable achievement of this zealous priest who brought together (between

1830 and 1835) a small group of missionary priests working at Le Mans, and another small group of Brothers of Saint Joseph who were striving to revive Catholic primary education in post-Restoration France ; joined them to a community of teaching Sisters, and made of the three groups one of the most vital forces for Catholic education in the New World.

M. Moreau's zeal was world-wide, and there are active missions of the Holy Cross Congregation today in Algiers and Bombay which go back to the days of the founder ; but the great opportunity came when the founder made what he felt to be his most generous sacrifice, and allowed his most promising and vigorous son, Eduard Sorin, to leave France for Indiana as leader of a small group of missionary priests and brothers in 1841. Father Sorin's career, first as missionary priest, then as founder of Notre-Dame University, and finally as Superior General of the Congregation from 1868 to 1893, plainly demands a separate biography. Here he figures, almost from the first chapter in which his name is mentioned, as the immediate cause of M. Moreau's greatest cross and most grievous disappointments. There is an excellent photograph of Father Sorin opposite p. 545 of volume I, which is worth a good fifty pages of the narrative. A Breton like the founder, Eduard Sorin was far from sharing Basil Moreau's deep attachment to the *ancien régime*. From the first he took to the American way of life like a duck to water. When he came back to France in 1868 he distressed his French brethren by speaking French with a marked American accent, and he caused grave offence in Canada as Superior General by addressing French Canadian communities in Yankee English. But the man, as revealed in this photograph, comes alive as a man of great will-power, wide vision, and high courage ; a born leader of men.

Some time ago I had the good fortune to meet a prominent American Catholic who told me that he was an alumnus of Notre-Dame. I asked him at once what he believed to be the true secret of the remarkable success achieved by the Holy Cross Fathers in this great work. He thought for a moment, and then answered : ' They knew how to deal with men.' I suspect that the tradition which has given such life to Notre-Dame goes back to Sorin rather than to Moreau ; and it is exasperating to find this immensely long biography devoted to an *ex-parte* statement of M. Moreau's side in a dispute which ended in the resignation of M. Moreau as Superior General, and the substitution of Father Sorin. (The titles are significant.)

To an outsider one minor aspect of this story may be noted as throwing unexpected light on the American Catholic scene. South Bend, the site on which Father Sorin founded his college and later the university, lies close to Lake Michigan, not far to the east of the city of Chicago. It seems an unexpected area in which to find French priests, almost alone, laying the foundations of future Catholic life ; but the whole state of Indiana inherits an old French tradition which is revealed in the names which recur in this part of the story : Louisville, Terre Haute, Vincennes, La Fayette, Notre-Dame du Lac. The French contribution to Catholic life in the United States has too often been forgotten ; and these two volumes, were they not so bulky and so costly, would be a most useful reminder of that debt. The University of Notre-Dame has a fine school of history, and its archives are admittedly

among the richest in Catholic America. We can only hope that Notre-Dame will give us a more objective and better proportioned version of this important episode in French and American history. The sooner the better !

AUBREY GWYNN

THE ARTS

ART IN CRISIS. By Hans Sedlmayr. London : Hollis & Carter. 1957 Pp. 266. 35s.

ARCHITECTURE : 19th AND 20th CENTURIES. By H. Russell Hitchcock. London : Penguin. Pp. 528. 10¼ x 7 illus. 70s.

The study of the drawings of backward children, of the mentally defective and the emotionally unbalanced is an established clinical practice. These drawings reveal the mental state of the individual who makes them. Can the same be true of the collective mental state of an age or a group ? The claim has been made that it can. ' Art,' writes René Hughé, ' is for the story of human societies what the dreams of an individual are for the psychiatrist . . . The soul of an age as here revealed no longer wears a mask, it seeks and discloses itself with that prophetic knowledge that is to be found in both the highly sensitive and the possessed.' For over thirty years, Dr Hans Sedlmayr, at present Professor of the History of Art at the University of Munich, has been engaged in this study, He has applied himself to the art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and his conclusions are published in a number of works of which the first, *Verlust der Mitte* or ' the lost centre ', has just been translated into English under the rather misleading title, *Art in Crisis.*

This book has caused quite a sensation in the English-speaking world ; more so, it might be added, than on the continent ; and rather more in England than in America. The reason is not hard to find. For those who dislike what is called, rather vaguely, ' modern art ', *Art in Crisis* seems to present the most intelligent and devastating indictment of that kind of art that has yet appeared. On the other hand, those who claim to understand and appreciate ' modern art ' reject Dr Sedlmayr's conclusions out of hand and point to his obvious errors of judgment. In the opinion of the present writer, both points of view fail to grasp the scope and purpose of the book.

Dr Sedlmayr states them clearly and succinctly in the introduction—but, then, introductions are written to be passed over. This book, he writes, ' is a " critique " of the spirit and an attempt to diagnose the age both in its greatness and its wretchedness, as that age is revealed to us in its art . . . it concerns itself much less with the positive achievements of the epoch, to which only the most general kind of references are made, than with the dangers by which it is menaced.' It is not art that is in crisis, as the title states, but the age. This, then, is not a history of art nor an evaluation of modern art (at least, not by intention whatever about implication) ; it is a ' critique ' of the spirit of the age.

As such, its methods and techniques will be different from those used in art history and critical surveys. Dr Sedlmayr does not attempt to give a balanced picture of the art of the epoch ; on the contrary, he selects the abnormal and, from the aesthetic point of view, third rate. He does this precisely because as Auguste Choisy says, ' it is its abuses which give the best indication of a trend '. His method he calls ' the method of critical forms '. These critical forms are the forms which are passed over as ' nothing more than a bad joke or a very ordinary piece of lunacy ', or which ' the charitable look upon as " experiments with form " '. For example, the spherical house designed about 1778 by the French architect, Ledoux, would be a critical form. It is not merely odd and eccentric ; ' it is a symptom of a profound crisis both in architecture and in the whole life of the human spirit.' Most artists, even the most brilliant, merely readapt the forms of a previous age and mould them to their own genius ; but when a radically new form appears (however insignificant aesthetically) ' we are beginning to deal with the zone of the unconscious, for the actual meaning of such forms is hidden from their creators.'

Whatever one may think of this approach, it is by it that the book should be judged, and, to a certain extent, it is by the book that this approach must be judged. Unfortunately, Dr Sedlmayr does not stick to the rules he has laid down ; he shifts his attention from the spirit of the age as reflected in art to the formal, aesthetic, aspect of the art itself, or, in spite of protests to the contrary, he gives the impression of doing so. In his opinion, as in the opinion of others less interested in art, the present age marks the lowest depth to which the human spirit has yet sunk ; an age without aim or purpose or principle or belief of any kind ; an age of total disintegration. (Yeat's line : ' Things fall apart ; the centre cannot hold ', is quoted on the title page.) It is a short step from this to the conclusion that, aesthetically, the art of this degenerate age is also degenerate. But this is a step Dr Sedlmayr, on his principles, is not justified in taking ; nor does he intend to take it ; in fact, he says (in his introduction) the exact opposite : ' It was an epoch [the nineteenth and twentieth centuries] enriched by great talents and great personalities, by men with greater spiritual depth and capable of greater passion than any of the leading spirits of the century that preceded it '. Unfortunately, he has left a contrary impression.

The book also gives the impression that the evidence has been made to fit the theory. Dr Sedlmayr claims to diagnose the age as it is revealed in its art ; one cannot help feeling that he has unconsciously reversed the process and, with a knowledge of the age derived from other sources, explained the art in the light of the spirit of the age. He has found ' critical forms ', symptoms of the disease of the age, because he already believed the age to be sick. There is nothing regrettable in this. It still remains true that the art of an age ' makes things *visible* which could otherwise only with difficulty and in a very roundabout fashion present themselves to our consciousness at all.' But what is far more apparent from Dr Sedlmayr's book is that a study of art illuminated by a knowledge of the religious and philosophical ideas of the age is of immense value both to an understanding of the age and of art itself. Dr Sedlmayr can rightly claim that his book ' breaks new ground in so far as it makes plain for the first time the essential unity of the epoch ' and that until this essential

unity is grasped no art history can be written. So far no satisfactory art history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been written because the unifying element which applies well enough to other epochs, the concept of style, completely breaks down here. In showing that this very breakdown of a unifying style is a manifestation of the general spiritual disintegration of the age, Dr Sedlmayr makes it possible to see the age as an historical unit and so write a coherent history of it. Whatever one may think of the ' method of critical forms ', one can be grateful to him for this.

The most recent addition to the Pelican History of Art, *Architecture : 19th and 20th Centuries* by Henry Russell Hitchcock, offers stricking confirmation of the importance of Dr Sedlmayr's approach. Here is a magnificent piece of research work which will be of immense value to students of the period for years to come. A mass of information has been collected and compressed into a single volume. But the old principle of classification by styles has been used and it is apparent that this is only for convenience : the categories are empty ; they are not true principles of unity ; they do not help us to understand the art of the period. It is clear that something deeper is needed, something which shows the relation between art and the thought and feeling of the time as it is to be found in other forms of expression. It is reassuring to find that Mr Furneaux Jordan feels the same about this book. Writing in *The Observer* (23 November 1958) he says : ' In the " Pelican " histories, and in many other books, we have our fill of this glorified catalogue annotating. What is now wanted is a full philosophical and aesthetic analysis . . . We have knowledge, we now need comprehension. The public is ready for this '.

CYRIL BARRETT

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN ART. By D. Talbot Rice. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1957. Pp. 223. 42s.

JE SAIS—JE CROIS. Encyclopédie du Catholique au XXe siécle. 12e Partie : Les arts chrétien. Naissance de l'art crétien, par Alfred Leroy. Abbayes et Cathédrales, par L. Lefrançois-Pillion. Histoire de la Musique Chrétienne, par Alfred Colling. Le Théatre chrétien, par Jeanne Hamelin. Paris : Libraire Arthéme Fayard. 1956-57. 300 Frs.

The successive waves of iconoclasts, Barbarians, Mohammedans and the Iconoclasts proper, did their work well ; almost nothing of early Christian art in the east, and little enough in the west remains. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the development of Christian art during those vital early years. It is a fascinating task for the expert but a little bewildering to the general reader, and Prof. Talbot Rice's book *The Beginnings of Christian Art* will not help him greatly. It is a book which the student will find useful, for it contains all the most recent information. But it lacks vision : the ability to see beyond the individual work to the spirit which produced it ; the ability to

form an overall picture from a mass of information. This is very evident in his treatment of early medieval art in the north. In trying to determine the provenance of ' Irish ' manuscripts, for example, he loses sight of the whole stream of Celtic influence during the period. Throughout the book his special interest in Byzantine art causes him to give exaggerated importance to that form.

The volume on the same subject in the *Encyclopédie du Catholique au XXe siécle* has vision of a sort. It gives a gentleman's knowledge, and gentlemen in the twentieth century, at least in France, seem to prefer generalizations to facts. It talks about, rather than describes, its subject. For those who are completely unacquainted with the art of the first ten centuries of our era, this is perhaps as good an approach as any.

The next volume, on abbeys and cathedrals, can count on greater knowledge of the subject on the part of its readers, and so there is a balance between generalization and factual information. As an introduction to French Romanesque and Gothic it is as good as one can find. But it is distressing to note how little space is given to art beyond the frontiers of France.

The volumes on Christian music and theatre, on the other hand, are more universal in scope. One might question the choice of Wilde, Shaw, Barrie, Yeats and Synge (with a passing reference to *Murder in the Cathedral*) as representative of modern Christian drama in English ; and the omission of Vaughan Williams and Elgar might cause some surprise, but on the whole these two books are satisfying.

It is to be hoped that when these books are translated into English, the editors will adapt the bibliographies to the needs of students living in the mid-twentieth century, and increase their value by giving them a less exclusively French bias.

CYRIL BARRETT

THEATRE IN THE EAST. By Faubion Bowers. Edinburgh : Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 42s.

WHEN a Westerner approaches Asian theatre he can fall prey to two very different kinds of misunderstanding. He can expect it either to be too ' different ' or too ' similar.' By ' different ' I mean that he seeks for the exotic, something that is sinuous, luxuriant and irrational—in short, ' Oriental,' in the cabaret and tourist-folder meaning of the word. When he finds that a great deal of Asian theatre is restrained, monotonous, subtle even to the point of appearing prosaic, he is disappointed. On the other hand, if he goes to see an Oriental play or dance-drama or opera he may assume from the beginning that they must be similar to what these concepts mean in the West. If they do not run along the grooves he is accustomed to, he will find them wanting.

There seems to be only one way for the Westerner to make the right approach to Eastern theatre and, strangely enough, it is by going back to

the root meaning of the Greek word ' theatre ' itself—' looking at.' Theatre in the East is primarily to be looked at. It is not primarily meant to narrate a story, even though a story runs through the piece of theatre. It is not meant to create an illusion of life's reality, though the actors (as in kabuki) may be in authentic historical costumes. Poetic and dramatic language may contribute greatly, but they are subsidiary to the visual effect. The purpose of the performer or performers is achieved when a world of emotions and visions is created and made to live and the audience moves freely in that world, crediting it with reality. It is an art of great unearthly moments, not of storytelling rich in human values.

What is called ' modern theatre ' in Asia usually got off on a wrong tack. It was born at a moment when Ibsen, Shaw and Stanislavsky were the greatest influences and it took their most salient aspects as absolute norms, misunderstanding them. It got caught up in politics and social struggle—it was often allied to anti-imperialism. Its tone was usually strident and its manner strained. A message must be got across, an ideological battle won. It purported to be an importation of Western theatre, but it usually missed the point that Western theatre at its best is meant to be good storytelling. Perhaps what ' modern theatre ' in Asia lacks most is joy. In some countries, notably India and (more recently) Japan, the situation began to improve and the ' modern theatre ' took on a more human tone. But the initial error showed that in the mutual relations of Eastern and Western theatre, misunderstanding could be operative in both directions.

A Westerner genuinely anxious to know something about theatre in the East can read Mr Bowers's book with great profit. Mr Bowers pleads no special case. He does not attempt to impress or dazzle. He is an admirer of Eastern theatre and he manages to communicate his enthusiasm. But even more than an admirer, he is a student, and he moves only a little in advance of the reader, groping side by side with him towards an intelligent appreciation. Throughout the book he assumes that his readers are Westerners and he uses Western theatre often as a term of reference, to make a comparison or point a contrast.

The presentation is orderly. The underlying role of Indian culture is made clear and ancient Indian aesthetics are examined so as to arrive at the basis of appreciation of all Asian theatre. But in China and Japan India's role is admittedly only *basic* and the author has no hesitation in describing Japanese theatre as the best and most important in Asia.

The information is up-to-date since it is derived mainly from a study tour made in 1954, but Mr Bowers's acquaintance with Asian theatre is of long standing. He is usually describing theatre which he himself saw and he mingles detailed accounts of actual performances with discussions in more general terms. There is plenty of information about the more material aspects of theatre in the East—where and how it can be seen and in what conditions. Since it is Asian theatre, a great deal of attention is given to dance and, insofar as it is used in dance and drama, to music as well. There is a large number of photographs, but it is a pity that they are generally not placed in the chapters which they illustrate.

While films fall outside the scope of Mr Bowers's work, still an understanding of the role they are playing and may yet play in some Asian countries helps us put the theatrical situation in focus. Mr. Bowers deals illuminatingly with the question of dance in Indian films. The most important function of films in countries such as Japan or India is that they are absorbing a great deal of the talent which would otherwise go into the 'modern theatre' movement, or, more precisely, into the European-style theatre in Asia. For this reason a complete or relative stagnation in the development of European-style theatre would not be surprising. It would not have to be regarded as a tragedy, if, on the other hand, the films succeed in reaching a high artistic standard. Perhaps some of the Asian countries will 'skip' the 'modern theatre' and lose nothing. Italy had no important body of theatrical literature in modern times but has produced some excellent cinema.

DESMOND FENNELL

RELIGION

WHAT IS CATHOLIC ACTION? An Introduction to the Lay Apostolate, By Jeremiah Newman. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1958. 15s.

This book was inspired by discussion at the World Congress of the Apostolate of the Laity, held in Rome in 1957, where an attempt was made to formulate the precise nature of Catholic Action. The book has four sections. Professor Newman first analyses the lay apostolate in general: our membership of the Mystical Body, the need for participation in the liturgy of the Church, and the threefold form of the apostolate, the personal, the familial, and the organized. The second section is concerned with the nature of Catholic action, which (*vis-à-vis* the lay apostolate) bears the narrower concept of organized activity for the advancement of specifically religious aims in society. Thirdly, the aims and organization of Catholic Action are treated. Finally, the author examines those aspects of the lay-apostolate—pious associations, secular institutes, charitable groups—which may not fall under the definition of Catholic action.

The first section is an admirably clear statement of what one might call the theory of the apostolate. But the subsequent discussion develops into a terminological nightmare, with subsections, ramifications, and incredibly subtle distinctions such as the present reviewer can only parallel from Hellenistic treatises on rhetoric. This is not Dr Newman's fault. World Congresses face this invariable and crippling difficulty, that we barbarians of the north recoil from those abstract paper-edifices which the subtle Latins love. These issues of what is, and what is not, Catholic action are a perennial topic of passionate debate in France or Spain. But for the Anglo-Saxon or Celtic empiricists, the posing of such problems seems not merely superfluous but also a positive hindrance to fruitful activity.

The moral surely is that the expression 'Catholic action' has outlived its usefulness. Nor is it conceivable that its abandonment could imply any

disrespect to its originator, Pope Pius X ; on this argument we should all be talking in Latin. And quite apart from its imprecision, the expression contains for some non-Catholics emotive overtones of political conspiracy. One suspects that if Dr Newman were a rash layman like the reviewer, he would agree that it would be easier to use the term ' lay apostolate ' as a sort of hold-all, acknowledging the existence of an inner ring but without seeking too precise a definition of it.

It is a heinous tendency in reviewers to regret that an author did not write a different kind of book. But there is a crying need to relate this general problem to a specifically Irish context. Here, where the field for proselytizing is so small, where the average countryman hardly meets a non-Catholic from one year's end to the next, one would hope for greater emphasis on the first two forms of the apostolate—the attainment at a personal level of a deeper spiritual and intellectual formation, and the encouragement of the familial apostolate, which when rendered into English means teaching religion to one's children. Irish Catholicism stands before the world, not merely before the handful of non-Catholics in Ireland. Dr Newman suggests that Catholics " may sometimes *even have the duty* to join the ranks of the organized lay apostolate." Is it heresy also to suggest that we need an emergence of committed *individuals,* seeking their apostolate from personal conviction in those fields where group-discussion and group-behests might be a stimulus to mere mediocrity ? One thinks especially of politics, the higher forms of journalism, and the university field, which are the facets which most invite international inspection. One has merely to note the achievement of a small country like the Netherlands, with its dynamic Catholic university, its high standards of Catholic journalism, and the vigorous political life of Catholics, to gauge the length of the road we have to travel.

P. G. Walsh

THE SILENT LIFE. By Thomas Merton. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1957. 16s.

THE MEANING OF THE MONASTIC LIFE. By Louis Bouyer of the Oratory. London : Burns, Oates.

THE YOKE OF DIVINE LOVE. By Dom Hubert van Zeller. London: Burns, Oates. 1957. 16s.

ANSCAR VONIER, ABBOT OF BUCKFAST. By Dom Ernest Graf, Monk of Buckfast. London : Burns, Oates. 1957. 13s. 6d.

Here are four books on the Monastic Life, each by a well-known and prolific author. The voice of Thomas Merton is heard by a huge audience. It is here a sincere, refreshing, deep-toned voice. His wide sympathy enables him to portray the particular attraction and value of the Carthusian or Camaldolese as well as

his own, Cistercian, ideal. He seems especially fitted to interpret the sanity and strength of the Silent Life to the men of our time. You leave down his book wondering if it is possible to live quite fully anywhere else than in a monastery or hermit's cell. In the first half of the book he deals with the spirit of monasticism, in the second with the different shapes that spirit has taken, cenobitic or hermitical. The illustrations are not mere frills to the text, they intensify its effect of peace and spaciousness. He does some effective propaganda for the Carthusians whom he knows ' to have an uncommon distaste for all publicity ', while warning that ' only a very humble man could stand Carthusian solitude without going crazy '. Cistercian humility on the other hand requires ' that the Community itself should withdraw and live in solitude, while a life of labour and poverty lived in common is meant to prepare the monk for contemplative union with God.' Many of the varying interpretations of the Rule of St. Benedict are described with delicate appreciation. He remarks that the Camaldolese, which is the most exclusive or at least the smallest Order dealt with, has no foundation in North America. This year however a start has been made, strangely, under the leadership of a former Jesuit.

Père Bouyer's book is very different. It is, even in the ' practical ' part, a theoretical work. It is eloquent, brilliant and often inspiring, It is a discussion not a description, of monastic life, and the author urges his point of view argumentatively, at times almost threateningly. One may feel here and there that a monk's very salvation demands the *attainment* of the highest form of perfection. He is perhaps too ready to label a life which falls short of this, ' a farce '. His condemnation of the simple man's concept of God is certainly extreme. If only those who recognize God as ' The Wholly Other ' are worshipping Him at all and not blaspheming, well, ' who then can be saved ? ' To urge such subtle concepts on all, would certainly increase the ' un-knowing ' of the flock, but it would be an unknowing, I am afraid, that would lead rather to Nothing than to God. (At one point p. 64, the translator feels it necessary to intervene on behalf of the simple.) There is also only a rather grudging admission that ' the natural if not bad in itself . . . is in any case bad in its actual exercise.' While the censures on Americanism incline one to agree with the former Archbishop of San Francisco who said that ' Americanism existed only in the imagination of three or four Frenchmen.' There are superb chapters on the Trinity, on the Lectio Divina, on the conquest of death and on detachment. It may surprise those who have taken a vow of stability to be told that ' the monastic society only exists to help us by community of fervour, not to settle down at all '. Between such an exquisite and ardent acceptance, as P. Bouyer's, of the absolute ideal, and a contemptuous dismissal of all who fall short of it in practice, there might have been found place for a few words of encouragement for the large body of men who spend their whole life struggling from the one to the other. Père Bouyer would seem to think that they must all leap across at once, or perish—and no loss—in the intervening ditch.

With Dom Hubert van Zeller's book we are back again in the realm of the feasible, but not I must stress, of second rate compromise. He is really quite as uncompromising, but he is also humorous and sympathetic. The fact that he compares some monks' keeping of rules with other people's keeping of pets—for their own comfort—is no indication of a weaker desire to see rules kept, but it

does leave the reader very well disposed to Dom Hubert ; and so he settles down innocently to await another deft injection, and another and another. The general aims of monastic life are dealt with once more, its virtues in detail, prayer and common life, all in such a way as to make them greatly desirable without being wholly unattainable.

At the beginning of Dom Ernest Graf's life of Abbot Vonier he presumes that Buckfast Abbey Church will be sufficient memorial to this great Benedictine. But an outsider might be inclined to think that for one person who will remember him for that, a hundred will know him for his books. So there is indeed place for this interesting account of the foundation and building of Buckfast and of the character of its father. The erection of the Abbey on the foundations of the pre-reformation monastery was mainly Vonier's achievement. He was elected Abbot for life at the age of 31, and immediately set himself to that task as to a destiny. The story of the previous years including the expulsion from France, when the monks gave a fine example of passive resistence to injustice, and the short stay at Leopardstown near Dublin, make an interesting introduction to the detailed account of life at Buckfast.

If Dom Graf's political judgements occasionally seem too charitable, that is scarcely *his* defect. His filial piety, too, towards his hero may sound a little fulsome ; he cannot quite convey to a stranger the grounds for all his admiration. So there remains something of agreement with the Abbot's self-estimate as ' a cold and calculating individual.' The one place where this is strongly belied is in the correspondence with the Abbess of Dourgne, whom he revered and trusted as the true mother of his soul.

MICHAEL SWEETMAN

DOM VIRGIL AND THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT by Fr Paul Marx O.S.B. Liturgical Press, Minnesota : 5 dollars.

THIS is an expensive book, but well worth the money for any priest or layman who is keenly interested in the liturgical and social movements now stirring the Church. Dom Virgil was the leader and brain behind the liturgical reform movement in America. He founded the monthly journal *Orate Fratres* (now *Worship*) and the Liturgical Press, Minnesota, in order to publicize the Pope's instructions on the Liturgy, and Papal Encyclicals on the social problems of the age. These Encyclicals have remained for the most part on the professor's rostrum and have not yet found their way into the pulpit or into the ordinary schoolroom. Ignorance and indifference are the main obstacles to socio-liturgical reform.

Dom Virgil was one of the first to see clearly that the liturgical and social reform movements within the Church are closely bound together, that the Mass must be made the centre of both movements, that ' active participation in the Sacred Mysteries ' is a necessity of our time, that liturgical strivings must influence the behaviour of congregations in Church, and that the liturgy is neither the preserve of the élite nor a pastime for the aesthete. He died before

the publication of Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei*. How he would have publicized and trumpeted out to the world the pastoral parts of that great document.

Dom Virgil pleaded eloquently and repeatedly for the adoption of liturgical prayer and practice as an integral part of school education at all levels. He was far from satisfied with mere catechetical instruction. ' Any programme of religious education ', he used to say, ' must include Creed, Code and Cult '. He was equally emphatic on the need of education at home. The Liturgy could be worked by Church, School and Home together on the programme of the Liturgical Year.

JOHN S. FENNELLY

ST CYPRIAN : THE LAPSED, THE UNITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
Translated and annotated by Maurice Bévenot S.J. Ancient Christian Writers Vol. XXV. London. Longmans. 1957. Pp. 133. 21s.

FATHER BÉVENOT is well qualified to speak with authority on Cyprianic problems, and his long years of study of the manuscripts of the *De Unitate*, which necessarily involved a close and minute examination of the difficult Latin of Cyprian, makes him probably the ideal translator of Cyprian's works. The editors of the Ancient Christian Writers series are to be congratulated on their good fortune in securing Father Bévenot's co-operation in their work. This present volume, which we hope is merely the beginning of a complete presentation of St Cyprian's works in English, offers the reader an accurate, sensitive translation of Cyprian's text with an adequate set of annotations. It may be regretted, possibly, that so much is left unsaid, or said only in part. One would have liked to have an appendix dealing briefly with chapter 4 of the *De Unitate*, though it must be admitted that sufficient references are are given to help the curious student towards further research.

Father Bévenot, in his Introduction, says that ' Actually, Cyprian recognized the Bishop of Rome's special position in the Church in many practical ways ' (p.7). In support of this statement we are referred, in a note, to an article written by Father Bévenot in 1951. It may be that considerations of brevity prompted the omission of this problem from the Introduction, but one does feel that more use might have been made of the Introduction to present a short sketch of St Cyprian's life and his various dealings with Rome. The extraordinary prestige of St Cyprian in Tradition makes this all the more regrettable. Even Augustine, in the heat of his controversy against the Donatists, when the authority of Cyprian is quoted against him, refuses to proceed to an outright condemnation. ' Charity covereth a multitude of sins ', he quotes in Epistle 93, and adds : ' *tamquam sarmentum fructuosissimum, si quid in eo fuerat emendandum, purgavit Pater falce passionis* '.

PATRICK O'CONNELL

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